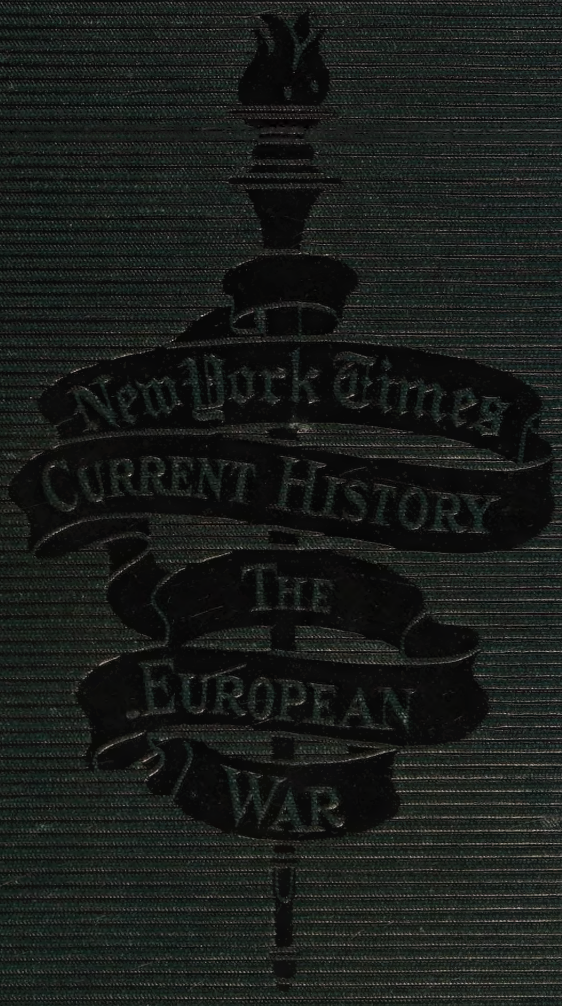
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The New York Times
Current History

THE EUROPEAN WAR

VOLUME VIII

JULY—SEPTEMBER, 1916

With Alphabetical and Analytical Index
Illustrations, Maps and Diagrams

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THE EUROPEAN WAR

Period July, 1916—September, 1916

INTRODUCTION

THE great offensives in the western and eastern theatres of the war were the chief events of major importance during the Summer of 1916. In every direction the Generals strove to force the issue to a decision so that there should be no need for a campaign in the following Summer. But neither side was able to establish so great a military superiority. In June the Russian drive began, and a few weeks later the British and French Armies opened their offensive on the Somme. Then, just before the close of the period under review, an entirely new development was introduced into the course of events by Rumania's entry into the war. At the same time Italy, so far at war only with Austria-Hungary, broke with Germany, so that the alignment of the nations into two opposing camps became still more pronounced. Nor was it only declarations of war, the beginning of new and more terrible compaigns, and generally the area of conflict that bore evidence to the determination of the two groups of belligerents to cripple and crush one another, but also in the sphere of economic activity and diplomacy there were such notable changes enacted or foreshadowed as those dealt with at the Allies' economic conference or involved in the abandonment of the Declaration of London and in the treaty between Russia and Japan.

In the previous volume we have seen that the struggle for Verdun was still in progress. Little remains to be added, except that after the bombardment of Fort Vaux, which began on May 31, and which completely cut off the garrison from the French Army, the gallant commander, Major Raynal, had to yield the fort on June 6. One more offensive was carried out by the Germans. Beginning an attack along a front of three miles, they threw 100,000 men against Ridge 321, Thiaumont work, and Fleury, and on June 23 captured the Thiaumont position. Two days later they were also successful at Fleury, but a vigorous counteroffensive held them in check. And at this stage the battle of Verdun ended, for the British had already begun their terrific bombardment on the Somme and the Germans needed all the men and guns they could spare to resist the "big push" in that region.

The battle of the Somme actually began on June 27, when the British opened artillery fire all along the front from the Somme to the Yser. For five days the bombardment was kept up, and then on July 1 the movement forward began, the British aiming at Bapaume and the French at Péronne in an attempt to establish a hold on the ridge which runs from Thiépval to Combles. The British succeeded on the opening day of the drive in breaking through on a twenty-mile front and capturing a number of positions on both banks of the Ancre and to the north of the Somme. The French also had a force on the north of the Somme, as well as on the south, where they were chiefly concentrated and where they rapidly moved ahead three miles on a six-mile front. From July 1 to July 10 the fighting was almost continuous by day and night. The Allies had great

advantages in superior artillery, an enormous supply of ammunition, and greater numbers of troops who were better equipped and better provisioned. Their airplanes were particularly numerous and effective. It was, therefore, to be expected that the Germans would be driven back. Nevertheless, the resistance was very obstinate, demonstrating the amazing military capacity which made the German war machine no easy thing to smash. In his report on the first phase of the battle General Haig stated that the British had taken the German first line along a front of eight miles, a considerable number of guns, and 7,500 prisoners. The French had also captured several thousand prisoners.

The second phase of the battle began on July 14 with an attack by the Allies on the German second-line trenches. Both the British and French made headway, taking many guns and several thousand more prisoners. At some points the Germans, who had been reinforced, made a determined stand and delivered counterattacks, but they soon lost the positions they retook. On July 22 occurred the big fight for Pozières. The British attacked all along the front from that village to Guillemont, taking Pozières itself on July 26. German second-line trenches along a five-mile front were now in the possession of the British. Although the major offensive of the Allies was that conducted by the British, the French on their portion of the front were advancing steadily, and their attacks were of considerable importance. The German lines were now badly bent back by the British, who kept on widening the line of attack as well as pushing it forward. The fighting was frequently as fierce and deadly as the terrible struggles at Verdun had been, and both sides lost men by thousands and tens of thousands from day to day. The beginning of August saw the British gaining possession of more of the German second-line trenches north of Pozières and the French advancing north of the Somme. The Germans were in very strong positions at Thiépval, Martinpuich, Guillemont, and Maurepas, and until they could be driven from them the allied advance would be held back. Hence the furious battles fought for these villages. On Aug. 11 and 12 Maurepas was attacked by the French and British, but it took till Aug. 24 before the Germans were forced out. Meanwhile, on Aug. 12, the French had attacked the German third line on a four-mile front from east of Hardecourt to the Somme, and reached positions nearly three-quarters of a mile beyond. Many prisoners were captured. The British also moved forward past the German third lines on a six-mile front. At the end of August the British had taken nearly 16,000 prisoners, nearly 100 field guns, and over 150 machine guns. During the month the British losses in killed, wounded, and missing were 4,711 officers and 123,234 men. The rate of the Allies' advance was a few thousand yards every few days, which, considering the territory still held by the Germans, was slow; furthermore, though the Germans were being gradually pushed back and a wedge driven in their front, the line was still intact. The outlook, therefore, was that the allied offensive of 1916 would not be decisive, and this proved to be so despite the further gains by the Allies to be recorded in the next volume.

The Russian drive which began in June was one of the most remarkable successes of the Allies up to that time. It was part of the general program of simultaneous offensives in all theatres of the war, and it did much by preventing reinforcements from being drawn away to help the British and French armies in the west and the Italians who had been worsted by the Austrians. The Russian forces were now nominally under the supreme command of the Czar in place of the Grand Duke Nicholas, who had been sent to the Caucasus; but the real direction was in the hands of the new Chief of Staff, General Alexeieff, assisted by General Ivanoff. The Russians attacked on the whole front from the Gulf of Riga to the Rumanian frontier, but the main offensive was that led by General Brusiloff on the sector of 250 miles from the Pripet southward in the three regions of Volhynia, of Buczacz, and between the Dniester and the Pruth. Of these the

first and last named were the more important. The drive began on June 4, and was immediately successful. Lutsk in Volhynia was taken on June 6, and the Russians began to press forward on Kovel, one of the chief objectives of the advance, reaching the Rivers Styr and Ikva at various points on June 8. The same day Dubno, at the south of the salient which the Russians had now pushed into the Teutonic lines, was taken. During the next five days they occupied positions eighteen miles southwest of Dubno and eighteen miles west of Lutsk. By June 16 the new salient had a radius of forty-five miles. The Austro-Germans replied with a counterattack and forced the Russians back about five miles. A pause in the fighting ensued, and then a fresh effort from June 24 to the end of the month.

Meanwhile, the Russians had been pressing onward south of the Dniester and forcing the Austrians to fall back on the Carpathian passes. On June 16 the Russians began crossing the Pruth, and next day they captured Czernowitz, after which they rapidly overran practically the whole of Bukowina, the conquest of which was complete by June 23. Kolomea, an immediate objective of the Russian drive, was taken on June 29. The offensive in the Buczacz sector proceeded successfully. The town of Buczacz was occupied on June 8, and a halt was then called, while the Russians advanced south of the Dniester. In all this fighting the Russians were daily taking thousands and tens of thousands of prisoners, and with them vast quantities of artillery, ammunition, and war material of all kinds. The Russians swept forward like a floodtide, and only at a few points were they momentarily checked. The Austrian armies suffered heavy losses and depreciated considerably in morale. At the end of June the change that had come over the scene was evidenced by the two salients which the Russians had driven in the Austro-German lines, one in Volhynia and the other in Bukowina.

Galicia became the principal battle area in the next phase of the Russian campaign. On the resumption of the offensive the Austro-Hungarian army on the Styr was driven back along a forty-mile front to the Stokhod, with the result that the Russian line was straightened and made even with the advance line of the Lutsk salient. On July 16 the Russians began a tremendous attack, which continued till July 22, when they crossed the Lipa and the Austrians began to retire from Brody, which was captured on July 28. The next move by the Russians was to cut the Krasne-Tarnopol railroad on a front of fifty miles. This operation was initiated on Aug. 4 and progressed so well that an advance which the Germans had been planning was rendered impossible. In the southern battle area the Austrians, whose positions extended from Niezvisha to the Carpathians, were driven back on June 28, and on the following day, as already mentioned, Kolomea was taken. The Russians then captured positions further south. A German attempt to create a diversion by means of a counter-offensive proved abortive, and the Austrians kept on retiring. On July 8 the Russians took Delatyn and cut the railroad which runs through the Jablonica Pass in the Carpathians. The Russians next turned their attention to the German army in Galicia, capturing Tlumatch on Aug. 7 and Stanislau on Aug. 10, and, what was more important, cut the German communications with the Transversal Railway through Galicia. On Aug. 10 another Russian force crossed the Zlota Lipa near Nizhnioff. Owing to these and other successes, the Germans were forced to retire on Aug. 12 from the Stripa to the Zlota Lipa, but, with von Hindenburg's arrival to take supreme command of the entire Austro-German campaign in the east, the Russians began to encounter a far more determined defensive, which had for its purpose the protection of Kovel and Lemberg, and the holding of the Carpathians. A deadlock ensued, followed by an intermission in the operations, which lasted until the end of the period under review.

But this does not dispose of all the fighting on the eastern front. To prevent the Germans from sending rein-

forcements from the northern section of the line the Russians had also attacked along the Dvina and the Niemen, and at several points made considerable progress. The severest battle north of the Pripet was that fought around Baranovitche between June 13 and July 9. When the eastern campaign came to a standstill at the end of August the Russians had taken during the three months 400,000 prisoners and occupied 7,000 square miles of territory. The effect on the Central Empires was a great deal more damaging than the western offensive during the Summer, and the military power of Austria-Hungary especially had seriously declined.

We saw in the last volume how the Austrians by suddenly launching a well-prepared offensive in the Trentino had forced the Italians to retire, and how General Cadorna had to bring up heavy reinforcements to hold the Austrians. His aim was now that of the French at Verdun—to keep the enemy occupied until the Russians began their great drive. He had not long to wait, and in the first days of June the Italians were able to stop the Austrian offensive all along the line. The Austrians were obliged to withdraw troops to serve against the Russians and, after a series of infantry attacks and bombardments between June 2 and June 17, to cease their offensive operations altogether. The Italians were now ready to go forward once more, and by June 25 the Austrians were in retreat, losing large numbers of men who were taken prisoner and many machine guns. The Austrian drive in May had dislocated Italy's plan to begin an offensive simultaneously with those of the Allies in the other theatres of the war; so that it was not until August that General Cadorna was able to resume operations on the Isonzo front. This offensive was launched on Aug. 6 with Gorizia once more the objective. The positions on and between Mount Sabotino and Mount San Michele were taken without delay. On Aug. 8 the lines outside Gorizia were carried and the town itself occupied the following day. The Italians then swept across the Vallone, which divides the Doberdo plateau from the Carso, but soon the offensive began to slow down, and on Aug. 17 it was at an end. Although the Italians had gained possession of Gorizia, the Austrian guns were still within range. During the offensive the Italians took about 15,000 prisoners.

The Franco-British army at Saloniki was reinforced during this period by Serbian, Russian, and Italian troops. The Serbians attacked the Bulgarians at the Karadjova (Moglena) Mountains on July 14, and captured a series of fortified heights. But the Macedonian campaign did not really begin till the latter part of August, when the Bulgarians advanced and captured Florina, sixteen miles from Monastir, on Aug. 17, Demir-Hissar on Aug. 18, and some positions west of the Struma on Aug. 19. The Allies opened their offensive all along the line on Aug. 20, but no fighting of importance occurred till the period covered in the next volume. An episode of the campaign, which was connected with the curious attitude of Greece, was the occupation on Aug. 25 by Bulgarians and Germans of the Greek seaport town of Kavala and the surrender of the Fourth Greek Army Corps, which was sent to Germany and there interned.

In Northern Africa, Asiatic Turkey, and the countries bordering on British India, German military officers and diplomatic agents had been either organizing fighting forces or attempting to stir up revolt. For this reason the Russians were compelled to conduct a campaign in Persia, where a body of Turks and rebel Persians led by Germans and Austrians were reinforced by Turkish troops after the fall of Kut-el-Amara in Mesopotamia. In June the Russian Commander, General Baratoff, was forced to retire, and in August Hamadan again fell into the hands of the Turks. The Russian Army of the Caucasus, led by the Grand Duke Nicholas, at the same time was engaged in a new invasion of Turkish Armenia, and had already taken Trebizond. After a march of a hundred miles the Russians captured Erzingan on July 26. In August a Turco-German offensive was begun and met with some success along the whole front from the Black Sea to Lake Van, its

chief purpose being to retake Erzerum. Mush and Bitlis were occupied, but the Russians in a vigorous counteroffensive retook Mush on Aug. 23, and thus virtually completed their conquest of Turkish Armenia.

The Turks who held the Sinai Peninsula made another attempt in July to advance against the Suez Canal. Troops to the number of 14,000, under a German General, got as far as the Katia Oasis, to which point the British canal defenses had been pushed. On Aug. 4 a severe engagement was fought on an eight-mile front at Romani, a village near the Mediterranean coast, twenty-three miles east of the canal. The Turks were completely routed, losing 4,000 prisoners, 900 camels, a Krupp mountain battery, a number of machine guns, and a large quantity of military stores. After their defeat the Turks made an air raid on Port Said and Suez, the two terminals of the canal. The retreating troops were again engaged on Aug. 9 at Bir-el-Abd, which they evacuated on Aug. 12. The British then began to march along the coast road from the Katia Oasis and Bir-el-Abd, building a railroad and laying a water main as they went.

In German East Africa the different British, Belgian, and Portuguese columns continued to carry out their plan of converging from all sides of the colony. General Smuts took Wilhelmstal on June 9 and Tanga on July 9. General Van Deventer occupied Dodoma on the Central Railway on July 29 and began to move toward Dar-es-Salaam. The Germans, after being driven out of Wilhelmstal and Tanga, were defeated by General Smuts in the fighting that took place on Aug. 9, 10, and 11, and forced south to the Central Railway. Meanwhile, General Northey's column had on June 13 occupied Alt Langenburg, and the Belgians had taken possession of the railroad between Lake Tanganyika and Lake Victor Nyanza, and on June 22 defeated the Germans at Kiwitawe. At the end of July Ujiji was occupied by the Belgians, who in August effected a junction with the British force from Rhodesia. The last of the German flotilla on the great lakes, the gunboat Graf von Gotzen, was sunk on July 28 by a Belgian gunboat on Lake Tanganyika.

Aerial operations now being a regular part of the art of warfare, only the most striking episodes call for mention. In scouting, giving the artillery the correct range, keeping the General Staff informed as to enemy positions and movements, carrying out raids to destroy trenches, railroads, and ammunition depots, and in generally harassing the enemy, aviators were constantly active during the period under review. During the battle of the Somme airmen even swooped down and used their machine guns against troops in the trenches. The British were particularly well equipped with a large number of airplanes of the latest type. At the opening of the Somme offensive General Haig knew exactly where the German position was through receiving wireless messages from one of his air scouts. Among episodes worth noting were these: Immelman, the German aviator, was shot down by a British airplane on June 21; Victor E. Chapman, the first American aviator to sacrifice his life for France, was killed while flying over the German lines at Verdun on June 24; the French airman, Marchal, made an attempt on July 20 to fly from France to Russia, but, having gone 300 miles, he had to descend just before reaching the Russian line in Volhynia, and was taken prisoner by the Germans. He broke the speed and long distance records for a non-stop flight. When passing over Berlin he dropped proclamations which said it would have been just as easy to drop bombs. On Aug. 11 a British air squadron paid a visit to Brussels, Namur, and other points in Belgium, where they bombarded airship sheds. On July 8 Sofia was raided by French aviators and on Aug. 30 Zeppelins dropped bombs on Bucharest. The capital of nearly every belligerent country had thus been visited by hostile aircraft since the beginning of the war. During July and August there were six Zeppelin raids on the eastern and southeastern counties of England, sixteen persons being killed and sixty-eight injured, and there was also a seaplane attack on Dover.

The nearest approach to a naval engagement was on Aug. 19, when the German High Seas Fleet left port, only to return almost at once on discovering that the British were waiting in considerable force. In searching for the enemy two British light cruisers, the Nottingham and the Falmouth, were torpedoed and sunk, with a loss of thirty-eight men. One German submarine was sunk and another rammed. A British submarine attacked the German battleship Westfalen, which was believed to have been sunk. A profound sensation was caused by the loss on June 5 of the British cruiser Hampshire, which struck a mine and sunk off the Orkney Islands, because it had on board Lord Kitchener and his staff, all perishing. Only twelve of the crew were saved. The British War Minister was on his way to Russia. The largest warship lost during this period was the Italian superdreadnought Leonardo da Vinci, 22,000 tons, which was blown up in Taranto Harbor, with a loss of 300 lives, on Aug. 2. It was uncertain whether the internal explosion was caused by a torpedo from an enemy submarine or by some other mishap.

The German submarine campaign during the months of June, July, and August was responsible for the destruction of 237 merchant ships belonging to the Allies and 52 belonging to neutrals, a total of 289, representing nearly 300,000 tons. As far as could be ascertained, no lives were lost, care having been taken by German submarine commanders to respect the pledge given by their Government to the United States after the sinking of the Sussex.

A wave of intense indignation swept through Great Britain in July when it was announced that Captain Charles Fryatt, master of the Great Eastern Railway's steamship Brussels, had been tried by court-martial and shot by the Germans for having tried to ram the German submarine U-33 on March 20, 1915. The Mayor of Harwich had presented Fryatt with a watch, the inscription on which showed that it was a souvenir of his successful escape with his steamer from the U-33. More than a year later, on July 23, the Brussels was captured by German warships and taken into Zeebrugge. By means of the watch found on him Fryatt's identity was established. The other prisoners were sent to Ruhleben in Germany, but Fryatt was imprisoned at Bruges. The British Foreign Office, apprehensive of his fate when it was known that he had been arrested, sought the assistance of the American Ambassador in Berlin to secure a proper trial, but these efforts were unavailing, and on July 28 Fryatt was tried, condemned, and executed at Bruges. In the explanation issued by the German Government it was said that "one of the many nefarious franc-tireur proceedings of the British merchant marine against our war vessels has thus found a belated but merited expiation." Experts in international law, both in the allied countries and the United States, held that Fryatt was entitled to be regarded as a prisoner of war and his act as that of a belligerent, not of a "franc-tireur." In the House of Commons Mr. Asquith described Fryatt as having been "murdered" by the Germans, denounced the execution as "an atrocious crime," and declared that when the time arrived the British Government was determined to "bring to justice the criminals, whoever they may be and whatever their station." On Aug. 15 the British Prime Minister went further and said that there would be no resumption of diplomatic relations with Germany after the war "until reparation is made for the murder of Captain Fryatt."

The submarine provided a surprise by showing that it could be used for peaceful as well as warlike purposes. On July 9, the Deutschland, a German undersea vessel designed purely and simply for the carriage of merchandise, arrived at Baltimore without escort and after a voyage of sixteen days from Bremen, Germany. Captain Paul Koenig's story of how the Deutschland had passed under the very keels of British warships, remaining at one time submerged for ten hours, at the bottom of the English Channel, at once took its place among the romances of the sea. The first commercial submarine in history, the Deutschland was built for a group of Bremen business men to try

to circumvent the British blockade and carry mails between Germany and America without interference. It was totally unarmed, and the claim that its status was that of a peaceful merchant vessel was upheld by the United States Government. The Deutschland succeeded in returning to Germany, and later made another voyage to America.

Among the more important measures to finance the war was the second or "B" scheme of the British Government for the mobilization of securities, which was announced on Aug. 14. The new scheme, unlike the first one, which had been put into operation in the previous December, was not confined to American securities, but applied also to the loans of neutral Governments raised in London. Bondholders were offered one-half per cent. more than the yield from these securities, the Treasury having power, if necessary, to sell. The bonds were required as collateral for money borrowed in New York to pay for munitions supplied by American companies. On July 24 the House of Commons voted a British war credit of $2,250,000,000. The French credit for the third quarter of 1916 was for $1,702,000,000. In June the sixth German war credit for $3,000,000,000 was passed by the Reichstag. The Imperial Finance Minister reported, as evidence of Germany's financial strength, that at the end of August savings banks deposits had increased by over $400,000,000, exclusive of the amounts subscribed to war loans. Estimates made at the end of the second year of the war placed the cost to all the belligerents at $50,000,000,000, four-fifths of which represented an addition to national debts existing before the war.

Although Italy's declaration of war against Germany on Aug. 27 did not increase the number of belligerents, it helped to deepen and widen the conflict, at the same time clearing up some of the curious questions involved in the circumstance that Italy was at war with Austria-Hungary but not with Germany. The explanation of the postponement of the break between Italy and Germany was that German investments in Italy amounted to $3,000,000,000 and that German financial interests still exercised a great deal of influence in certain powerful quarters not far removed from the Italian Government. After war broke out between Italy and Austria-Hungary, a treaty was conducted by Germany and Italy for the protection of German subjects and German property in Italy. Even when the Italian Government proclaimed the breaking off of trade relations with Germany and seized German ships in Italian ports, the two countries continued intercourse and commerce with one another. But on June 8 the German Imperial Appeal Court decided that technically the two nations were at war, and on July 14 German bankers ceased making payments to Italians in Germany. The following day Italy retaliated by abrogating the treaty guaranteeing the protection of German subjects and property, and on Aug. 27 war was declared against Germany on the grounds that the German banks were treating Italians in Germany as enemy aliens and that German troops were supporting Austrian military operations against Italy. But it must not be forgotten that Italy had participated in the Allies' Economic Conference, about which we have yet to speak, and that in consequence new motives had come into play.

The same day that Italy finally broke with Germany Rumania declared war against Austria-Hungary. By an agreement finally made with Russia on Aug. 4 Rumania was to be allowed to keep the Austro-Hungarian territories inhabited by Rumanians, provided they were occupied by force before the end of the war. Rumania apparently thought that the signs of weakness exhibited by the Germans on the Somme and the Austrians on the Carso Plateau and in East Galicia now gave the signal for accomplishing the "Rumanian union on both slopes of the Carpathians" which would be realized by absorbing that part of Hungary which lies east of the river Thiess. Germany, Bulgaria, and Turkey speedily declared war on Rumania, and, though the first dash made by the Rumanian forces toward Transylvania seemed promising, whatever ideas Rumania had of shortening the war and

creating a "Greater Rumania" were soon shattered by the Teutonic conquest of her existing territories, as will be seen in the next volume.

The motives which had induced Italy to declare war against Germany and Rumania to cast off her neutrality were also expected to influence Greece to join the Allies. But the attachment of King Constantine and his party to Germany again proved too strong. On the contrary, the period under review was remarkable for certain acts which showed that if the opportunity came Greece would fight, not for the Allies, but against them. In the previous volume it has been recorded how several Greek forts were handed over to the Germans and Bulgarians under instructions from King Constantine's Government. In June the Greek Army, already mobilized, and apparently waiting to join forces with the Germans and Bulgarians, if they could advance to a point where a junction could be effected, became the object of increased suspicion on the part of the Allies. A demand for demobilization met with partial compliance on June 8, on which date the Allies declared a new commercial blockade of Greek ports. On June 21 the Allies made more drastic demands, which included complete demobilization of the Greek Army, a new Ministry formed on a non-partisan basis, the election of a new Chamber of Deputies, and the dismissal of certain pro-German police officials. The Greek Government acceded to these demands. Zaimis succeeded Skouloudis as Premier, and once more it seemed that the Greek question was settled. The Allies, accordingly, raised the blockade on July 3. But it was not long before a new crisis arose, occasioned this time by the opening of the Allies' offensive. Many Greeks, roused by the Bulgarian invasion of their territory, threw off their allegiance to the King and turned to the revolutionists, who organized the Committee of National Defense at Saloniki and established a Provisional Government of Macedonia. Venizelos actively encouraged the revolution, while disclaiming any intention to overthrow the dynasty.

Lloyd George's forecast that the war would bring an end to Turkey's "ramshackle empire" was recalled by the declaration of independence issued by the Grand Shereef of Mecca, Chief Magistrate of the holy city of Islam, who instigated a revolt of the Arab tribes and established his authority as an independent sovereign at Mecca, Jedda, Kinfunda, and Taif. The Turkish garrisons in these towns were taken prisoner, and Arabia passed from the sway of the Sultan. The Grand Shereef, El Husein Ibn Ali, in his proclamation, dated June 27, explained that the cause of his revolt was that Turkey was governed by the Committee of Union and Progress, that is, the Young Turks, who were chiefly responsible for Turkey becoming an ally of the Central Powers, and that the Young Turks had done many impious things. One of the most important influences at work in bringing about the creation of an independent kingdom of Arabia was that of the British Government. The Germans early in the war had tried, through the Sultan of Turkey, to set aflame a holy war of all Mohammedans against the British with the special object of fomenting disturbances and rousing revolt in India and Egypt. The British, through the Grand Shereef of Mecca, now hit back by destroying the Sultan's authority in the region most sacred to the Mohammedan world.

Another Oriental land where the Allies defeated German designs was Persia, still in the throes of turmoil and disorder. The effect of the Russian military operations already described was to bar the way of the Turkish forces to Teheran, which the Shah and the Persian Government were about to be forced to evacuate because of the convulsed condition created by the Turks and the German secret agents, who were the leading mischief-makers. The situation was most critical in August, but from that time onward Persia was gradually brought under Russo-British control. Many of the German emissaries were captured, and anarchy stamped out. A notable part in this work of restoring law and order was played by the military mission, under Sir Percy Sykes, which made a march of

a thousand miles from Bunder Abbas, (Bander Abbasi,) a seaport of Southeastern Persia, to Ispahan and thence to Teheran. In Southern Persia Sir Percy Sykes organized a new gendarmerie with British officers, and on arrival at Teheran arranged with the Russian diplomatic representatives to assist the Persian Government financially. Another British expedition, commanded by Major Keith, restored order in Eastern Persia, and soon it was hoped to root out the remainder of the brigands and robbers who still infested parts of the country. On Aug. 6 Russia and Great Britain, who had in 1907 signed a convention dividing Persia into two spheres of influence, signed a new treaty for the future control of these territories.

The death of Lord Kitchener led to some changes in the British Cabinet, which, however, had no political significance. Lloyd George, who, no matter what department he presided over, remained the people's leader, left the Ministry of Munitions on July 6 to become head of the War Office. Edwin S. Montagu, a member of a rich and influential banking family, was appointed Minister of Munitions. On Aug. 23 Parliament extended the term of the House of Commons, which had been elected in December, 1910, for another period of eight months, making the date of expiration May 31, 1917.

The trouble in Ireland roused the British Government to make a fresh effort to pacify the country by settling the home rule question. Lloyd George was chosen for the task, and he succeeded in drafting a provisional scheme which satisfied all sections of Ireland. Nationalists and Unionists, Catholics and Protestants, were at last in agreement, as were the two great adversaries, John Redmond and Sir Edward Carson. The outlook was more promising than it had ever been. But the Conservatives and Unionists in England still cherished their old distrust of Irish self-government, and through their influence in the Coalition Government and their dominant position in the House of Lords they wrecked Lloyd George's plan. In the House of Commons on July 24 Lloyd George made a frank confession of his failure, which brought from the Nationalists accusations of treachery and revived in all its bitterness the feud which it had been hoped was about to disappear from British politics. The appointment on July 31 of Henry E. Duke, a Conservative, to be Chief Secretary for Ireland, did not improve the situation.

Sir Roger Casement was brought to trial on June 27 and two days later convicted of high treason. Before sentence of death was passed on him he made a memorable speech in which he declared that "judicial assassination" was "reserved for only one race of the King's subjects, for Irishmen, for those who cannot forget their allegiance to the realm of Ireland." The court before which he appeared was, he said, a foreign court. Strenuous efforts were made to secure a commutation of the death sentence. The United States Senate passed a resolution asking that clemency be exercised. The Pope interceded, and a petition was signed by many distinguished Catholic and Protestant clergymen and laymen in the United Kingdom. But Lord Robert Cecil, on behalf of the British Government, formally declared that no Government doing its duty could interfere with the sentence. Sir Roger Casement was, therefore, hanged in London on Aug. 3.

Elsewhere in the British Empire we have to note that in July the Canadian commission appointed to investigate the scandals in connection with munitions exonerated Sir Sam Hughes, the Minister of Defense, and that New Zealand enacted a conscription law, this being the only one of the British self-governing colonies to follow the example of the mother country.

In France the Briand Ministry was subjected to an unceasing fusillade of criticism by dissatisfied members of the Chamber of Deputies. So that the whole military and diplomatic situation might be discussed in the light of facts which could not be made public, the Government agreed to the holding of secret sessions by the Chamber, and also by the Senate. For seven days in June the Chamber held angry discussions behind closed doors, but at the end of the debate a vote of confidence in the Government

was carried by 440 to 97. The Senate also voted in favor of continued support for M. Briand's administration. Although the decision of the Chamber was not to interfere in the conduct of the war as far as military operations were concerned, it refused to subordinate its authority in other directions. More than any other belligerent country the French Republic was maintaining democratic rights and privileges by holding the Government responsible to the people's representatives.

A political crisis occurred in Italy in consequence of the retreat of the army in the Trentino. The Salandra Ministry was thrown out of office on June 10 by an adverse vote in the Chamber of Deputies of 197 against 158, and a Coalition Cabinet was formed with Paolo Boselli as Premier. Sonnino remained Foreign Minister. The new Ministry had the support of all parties and groups, with the exception of nearly fifty radical Socialists, who demanded peace. But the new Government threw itself more energetically into the war, and one of its notable acts was to bring about the complete and final break with Germany. A comprehensive program of economic, agricultural, and other measures to promote efficiency and self-subsistence was put forward by the Government, and for the most part carried out.

The Russian autocracy was to be seen in the Summer and Autumn of 1916 in the penultimate stages of its resistance to the rising tide of democracy, little dreaming how soon the flood was to sweep away the old order. Boris Stürmer, the reactionary and pro-German Premier, was almost the last of the enemies of the Russian people. For a few months he was still to be in the ascendant. During that time intrigues for a separate peace with Germany were rife, as well as the habitual efforts to oppress and tyrannize over the people. But the Duma was steadily working for the creation of a new and democratic Russia. One of the greatest reforms was the bill passed on July 2 conferring on the moujiks, or peasants, the same rights as other classes possessed. The moujiks were now entitled to elect representatives to the zemstvos, or provincial councils, and were freed from many of their disabilities, which, in some respects, were greater than those of the Jews. Another sign of social progress was the spread of feminist ideas and their application. Since the war Russian women had been steadily increasing in the ranks of the professional and industrial workers. This was particularly the case among school teachers and munition makers. The law passed by the Duma providing for the appointment of women as factory inspectors was hailed as a recognition of the changing position of women. More important as a cause of the revolution which came in March, 1917, was the drawing closer of the bond between the people and the army. The army had been rapidly discovering that its success depended, not on the old bureaucracy, but on such organizations as the All-Russian Zemstvo Union, the Union of Municipalities, and the War Industries Association, all created by the people themselves and regarded with suspicious anxiety by the Government.

The resignation on July 23 of Sergius Sazonoff, Minister of Foreign Affairs and a loyal supporter of the Entente, was the sequel to the dissensions which arose in the Council of Ministers. The immediate cause was disagreement on the question of granting Poland full autonomy whenever the conquered territories should be regained from the German forces. Sazonoff all along strongly advocated full, not partial or make-believe, autonomy. Stürmer was willing to promise only a modified form of self-government, chiefly in municipal affairs. Sazonoff refused to abandon his project after working for it for two years, and, unable to work any longer in harmony with Stürmer, he resigned. It was said that another reason for Sazonoff's action was Stürmer's desire to make a separate peace with the Central Empires. There was, therefore, considerable anxiety among the Entente Allies when Stürmer himself took the position of Foreign Minister. Stürmer, on taking over Sazonoff's portfolio, left the Ministry of the Interior, to which Alexei Khvostoff was once more appointed, while A. A. Makharoff was chosen as Minister of Jus-

tice. The Duma was prorogued on July 3 to Nov. 14. During this recess the Stürmer - Khvostoff - Makharoff group continued to hamper and harass, because it could not hold back the rising democracy.

The principal change in the direction of Germany's destinies was the replacement of von Falkenhayn by von Hindenburg as Chief of the General Staff on Aug. 29. General von Ludendorf, as Quartermaster General, became von Hindenburg's chief assistant in the supreme direction of the Teutonic war machine, and also a powerful force in the molding of domestic policy.

If it is true that the real underlying cause of the war was the rivalry of two great groups of economic interests, then the most significant development during the first two and a half years was the Allies' Economic Conference, which sat in Paris from June 14 to 17. Its purpose was to plan a new war after the war, a war of economic extinction or isolation against Germany and her allies. Eight Governments were represented—Great Britain, Belgium, France, Portugal, Italy, Serbia, Russia, and Japan. The British delegates included two colonial statesmen from Greater Britain, William Morris Hughes, the Prime Minister of Australia, and Sir George Foster, the Canadian Minister of Commerce. Hughes was perhaps the most conspicuous figure at the conference. Coming from a far-distant part of the British Empire, he had been electrifying the English people by his extraordinarily intense advocacy of the economic extermination of Germany. The conference was held in secret, but the resolutions adopted were published, and they showed that not only were vigorous measures to be taken to tighten the existing blockade and make the Central Powers suffer through cutting off the importation of foodstuffs and other necessaries, but also that German economic expansion after the war was to be rendered impossible. The first set of resolutions dealt with measures for the duration of the war, such as prohibiting trade with the enemy, contraband, and exports to neutral countries. The second set of resolutions outlined transitory measures for the reconstruction of the invaded countries, the withdrawal of the "most favored nation" treatment from the enemy for a number of years, the conservation by the Allies of their resources for one another in preference to all other countries, and the exclusion of enemy subjects from certain professions and industries in the allied countries. The third set of resolutions foreshadowed permanent measures of mutual aid and common action, the principal one being to rid the allied countries of their dependence on enemy countries as regards raw material and manufactured products, as well as financial, commercial, and transportation facilities. These resolutions were not binding on the respective Governments, but were recommendations only. Those relating to measures for the duration of the war had an immediate effect, to be noted presently.

Additional light was thrown on the purpose and character of the Allies' economic union by several of the national leaders. The war had shown them, said M. Briand, the French Prime Minister, the extent of the economic slavery to which they were to have been made subject, but the war would not have been in vain, despite the sacrifices it demanded, if it brought about an economic liberation of the world.

The resolutions adopted at the conference, Mr. Hughes said, would effect little short of an economic revolution. "I believe that through them," he added, "we can strike a blow right at the heart of Germany. At the close of the war we shall have to face not only Germany, but the united forces of the Central Empires, with a population of 120,000,000, as well as the neutral nations who, growing rich while we grow daily poorer, are making great preparations to capture the world's markets and oust us from our position."

The neutral nations, and, most of all, the United States, viewed the foundation of the new economic alliance with a great deal of apprehension. The matter was brought up in the United States Senate on June 29 by Senator Stone, who said that measures should be adopted to safeguard American interests, since there

was a suspicion that the trade boycott might extend to neutrals after the war. He discussed the subject again on July 10, and quoted from a speech made by the Australian Prime Minister in which the purpose was declared to hold the sea-carrying trade and control the markets of the world. Senator Lodge, supporting Senator Stone, said that American industries must be organized for the economic struggles they would have to face, and be put in such a condition that they could stand behind the people and the Government to meet any tests and make the world understand that America could not be invaded either physically or economically with impunity.

In Germany economists pretended to take a calm view of the threatened war after the war on the ground that the plans of the Allies would, in practice, be just as injurious to them as to Germany, and that they were all based on an unscientific and romantic idea of international commerce. This view was also expressed in the protests of British free traders, who held that Germany could not be commercially isolated without injury to all nations.

Several important changes followed, even if they did not arise out of, the conference. The first of these affected contraband and involved the abandonment of the Declaration of London, which the British and French Governments formally announced on July 7. A new order, known as the "Maritime Rights Order in Council, 1916," was issued, declaring the intention of Great Britain and her allies to exercise their belligerent rights at sea in accordance with the law of nations. Four rules were framed to meet the changed conditions and clear up all doubts as to the diversity of practice. They were (1) presumption of hostile destination till the contrary be proved; (2) application of the principle of continuous voyage or ultimate destination to cases of both contraband and blockade; (3) liability to capture and condemnation of neutral vessels carrying contraband and falsely indicating a neutral destination; (4) liability to capture and condemnation of vessels with cargoes more than half contraband. The Declaration of London had never been ratified by Great Britain, but at the opening of the war it was adopted with modifications. So many changes, however, were introduced as the war progressed that very little of the original code remained when it was entirely superseded by the new Order in Council of July 7. The effect of the change was to go back to the international law observed before 1909.

Another measure of economic warfare against Germany was the trade blacklist issued by the British Government on July 18. This was done under an act passed in December, 1915, authorizing the publication of lists of persons in neutral countries with whom British subjects were forbidden to trade. The list of boycotted firms contained over 1,500 names. Certain ships were also blacklisted. The number of firms in the United States were eighty-five, which was exceeded by those in Spain, Brazil, Holland, and some other countries. Protests were promptly made by many of the neutral Governments. The United States sent an exceptionally vigorous note, and Congress prepared to pass retaliatory legislation. The British Government, in reply, explained that the blacklist was not as drastic as it appeared, that it would not affect existing contracts, and that it would not apply to those who traded with blacklisted firms. Although a few names were removed from the list, the British Government made no substantial concession, and delayed its reply to the American protest of July 26 until October.

The effect of the war on the situation in China was of vital concern to the United States, for greater opportunities had been afforded to Japan than would have been possible if the European powers had not been engaged in fighting one another. Japan's active participation in the war amounted to little more than naval patrol work in the Indian and Pacific Oceans and the occupation of Germany's Chinese colony at Kiao-Chau. She was, therefore, free to pursue other aims. Early in the war demands were made on China that would make Japan the sole arbiter of her destinies and sole exploiter of her resources. But Russia

had to be reckoned with, and the interests of the two countries, now allies in the great war, suggesting that they would mutually benefit by co-operation rather than rivalry, led them to sign a new treaty at Petrograd on July 3. The text as published disclosed nothing more than the fact that the two Governments pledged themselves not to be a party to any arrangement or political combination directed against one or the other in the Far East and that in regard to territorial rights or special interests each would help the other to protect and defend those rights and interests. But to what these generalities referred in the concrete was, in accordance with the methods of secret diplomacy, kept for the confidential documents which embodied the real and substantial agreement. It was stated, however, that the secret terms covered the question of the Eastern Chinese Railway, the navigation of the Sungari River, commercial and residential privileges in Siberia, Mongolia, and Manchuria, and the supply of munitions by Japan to Russia.

The tightening grip of Japan and Russia on China was a matter of deep concern to the bankers and railroad construction firms of the United States, who were gradually beginning to find a new outlet for capital and a new field for industrial enterprise in a very rich but undeveloped country. The Chinese Government desired to be financed by American bankers, and to encourage railroad construction by American companies. But in both directions American enterprise was met with objections from Japan and Russia, and also to some extent from Great Britain and France. Ultimately, however, the protests against American banks lending money to the Chinese Government were overcome, and America was asked to co-operate with the other powers. But the American International Corporation's project for railroad and canal construction did not so easily gain the approval of the Japanese and Russian Governments, although there seemed every prospect that before long an agreement would be reached whereby American capital would find a very important new outlet. Politically, the United States was also concerned about the preservation of the integrity of China, which was involved by the presence of Japanese military officers and troops in Southern Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia. Two episodes in which Japanese troops came into conflict with Chinese led to inquiries by the United States Government through the Ambassador at Tokio. The Japanese Government denied that it had either infringed Chinese sovereign rights or intended to do so. It was evident that the whole question of China's relations to the leading foreign powers was still in an unsettled state and that no solution was likely till after the war. As far as Chinese affairs themselves were concerned, the most important event was the death of Yuan Shih-kai on June 6 in the midst of a serious deadlock with the republicans and revolutionaries who demanded his resignation or deposition. Yuan had desisted from his design to make himself Emperor, but was still pursuing a policy of reaction. Li Yuan-hung became President, and measures were adopted by the Cabinet and the National Assembly to establish the Government of the republic on a more stable basis.

Several matters in which the United States was affected by the war and external developments generally have already been recorded. During the period under review the submarine controversy was not so acute as it had been, or was about to become again. On June 21 Secretary of State Lansing sent a sharp note of reply to the Austro-Hungarian Government in regard to the American oil steamship Petrolite, which was attacked by a submarine in the Mediterranean in December, 1915. More than a dozen shells were fired at the vessel, and one at least hit it, injuring a member of the crew. The Austro-Hungarian note of Feb. 25, which strove to explain away the episode, was, according to Lansing's reply, at variance with the facts, and the outrageous conduct of the submarine commander in attacking the Petrolite and securing provisions by threats of violence was "a deliberate insult to the flag of the United States and an invasion of the

rights of American citizens," for which an apology, the punishment of the submarine commander, and the payment of an indemnity were demanded.

The use of information obtained through the detention and censorship of mails between America and Europe for the benefit of British business at the expense of neutrals was the subject of considerable controversy. Lord Robert Cecil, the British Minister of War Trade, in statements made on Aug. 9 and 25 emphatically denied that any unfair advantage was being taken of the information. All that the British Government was doing, it was subsequently stated by Lloyd George, was to trace cases in which the regulations against trading with the enemy were being disregarded. The complete reply to the United States was delivered by the British and French Governments on Oct. 12.

President Wilson on July 21 addressed personal messages to the rulers of Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary suggesting fresh consideration of measures for the relief of Poland. But nothing was achieved by the President because Great Britain and her allies demanded a guarantee that the supplies in the conquered territory should not be exported nor used by the army of occupation, and because, at the same time, Germany refused to give this guarantee. The request of the United States Government that medical and hospital supplies for the exclusive use of the sick and wounded which the American Red Cross desired to send to Germany was rejected by the British Government in a note on July 12 which denied the need of such articles in Germany.

Captain Hans Tauscher, the agent in America for Krupps, who was indicted on a charge of violating the neutrality laws in connection with a plot to destroy the Welland Canal in Canada, was brought to trial on June 26. According to Major von der Goltz, Tauscher had provided arms, explosives, and money for a military expedition, but the jury returned a verdict of not guilty.

Following the passage of the National Defense act in May, the Army Appropriation bill carried further the program of military preparedness advocated by President Wilson. In addition to providing $267,596,530, a largely increased amount due partly to the Mexican expedition and the calling out of the National Militia, the bill conferred on the President new powers in time of war, and extended the organization for the execution of war policy. The President was authorized to take control of the railroads for military purposes whenever necessary, a Council of National Defense was established to insure co-operation between the Government and those operating railroads and industries for war purposes; and the Articles of War were revised. The bill was signed by the President on Aug. 29, the same day as he also signed the Naval Appropriation bill. The amount voted for the navy was $313,300,555, which was more than twice that voted in 1916. The increase was mainly due to the adoption of a three-year building program, which would provide 157 vessels of all classes. The appropriations for the army, navy, and fortifications ran up to a total of $606,-645,135, the largest amount ever voted for warlike purposes by a nation not at war.

Negotiations with Denmark for the purchase of the Danish West Indies, or the Virgin Islands, as they were named when they passed under American control, were concluded on July 24 and the treaty signed in New York on Aug. 4. The purpose in acquiring the islands was strategic, as a first-class naval base would be made available to the United States.

Although the tremendous program of national preparedness indicated that a great change was steadily being effected in American foreign policy and that the United States was now to be reckoned among the greatest of world powers, President Wilson continually made it clear that America's intentions were peaceful. Speaking on June 30, he asked the question, "Do you think it is our duty to carry self-defense to the point of dictation in the affairs of another people?" Again, on July 10, he said that he would not help the ambitions of those who were trying to exploit the

privileges and possessions of another country, such as Mexico. In the same speech the President, hinting at the influence of finance on military policy, made it clear that it must be "with their spirits and minds" that those who financed the world must understand and rule it.

President Wilson's speech at the end of May, in which he indorsed the idea of a League to Enforce Peace, attracted considerable attention in belligerent countries, but his tentative proffer of mediation was submerged in the flood of recrimination between statesmen of the warring nations. In the Reichstag on June 5 the Imperial Chancellor, flushed with what Germany regarded as victory in the naval battle off Jutland, declared that any further suggestions of peace would be "futile and evil." Lloyd George, in a letter on June 8, wrote that "only a crushing military victory will bring the peace for which the Allies are fighting and of which Germany will understand the meaning." When the end of the second year of the war was reached at the beginning of August the anniversary was celebrated by another outburst of defiant speeches and proclamations. The Kaiser in messages to the people and his soldiers and sailors placed the "blame for further bloodshed only on our enemies" and exulted in another "year of glory." King George, President Poincaré, General Joffre, and the Russian War Minister addressed equally stirring messages to the allied forces. On all sides there was still no hope or prospect of peace.

EARL KITCHENER OF KHARTUM

Britain's Famous War Secretary, Who Perished With His Staff on the Cruiser Hampshire, June 5, When on His Way to Russia

(Photo by Press Illustrating Co.)

GREAT NORTH SEA BATTLE, MAY 31, 1916

This Perspective Diagram, Drawn From Cabled Data, Is Intended to Show the Locale of the Battle Rather Than to Picture Its Events. The Cross Near the Orkneys Marks the Place Where Lord Kitchener Perished

(© 1916 *New York Times Company.*)

PERIOD XXII.

The North Sea Fight—The Drowning of Lord Kitchener—Brusiloff's Great Drive—How the British Army Was Created—"If I Were Wilson"—The Freedom of the Seas—American Note on Seizure of the Mails—Why Peace Talk at Present Is Idle—Peace Through Victory—The Creed of America in War and Peace—Horrors of Trench Fighting.

WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

The Mexican Crisis

THE relations between the United States and Mexico are strained almost to the point of warfare as this issue of CURRENT HISTORY goes to press, (June 20.) On Sunday, June 18, President Wilson called out substantially all the State militia of the United States, to be sent to the Mexican border, "wherever and as fully as General Funston determines them to be needed." The Secretary of War, in transmitting the President's call, states that it "is wholly unrelated to General Pershing's expedition, and contemplates no additional entry into Mexico." At the same time the Secretary of the Navy has ordered additional warships, gunboats, and other craft on both the east and west coasts of America to Mexican waters.

On June 20 our reply to the request of General Carranza for the withdrawal of American troops from Mexico went forward. The note was a refusal to withdraw the troops. The message is long, containing about 6,000 words. It states that our armed forces will remain in Mexico until the Mexican Government so thoroughly polices the border that bandit raids into American territory become impossible; but it contains a reaffirmation of the friendly intentions of the United States toward the de facto Government of Mexico.

It is estimated that approximately 100,000 National Guardsmen will be mustered into the Federal service and be speedily sent to the frontier for patrol duty. The entire force at the disposal of General Funston will consist of about 35,000 regulars and 100,000 Guardsmen. It is not likely that General Carranza will deliberately precipitate war, and the United States gives definite assurances that its forces are not being mobilized for aggression, but will be utilized for defense only. The danger, however, arises from the increasing excitement among the Mexicans. There is strong likelihood that their resentment will burst forth into some seriously hostile outbreak before the deliberate processes of diplomacy can adjust the crisis. It is evident that the patience of the United States Government is about exhausted, and little hope is felt that Carranza can restore order and maintain it. The firm steps that are now being taken by President Wilson will bring matters to a head, and before this magazine reaches its readers the question of forcible intervention (which will mean war) or of a permanent basis of friendly co-operation for the suppression of disorders will have been settled between the two countries.

* * *

Peace Prospects

PROSPECTS of peace were encouraging in April and early May, owing to the apparently pacific words of the German Chancellor and the evident latitude given by the censors to German newspapers in discussions of the subject. So definite did the possibilities appear that President Wilson's address at Washington before the League to Enforce Peace was expected by many to open the way for a formal offer of mediation. That tentative utterance, however, evoked positive opposition from the chief spokesmen of the Entente powers, which, in

turn produced emphatic protests from influential groups in Germany.

Then came the German advances at Verdun, the Austrian successes in the Trentino, and, most important of all, the great naval battle off the coast of Jutland, which was hailed by all Germany as a German victory. Assuming a new and defiant tone, Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg withdrew his former overtures and declared unqualifiedly that future proffers of peace must come from the Entente and would be entertained by Germany only on the basis of the "war map." In other words, Germany must be acknowledged to be in legal possession of the conquered territory of Belgium, France, Poland, Russia, and Serbia. Since then a great Russian offensive has swept westward into Austria, but all talk of peace is stilled for the present.

All the official utterances of this episode are printed in the present issue of CURRENT HISTORY. They throw an interesting light upon the very heart of the war situation. Since that indecisive naval battle both sides are more fiercely determined than ever to win. The unbridgeable chasm between them is indicated in the semi-official Cologne Gazette's comment upon the allied statement that the duration of the war depends on the will of the German and Austrian Emperors:

> They (the English and French) do not know that, universally honored and loved though Emperor William and Emperor Francis Joseph are in their countries, their disappearance from the stage would have no influence at all upon the course of the war. * * * The two Central Powers are fighting for their lives against a limited liability company of robbers, assembled on a scale never previously known. They know that all that is dearest to them, the soil and the future of their Fatherland, is at stake, and so they will go on fighting until a result in accordance with their ideas has been reached.

* * *

THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND

THE naval battle off Jutland near the entrance to the Skagerrak is the outstanding maritime event of the entire war. Both belligerents claim a victory. The Germans acclaimed the battle as an overwhelming triumph, and the Kaiser sent congratulatory telegrams to the commanding officers and boasted that all the honors rested with the German fleet—that the entire Grand Fleet of Great Britain had been encountered and badly worsted. "The first big blow," he declared, "has been dealt the English fleet, whose tyrannical supremacy is shattered."

The German Chancellor declared that the battle was "a great victory," denied that the German fleet had fled, and asserted that the Germans, in greatly inferior numbers, had "defeated the entire Grand Fleet of Great Britain." In his first statement he said the German losses were 24,000 tons against 114,000 by the English, with a like proportionate loss of life, but the German losses were subsequently conceded by the Government to be in excess of 60,000 tons.

The British admiralty in the first official announcement specified its own losses and understated the German losses, (for which it was criticised at home,) but subsequently supplemented the first announcement with an official statement that the German losses had been greatly underrated in the first reports and that from the best information then obtainable they exceeded in weight and numbers the British losses. It is persistently insisted by England that two new battleships of the Hindenburg class and two dreadnought battle cruisers (one, the Lützow, is conceded by the Germans) were lost, notwithstanding the Imperial Admiralty's claims to the contrary. Germany, indeed, has been very reticent in giving details of its losses—in announcing the death of high naval officials the names of the vessels on which they served are omitted.

The relative strength of the two navies at the beginning of 1916 was as follows:

	England.		Germany.	
	Built.	B'ld'g.	Built.	B'ld'g.
Battleships	58	14	35	6
Battle cruisers.	9	1	4	3
Cruisers	47	..	9	..
Light cruisers..	65	20	43	6
Torpedo vessels.	25	1	..	..
Destroyers	201	36	133	12
Torpedo boats..	106	..	80	..
Submarines	69	27	24	14

Since these figures were compiled a

number of new ships have been added to both navies, and others have been laid down, probably a small percentage in excess by England.

There are 150,000 men in the English Navy, hence a loss of 6,104 dead or missing, 513 wounded—the latest British estimate—represents a trifle over 4 per cent.; the German casualties are given as 2,414 dead, 449 wounded, showing that the actual loss of men on both sides, compared to the whole, will make no difference in relative strength. As respects the tonnage loss, if the present English and German official claims are anywhere near the truth, it is about an even break, so far as the relative strength of the two navies is concerned.

The most important deduction to be drawn from the battle, without debating which was victor or which suffered the greater loss, is the fact that since the battle the English blockade of the North Sea has not relaxed—on the contrary, has tightened—and that the English fleet is again endeavoring to draw the Germans from their harbor.

* * *

A Remarkable Human Document from the Trenches

CURRENT HISTORY surrenders considerable space to the narrative of an American barber who enlisted with the Canadian troops and spent over a year on the firing line in France and Belgium. His history has been investigated and the authenticity of all his service claims is officially confirmed, while his reputation in his home city entitles his personal statements to fullest credence. It is a bitter, gruesome tale he unfolds; war is stripped of its imagery and pomp; the depressing life within the trenches, the terrifying surroundings, the inevitable darkening of the spirit, the lust for human sacrifice—these reveal the abyss into which war hurls its victims. One turns from Roméo Houle's horrifying chapter with a sense of woe, which is only partly relieved by a corresponding surge of thankfulness that our nation has thus far avoided this frightful maelstrom.

An Accusation Disproved

ON Aug. 3, 1914, Herr de Schoen, the German Ambassador to France, handed the following document to M. Viviani, the French Premier:

> The German military and administrative authorities have ascertained that a number of hostile acts have been committed on German territory by French military aviators. Some of the latter have violated the neutrality of Belgium, invading its territory. One sought to destroy works in progress at Wesel, others were perceived in the vicinity of Eiffel, and one threw bombs on the railroad station near Karlsruhe and at Nuremberg. I am directed and have the honor to inform your Excellency that in consequence of these aggressions the German Empire considers itself at war with France, due to the acts of this latter power.

Now comes a distinguished German, Professor Schwalde, director and editor in chief of the German Weekly Review of Medicine, who writes in that important German periodical, twenty-two months after this momentous charge was made by the German Government, the following words:

> It is false that French aviators threw on Aug. 2, 1914, any bombs on Nuremberg. The Mayor of the city recently wrote to the General commanding the Third Bavarian Army Corps that he never had any knowledge of any bombardment of the stations of Nuremberg, Kissingen, or of Nuremberg-Ansbach before or after the declaration of war.

* * *

General Haig's Work

THERE are definite signs, as this issue of CURRENT HISTORY goes to press, that a great English offensive in Flanders and France is about to begin. This fact makes interesting the official report for the five months, ended May 19, 1916, by General Sir Douglas Haig, British Commander in Chief in France. In this report engagements which in the press were designated as "fierce drives" are called "sharp local actions"—near Hooge, the Bluff, St. Eloi, Wulverghem, Hulluch, the Hohenzollern Redoubt, Kink, and Vermelles. The Canadians had several bloody encounters near Zillebeke, east of Ypres, which at first went against them, but they subsequently recovered much of the lost ground.

General Haig's report indicates that the English at that time defended a sec-

tor ninety miles long, reaching from the Belgian front, ten miles north of Ypres, down through La Bassée to the Roye Railway, south of the Somme, on a line opposite Amiens. There were 450,000 British soldiers on the firing line, fronted by 500,000 Germans. The English and French do not keep more than one-third of their forces exposed on a normally dormant front, hence it is safe to estimate the British at 1,350,000 men in the ninety miles on May 19, and they doubtless have since been reinforced. Opposite them are 800,000 Germans of all ranks, with 500,000 rifles and 3,000 guns, and with heavy reserves behind. It has been observed that the Germans have rebuilt the fortifications at Lille. Rochambeau, Maubeuge, Herson, La Fere, and Laon, while in the south they have three lines of defense to meet a possible offensive by the French in Champagne.

The heavy Russian drive in Russia is thought to have been timed for the long-expected advance by the British in France, and by the allied army from Saloniki. June and early July bid fair to be the bloodiest period of the war.

* * *

China's New President

THE death of Yuan Shih-kai, President of the Chinese Republic, which occurred on June 6, promises to be a blessing instead of a disaster to China. When Yuan Shih-kai was chosen President of the new Government in Peking his demonstrated abilities had earned him the title of the "strong man of China." His strength, however, began to wane as soon as his personal ambitions began to wax. When last year he metamorphosed the republic into a monarchy, declaring himself Emperor, a revolution broke out in the southern provinces of the country.

For nearly a year Yuan Shih-kai tried to subdue the rebellion, but its tide was irresistible, and province after province seceded from the Peking Government. Yuan then thought it wise to return to the republican form of government, which he did three months ago in a manifesto extraordinary in its self-humiliating tone. But it was already too late. The revolutionary leaders of the South would have no more of him, and a conference called in Nanking for the purpose of effecting a compromise between the South and the North ended, without achieving its aim, on May 27.

All the members of the Cabinet then tendered their resignations to the President, but Yuan Shih-kai would not accept them. He offered to resign himself as soon as a new Government had been perfected. But before the world could test his sincerity death overtook him, and Li Yuan-hung, Vice President, succeeded him as President. Li Yuan-hung has the complete confidence of the South. As soon as he assumed office the rebel provinces began to come back to the Central Government, and peace in a reunited China seems now to be assured.

* * *

Less Drinking in London

WAR has brought a remarkable decline in drunkenness in London, due to the restricted hours and the anti-treating regulations. The following figures compiled by The London Telegraph show a wonderful change in the weekly average of convictions for drunkenness in the London district, containing a population of 7,000,000:

1909	881	1916—4 weeks' average ending:	
1910	946		
1911	1,075	January 30	591 5
1912	1,152	February 27	614
1913	1,259	March 26	579
1914	1,301	April 23	559.5
1915 (6 months)	1,084	May 21	497.5

The natural explanation would be that the falling off is due to the absence at the front of so large a proportion of men, but this is offset by the extra spending power of those at home; moreover, there has been a steady and perceptible increase in the sale of non-intoxicating ales at licensed premises.

* * *

The Future of Poland

SINCE the famous proclamation of the Grand Duke Nicholas, then Commander in Chief of the Russian armies, in regard to the restoration of Poland after the war, little has been said by Russian Government officials on the subject. This silence has added to the anxiety of the Poles and their friends

throughout the world. Recently, however, there is to be noticed a marked change in the attitude of the Russian Government toward the Polish question. Thus, a short time after M. Sturmer became Premier of Russia he declared to the Petrograd correspondent of Le Journal, Paris, that the program outlined by the Grand Duke will be executed in its entirety after peace is concluded in Europe. Sergius Sazonoff, Russia's Foreign Minister, in an interview with the correspondent of The London Times, has now spoken with his habitual fire on the Government's intentions as to the future of Poland. "That Poland will receive a just and equitable autonomy in the greatest degree, adjusted to its future life and its economic and industrial development," says M. Sazonoff, "is certain. The Poles and the friends of the Poles may, therefore, look to the Russians for the dawn of a new era and a period of unexampled development which will follow the inevitable successful conclusion of the war."

* * *

War a Cure for Strikes

THERE is abundant evidence in Germany that war is the most efficient solvent of labor disputes yet known. The official figures of the Imperial Statistical Bureau at Berlin show that the year 1915 witnessed the smallest number of strikes and lockouts ever recorded. Only 11,639 persons took part in strikes, and only 1,227 were affected by lockouts in all Germany during that year, and the disputes were of very brief duration. The total time lost during seventeen months of war by 14,950 strikers was 930 5-6 working days, or an average of 5.57 days for each of the 167 disputes which occurred between employer and employe; during the twelve months of 1915 the average time lost per disagreement was 3.45 working days; the average in five years before the war was 34.16 days lost in each dispute. These data prove the close supervision over labor and industry maintained by the German authorities, a state of rigorous regulation not approached in any other belligerent or neutral country.

Rank and File in War

ARNOLD F. GRAVES, an English librettist, has reduced to doggerel a stirring narrative of British deeds in Flanders, which voices the spirit of the rank and file. A few extracts will indicate the attitude of the English fighting man toward the grimmest aspects of war. Of battle strategy he says:

A battle is a jimble-jumble,
A mixem-gatherum, rough and tumble;
And while you're fighting like a cat,
You don't know what the deuce they're at.

In describing the British advance after the German retreat from Paris, he says:

And now I'll tell you what we did
Old Cock-a-doodle-do to kid—
With one French army we changed places;
And when he found no longer traces
Of English troops upon his right,
He thought he'd licked us out of sight,
And clean across our front was trekking,
The country like a pirate wrecking.
He was a goose not to detain
The British troops behind the Seine,
Till he had joined his Forces so
As he could strike a knockout blow.

He pays his respects to the Kaiser in these words:

Satan himself to roast his soul
Forever in a sulphur bowl.
I'd like to stand beside t'ould joker
And stir him with a red-hot poker.

His "Soldier's Funeral" has a strong note all its own:

A soldier's Funeral is brave;
And when he's carried to the grave,
How fine you'd feel to be his son!
His bier borne stately on a gun:
No coaches, plumes, or hearses black,
He sleeps beneath the Union Jack,
Beneath the Flag for which he fought:
An honor never to be bought.
The gunners' nags their proud necks arch,
The band strikes up the funeral march,
And as they draw him down the street,
Wrapped in his royal winding-sheet,
Each passer stands and bares his head,
And says a prayer for him that's dead.

* * *

On May 23 the British Parliament voted its eleventh credit since the war began, the sum this time authorized being $1,500,000,000. The following have been the votes since August, 1914: Three votes in the first year, aggregating $1,810,000,000; six votes in the second year, (1915-16,) aggregating $7,100,000,000; two votes in 1916, (Feb. 21 and May 23,) aggregating $3,000,000,000; total during the war, $11,910,000,000. In the fifty days ended May 23 the average rate of expenditure was $24,100,000 a day. The new vote will meet the requirements only until the first week in August. The daily expenses have slightly declined, and are now estimated at $23,750,000 a day.

Interpretations of World Events

Kitchener of Khartum

THE British Empire, as we know it, is extremely young. Only in 1858 did the wide realm of India come directly under the crown; a decade later the Dominion of Canada came into being; then came large spaces in East and West Africa. With the twentieth century came the constitution of the Australian Commonwealth. Almost at the same time the Boer republics were added to the empire, and, within a few years, incorporated in the Union of South Africa—like Canada and Australia, a splendid modern piece of constitution building. Since the beginning of the war there have been great accessions—Egypt, Southwest Africa, Eastern New Guinea, with further gains in sight. (Togoland and the Cameroons may go, it appears, to the huge colonial empire of France.)

Within the life-span of Kitchener, every change above recorded has taken place. Born in 1850, he was eight years old when modern India came into being, superseding the old East India Company. He saw the constitution-building of Canada when he was preparing to enter the army as an engineer. The whole development has taken place before his eyes. And at every point of the vast empire, at every point, at least, where disaster threatened, Kitchener's hand was felt, Kitchener's power was decisively shown. After early work in Palestine and then in Cyprus (just added by Disraeli to the empire) he cast in his lot with Egypt, which, with its huge back country, the Sudan, is now practically within the empire. From Egypt he went to South Africa, which has so proudly proved its reconciliation and its loyalty. From Africa he went to India, where likewise devotion to England has triumphed over all temptations to revolt; from India he went again to Egypt; then, in the last act of his imperial life, he undertook the defense, not of outlying possessions of the empire, but of the heart of the empire itself—of that ancient England from which all the rest has sprung.

And this defense he prepared and perfected by calling for unprecedented sacrifices, asking England to give up the cherished tradition of a volunteer army; asking from the manhood of England the heavy sacrifice of long months of arduous military training, with the prospect of foreign service, of death on foreign soil, as the end of it. In some sense, and in a deep sense, England is paying this high price for the sake of France, since the British Isles and the wide spaces of the empire seem very well protected by the fleet; but, in the last analysis, the fate of England is bound up with the principles for which France is staking her life, and the future life of England requires the future power and liberty of France. It is the highest honor of Kitchener — the final honor added to many high honors—that he from the first saw the danger to the empire in the white light of reality, and that he had both the courage to call for the great sacrifices which that danger rendered necessary and the authority to inspire his countrymen with the will to sacrifice. No man can be compared with him in achievement for the empire, and therefore for the wide and ordered liberty that is the life-breath of the empire.

A Ruse of War

A STORY which reminds us of the battles of earlier centuries comes from the Galician front. The first successful blow against the Austrian lines, we are told, was made sure of success by a ruse. The Russians opened up a bombardment of the Austrians, of considerable violence, but not much more so than on previous occasions. After maintaining this for several hours, they suddenly stopped. The Austrians, expecting an attack, moved up their machine guns and bomb throwers and assembled their troops in the forward trenches. At some points even cavalry was concentrated close to the front. When the Rus-

sian aeroplane observers reported that the enemy positions were crowded with troops, the artillery opened again, this time with a destructive fire such as the Austrians had seldom been called upon to withstand. This storm of shells caused such slaughter and demoralization that when the attack by the Russians began they swept forward with comparatively little difficulty. We ought to be grateful for a story like that. It reminds us of more romantic, more imaginative days; of all the feints and ruses recorded by the annalists of old. It lets us see, too, that the Russians use in war the same powers of imagination and invention which went to the making of Turgenieff and Dostoevski and Tolstoy, to mention creators in one field alone. The outstanding thing about the English commanders, to take a point of contrast still among the Allies, seems to be that they lack imagination, and this seems to synchronize with a period of dry streams in English poetry and other writing. The only two men of imagination in England seem to be Lloyd George and Winston Churchill; and it seems impossible to keep Churchill at the front. But how refreshing to read of that Russian ruse, after plodding through the dull, mechanical, battering-ram strategy of the attack against Verdun!

Galicia and Bukowina

WHILE at Verdun the German Corwn Prince is beating out the life of the Teutonic army against the impregnable defenses of the French, the eastern battle front has been the most brilliant and spectacular event of the last twelve months of the war, in the overwhelmingly swift advance of Russia through Volhynia toward Poland, through Podolia toward Galician Lemberg, and through the northern half of the Austrian crownland of Bukowina.

The southern two-thirds of the field of Russia's advance—Galicia with Bukowina—form a single geographical region, walled off from the rest of Austria and from Hungary by the high Carpathian Mountains. The division between Galicia and Bukowina is merely a line on the map; there is no natural or ethnical boundary. This whole region, then, is in reality the drainage-valley of the great River Dniester, which flows across it from northwest to southeast. From the Carpathian valleys rivers flow down into it on the right; from Russian Podolia and Northern Galicia rivers flow (almost due south) into the Dniester on the left side. With its tributaries, the Dniester valley is an exact picture of a beech-leaf, the Dniester being the midrib of the leaf, while the tributaries are the veins. Hence, with the perpetual crossing of parallel streams — the Zlota Lipa, the Stripa, and the rest, each of which has its own rich life and its traditions—this is a hard field to fight over; it is a heartbreaking field to retreat over, with shaken and dislocated armies.

Consider the position of Czernowitz, the capital of Bukowina. Close to the west bank of the Pruth, it is reached, from the world beyond the Carpathians, by one railroad only, which comes down from the northwest, following the trend of the river valley. And now, while the Austrians have been stubbornly defending the outposts of Czernowitz to the east, the Russians, passing northwest of the city, have crossed the main stream of the Pruth some miles higher up, and have cut the railroad at Sniatyn, the one way of retreat for the Czernowitz garrison. This garrison, which had proclaimed the delaying strategy of the Russian force to the east of the city an Austrian triumph and a Russian "check," now finds itself bottled up by the cutting of the railroad, and faced with three alternatives: either to remain and be slowly pounded to pieces between two Russian forces, knowing that relief is hopeless; or to flee to the west, up the steep Carpathian valleys and passes, with Cossack horsemen at their heels, or to surrender, and join the growing Austrian "colony" within the Czar's dominions. A choice between disasters, with the added knowledge of the threatened revolt of Rumania from Teutonic leading, with the probable crushing of Bulgaria—which is already hastily shifting forces from Saloniki to the Danube—the possible surrender of bankrupt Turkey, and the breakdown of

the painfully built bridge to Bagdad and India. All together, an unpleasant outlook for the garrison of Czernowitz.

Two Points of Naval Tactics

IN the admirable narrative of the Battle of Jutland, published in Glasgow and included in this issue, two points stand out in a startling way. The first is this: The Germans could see the British distinctly outlined against a light yellow sky. The Germans, covered by a haze, could be very indistinctly made out by the English gunners. The hour accounts for that. It was nearly 5 in the afternoon, and the British ships, to the west of their adversaries, were sharply silhouetted against the sunset. The east was already gathering the evening gloom. It is a picturesque touch, a graphic word picture, and would be a fine point of color for a chiaroscuro battle painting. But it is something more. It is a revelation to us that, in these days of long-range guns (and the firing at Jutland began at twelve miles) it is as important to "get the light" of your adversary as it used to be, in the days of "wooden walls" and sailing warships, to "get the wind" of him.

Clearly, it is sound tactics for the English fleet, which will naturally hold the western station, to engage the German fleet in the early morning only, when the sky over the low coast-line of Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein is lit up with the sunrise. Equally clearly, it is to the interest of the Germans to bring on a naval fight in the late afternoon. This they in fact did; showing that, as was pointed out in an article in a former issue, they pay close heed to "the psychology of the weather." Admiral Jellicoe and Admiral Beatty should learn by heart the German proverb: "Morgen Stunde hat Gold in Munde"—"Morning hour hath gold in mouth," and should insist on having the German warships clear cut against the gold of sunrise.

The second point we wish to call attention to has a strong and somewhat sinister significance. It is indicated in the following passage of the Glasgow narrative: Beatty immediately also turned right round sixteen points so as to bring his ships parallel to the German battle-cruisers and facing in the same direction. Just before the turning point was reached, the Indefatigable sank, and the Queen Mary and the Invincible also were lost at the turning point, where, of course, the (German) High Seas Fleet concentrated their fire. The turning point—it is an astonishing phrase. So the English battle cruisers steamed around a fixed point, just as if they had been racing yachts rounding a buoy. And, "of course," the Germans were acute enough to notice this extraordinary fact, and "concentrate their fire" in the neighborhood of the imaginary buoy, in this way alone bringing about the high losses of the British fleet.

One calls to mind other facts. First, that the Lusitania was submarined while going over the identical course that she had habitually followed in time of peace; apparently fifty yards or so from the point she invariably passed, so that a fixed mine with a time-clock might almost have replaced the submarine, which had only to go to the "lane" the Lusitania always followed, and quietly wait for her. Second, that the Hampshire, on the fatal voyage which cost England the life of her greatest soldier, was announced as following the same course she had taken on several earlier trips between the Orkney Islands and the White Sea. Here, once again, it was simply a question of waiting by the roadside for the inevitable coming of the traveler.

There is, however, one compensating fact; for, in the Glasgow dispatch we are told that the Barham, Valiant, and Malaya turned short so as to avoid the danger spot where the Queen Mary and the Invincible had been lost. So far, good: but it irresistibly follows that, had the Queen Mary and the Invincible also turned short, they also would have been saved. The point deserves prayerful consideration by our own Admirals.

Beginning of the Austrian Debacle

FALLEN on evil days: on evil days fallen, and evil tongues"—some such phrase may well characterize the present fate of the aged Kaiser Franz Josef, now nearly 90, who, reigning since

1848, has suffered every dire disaster that can befall humanity. The proudest and haughtiest of men, he saw his age-old empire first beaten in war by upstart Prussia, then practically torn in two by the uprising of Hungary, then overshadowed by the brand-new Hohenzollern Empire, and finally tied to the chariot-wheel of the young, forceful power to the north. In his personal life he might stand as a central figure of the Greek drama of Nemesis, another Oedipus or Priam. His favorite brother was shot under the walls of Mexico; his favorite sister was burned to death in the dreadful fire at the Charity Bazaar in Paris; his son met a mysterious death, probably by his own hand; his wife was murdered. His grandnephew and heir was killed at Serajevo—and still the old man's pride was unbroken; haughtily, he sent his orders to the independent Kingdom of Serbia, haughtily he plunged all Europe into war, in satisfaction of that pride. And now comes the time to pay. In spite of famine and national bankruptcy, a supreme effort was made to smash the resistance of Italy, so long the victim of Austrian oppression; and it seemed, for a few days, that victory was coming there. From the Trentino, from the Cadore and Carnia sectors, came favorable news, only to be broken upon—as calamity came thick upon Job—by the news of ride disaster in the east, at the hands of Russia, whom Franz Josef defied in July, 1914. One-half of his army, it is announced, already destroyed or captured, surrendering in whole battalions and regiments at a time; and now, in the Trentino, also, fatal reverses. It is impossible not to feel a certain pity for the decrepit, hard, implacable old man whose pride is bringing his empire and himself to ruin.

The Sorrows of King Constantine

CABLES from Athens reveal the position of King Constantine of Greece as being in the last degree difficult, not to say perilous. The course in which he has steered the Hellenic ship of state, under the inspiration, it is supposed, of the Hohenzollern Princess whom he married, is showing itself to be pregnant with disaster. On May 27, as a result of a "deal" with the Teutonic Powers—that is, with his brother-in-law, Kaiser Wilhelm—King Constantine directed the officers of his army to give up to the Bulgarians, led by German officers, Forts Rupel, Dragotin and Spatovo, in the Struma valley, due north of the centre of the British position at Saloniki. In two directions came an instant reaction: the Allies blockaded his ports, and the Athenian population rose against him, openly protesting that he had sold Greek interests to the Germans, and had allowed the detested Bulgarians to occupy the sacred soil of Greece. For the act of his officers, the King is immediately responsible, since he is Commander in Chief of the army, and his Minister, Skouloudis, is governing without a Parliament and without the pretense of holding a Parliamentary majority. It is openly charged that the party in Athens which is supporting "the right of the crown" thus to deal with the fate of the Greek Nation is directed and paid by Germany. But the woes of Constantine do not end here. The blockade of the Allies was accompanied by the request that he should at once demobilize his army, and this he has been compelled to do, while it was in fact through the army that he had maintained his unconstitutional position for many months. He is now left in the air. Naturally, the only course left open was to fly; so he has fled to Larissa; never, perhaps, to return. Finally, the cost of keeping the army mobilized has bankrupted Greece, and the Teutons cannot help her, while the Allies, in view of Constantine's ambiguous policy, will not.

Russia's Naval Force in the Black Sea

THE rapidity with which Russia can drive westward toward her historic goal, Constantinople, from her Erzerum-Trebizond base very largely depends on her naval force in the Black Sea. In the approach to Trebizond, and in the taking of Trebizond itself, the land forces were effectively supported by the navy; and, as the road westward to Constantinople practically runs along the sea shore, the navy can co-operate at

every step of the way, besides keeping the water route open for the arrival of supplies and munitions from Southern Russia. It is, therefore, important to know just what naval forces Russia disposes of there. At the outbreak of the war Russia had, in the Black Sea, (and locked up in the Black Sea, by a treaty which forbade them to pass the Bosporus,) seven battleships of a certain age, five of which were in sufficiently good shape to engage in active, offensive operations; these five, running from 9,000 to 13,000 tons displacement, have a primary battery of 12-inch guns; there are also two protected cruisers, displacing 6,700 tons, and with a speed of twenty-two knots; these larger ships were supplemented by two dozen destroyers, ranging from 350 to 1,100 tons, and from twenty-six to thirty-one knots; and there were, in addition, a dozen torpedo boats of from 100 to 250 tons; to these should be added eight or ten submarines, some of which were fitted out for mine-laying. Besides these somewhat antiquated boats, the larger of which date from before the Russo-Japanese war, there were in construction, at Sebastopol or Nikolaieff, a group of much more modern and powerful ships; three dreadnoughts of the type of the Imperatritsa Mariya, displacing 23,000 tons, making twenty-one knots, and carrying twelve 12-inch guns; two swift cruisers displacing 6,800 tons, of the Admiral Lazareff type; nine new torpedo-boat destroyers and six submarines. It seems certain that two of these new dreadnoughts, the Imperatritsa Mariya and the Imperator Alexander III. or the Imperatritsa Ekaterina, are already in commission, and probably also one of the new cruisers; very probably also the five destroyers, and two or three of the new submarines. Russia is also well equipped with scout ships and hydro-aeroplanes in the Black Sea. It is evident, then, that the Russian land forces, marching by way of Sinope to Constantinople, along the very road traversed by Xenophon's Ten Thousand, will have effective backing so far as sea power is concerned.

Problem of the Austrian Generals

PETROGRAD dispatches announced, in the middle of June, that in the preceding fortnight the Russian troops had captured some 160,000 Austro-Hungarian soldiers "and one General." There is something mysterious in the combination. For the captures are equivalent to four full army corps, which would have, to begin with, four Generals commanding corps; then twice as many Generals commanding divisions, (half corps;) and yet twice as many Generals of brigade, (half divisions;) or twenty-eight Generals in all. One was captured. Where are the twenty-seven? It will be remembered that, when Przemysl capitulated, in the early Spring of 1915, several Generals were captured, besides the commander of the fort; practically the full complement of division and brigade commanders. A dispatch from Petrograd suggests a solution: The small number of commanding officers captured in proportion to the number of soldiers is attributed by military experts to the confusion existing in the Austrian armies, due to the suddenness and energy of the Russian drive. It shows, it is argued, that the officers lost control of the men and abandoned them to their fate at critical moments. If this be so, and otherwise the mystery remains insoluble, then the name of the "one General captured," who did not "leave his men to their fate," should be given to the world, and added to the war's roll of honor. For anything more unsoldierly than the conduct of a general officer (or, indeed, any officer) who abandoned his men to their fate, while he himself made a "strategical withdrawal," it would be difficult to imagine. If there be in reality any such spirit in the Austro-Hungarian Army, the extraordinary totals announced by the Russian General Staff become more explicable. It will be remembered that, when Przemysl surrendered, there were stories of officers lounging in hotels, while their men starved in the trenches. Let the name of the "one General" be given to the world.

The Greatest Naval Battle

Narrative of the Historic Engagement in the North Sea Between German and British Fleets

WHETHER the North Sea battle of May 31 shall go down in history as the Battle of Jutland or as the Battle of the Skagerrak may depend upon the outcome of the war and the nationality of the dominant historian, but under any name it will be known to future generations as the greatest naval engagement thus far in modern history, as judged by lives lost, tonnage engaged, and values destroyed. Yet it was an indecisive battle, calling, perhaps, for a still greater one to follow.

For nearly two years the British Grand Fleet had been watching in the mists of the North Sea for a chance to engage the German High Seas Fleet, which lay secure in the Baltic behind the mine fields and coast defenses of Heligoland and the Kiel Canal. The world had almost ceased to expect the great naval battle which had been looked for daily in the early weeks of the war. Suddenly, in the afternoon of Wednesday, May 31, a British battle cruiser squadron under Admiral Sir David Beatty, scouting about seventy-five miles off the Danish coast and the entrance to the Skagerrak, sighted a part of the German High Seas Fleet approaching in battle array. It was in command of Vice Admiral Reinhard Scheer, with Vice Admiral Hipper in charge of the German cruiser squadron.

BOTH EAGER TO FIGHT

Without hesitation on either side the titanic struggle was joined, the first shots being exchanged at a distance of twelve miles. Soon the whole German fleet came in sight, and the British cruiser squadron, built for speed, and not intended for direct conflict with the heavier battleships, found itself for a time outmatched, but did not flinch.

Calling by wireless for Admiral Jellicoe's Grand Fleet, then several hundred miles away to the northwest, Admiral Beatty on his flagship Lion and Admiral H. A. L. Hood on his flagship Invincible led the attack upon the enemy. Fortunately for them, they were supported by four new superdreadnoughts, which figure in the dispatches as " the Elizabeths." They were the Queen Elizabeth, Warspite, Barham, and Malaya, four of the five monsters launched last year, ships of 27,500 tons displacement, heavily armored, and carrying fifteen-inch guns. Being only a few miles away, they were soon in the fight, and played an important part in it, though greatly outnumbered by the dreadnoughts of the German fleet.

A TEMPEST OF DEATH

Throughout the waning afternoon and the long northern evening the battle raged amid a hurricane of sound, as the two fleets steamed swiftly in battle formation past each other, most of the time at a distance of eight miles—a comparatively short range for high-power guns—each vessel pouring forth an endless stream of great explosive shells aimed with the deadly skill of modern instruments of precision. A shell plunged through the steel armor of the swift battle cruiser Queen Mary, her magazine exploded, and the splendid ship, almost the latest of its class, buckled up and sank like a stone with its thousand men. The Indefatigable went next, in much the same way, and a little later the Invincible, with gallant Admiral Hood and his crew of 750 men, was sent to the bottom.

The armored cruiser Warrior was helpless and rapidly being pounded to pieces by the concentrated fire of several heavy German ships when the Warspite dashed in, circled around it, took the brunt of the attack, and saved the crew of the Warrior, though that vessel sank on the way to port. It is not strange that the Germans refused later to believe that the Warspite itself escaped after what it passed through.

In the German fleet also brave men were giving up their lives. The battle

cruiser Lützow, a match for the Queen Mary in size and power, was among those that never returned to Kiel. So were the battleship Pommern and three smaller cruisers. The Frauenlob, struck by a torpedo in the night, went down in ten minutes with all but eight of its crew.

The tide of battle favored the Germans until 6 o'clock in the evening, when Admiral Jellicoe and the heavy dreadnoughts of the Grand Fleet arrived and turned the odds of weight and metal in favor of the British. For nearly four hours the British battle cruisers had held their own against superior strength.

With the arrival of the main British fleet the Germans gradually withdrew toward their base, keeping up a running fight, until Admiral Jellicoe thought it unwise to follow further in the direction of the enemy's mine fields. Through the remainder of the night the "mosquito fleets" of both navies—the frail but deadly little destroyers whose stings are torpedoes—harassed the enemy and did further damage by dint of heroic risks and lavish sacrifice of their own lives.

The next day the German fleet returned to its base claiming a victory, and the British fleet returned to its station near the Orkneys, also claiming a virtual victory, holding that its loss of fourteen vessels and 6,000 men was counterbalanced by a corresponding amount of damage done to the enemy. The battle of words that followed is thus far as indecisive as the fight off the Skagerrak, as it is impossible to tell whether one or both sides may not still be concealing losses. The damage admitted in official reports at the present writing is as follows:

ADMITTED LOSSES—BRITISH

Name.	Tonnage.	Personnel.*
Queen Mary (battle cruiser)	27,000	1,000
Indefatigable (battle cruiser)	18,750	800
Invincible (battle cruiser)	17,250	750
Defense (armored cruiser)	14,600	755
Warrior (armored cruiser)	13,550	704
Black Prince (armored cruiser)	13,550	704
Tipperary (destroyer)	1,850	150
Turbulent (destroyer)	1,850	150
Shark (destroyer)	950	100
Sparrowhawk (destroyer)	950	100
Ardent (destroyer)	950	100
Fortune (destroyer)	950	100
Nomad (destroyer)	950	100
Nestor (destroyer)	950	100
BRITISH TOTALS		
Battle cruisers	63,000	2,550
Armored cruisers	41,700	2,163
Destroyers	9,400	900
Fourteen ships	114,100	5,613

ADMITTED LOSSES—GERMAN

Name.	Tonnage.	Personnel.†
Lützow (battle cruiser)	26,600	‡1,200
Pommern (battleship)	13,200	729
Wiesbaden (cruiser)	5,600	‡450
Frauenlob (cruiser)	2,715	264
Elbing (cruiser)	5,000	‡450
Rostock (cruiser)	4,900	373
Five destroyers	5,000	‡500
GERMAN TOTALS		
Battle cruisers	39,800	1,929
Cruisers	18,215	1,537
Destroyers	5,000	500
Eleven ships	63,015	3,966

*Few survivors. †Many survivors. ‡Estimated.

The Germans reported the destruction of the British superdreadnought Warspite and battleship Marlborough, but these vessels, though damaged, were later announced by the British Admiralty to be safe in port. The British insisted, on the other hand, that the German dreadnoughts Hindenburg and Westfalen were sunk, besides one submarine and several additional destroyers. These losses are denied by the Germans. The official reports on both sides, given below, contain many irreconcilable statements, and are largely concerned with attempts to estimate the losses of the enemy. The German official figures for the human losses on both sides are as follows:

TOTAL LOSSES OF MEN

BRITISH	
Dead or missing	6,104
Wounded	513
Total	6,617
GERMAN	
Dead or missing	2,414
Wounded	449
Total	2,863

LOSS IN MONEY VALUE
(Rough estimate.)

British	$115,000,000
German	63,000,000
Total	$178,000,000

GERMAN OFFICIAL REPORT

The first German Admiralty report of the battle was issued on Thursday, June 1, and reads as follows:

Berlin, June 1, 1916.

During an enterprise directed to the northward our high sea fleet on May 31 encountered the main part of the English fighting fleet, which was considerably superior to our forces.

During the afternoon, between Skagerrak and Horn Riff, a heavy engagement developed, which was successful to us, and which continued during the whole night.

In this engagement, so far as known up to the present, there were destroyed by us the large battleship Warspite, the battle cruisers Queen Mary and Indefatigable, two armored cruisers, apparently of the Achilles type; one small cruiser, the new flagships of destroyer squadrons, the Turbulent, Nestor, and Alcaster, a large number of torpedo-boat destroyers, and one submarine.

By observation, which was free and clear of objects, it was stated that a large number of English battleships suffered damage from our ships and the attacks of our torpedo-boat flotilla during the day engagement and throughout the night. Among others, the large battleship Marlborough was hit by a torpedo. This was confirmed by prisoners.

Several of our ships rescued parts of the crews of the sunken English ships, among them being two and the only survivors of the Indefatigable.

On our side the small cruiser Wiesbaden, by hostile gunfire during the day engagement, and his Majesty's ship Pommern, during the night, as the result of a torpedo, were sunk.

The fate of his Majesty's ship Frauenlob, which is missing, and of some torpedo boats, which have not returned yet, is unknown.

The High Sea Fleet returned today (Thursday) into our port.

BRITISH OFFICIAL REPORT

The first report of the British Admiralty was issued a day later, and is as follows:

London, June 2, 1916.

On the afternoon of Wednesday, the 31st of May, a naval engagement took place off the coast of Jutland.

The British ships on which the brunt of the fighting fell were the battle cruiser fleet and some cruisers and light cruisers, supported by four fast battleships. Among these the losses were heavy.

The German battle fleet, aided by low visibility, avoided a prolonged action with our main forces. As soon as these appeared on the scene the enemy returned to port, though not before receiving severe damage from our battleships.

The battle cruisers Queen Mary, Indefatigable, and Invincible, and the cruisers Defense and Black Prince were sunk.

The Warrior was disabled, and after being towed for some time had to be abandoned by her crew.

It is also known that the destroyers Tipperary, Turbulent, Fortune, Sparrowhawk, and Ardent were lost, and six others are not yet accounted for.

No British battleships or light cruisers were sunk.

The enemy's losses were serious. At least one battle cruiser was destroyed and one was severely damaged. One battleship is reported to have been sunk by our destroyers.

During the night attack two light cruisers were disabled and probably sunk.

The exact number of enemy destroyers disposed of during the action cannot be ascertained with any certainty, but must have been large.

Later this further statement was published:

Since the foregoing communication was issued a further report has been received from the Commander in Chief of the Grand Fleet stating that it has now been ascertained that our total losses in destroyers amount to eight boats in all.

The Commander in Chief also reports that it is now possible to form a closer estimate of the losses and the damage sustained by the enemy fleet.

One dreadnought battleship of the Kaiser class was blown up in an attack by British destroyers and another dreadnought battleship of the Kaiser class is believed to have been sunk by gunfire. Of three German battle cruisers, two of which are believed were the Derfflinger and the Lützow, one was blown up, another was heavily engaged by our battle fleet and was seen to be disabled and stopping, and the third was observed to be seriously damaged.

One German light cruiser and six German destroyers were sunk, and at least two more German light cruisers were seen to be disabled. Further repeated hits were observed on three other German battleships that were engaged.

Finally, a German submarine was rammed and sunk.

A SECOND STATEMENT

The Chief of the German Admiralty Staff issued this secondary statement on June 3:

In order to prevent fabulous reports, it is again stated that in the battle off Skagerrak on May 31 the German high sea forces were in battle with the entire modern English fleet.

To the already published statements it must be added that, according to the official British report, the battle cruiser Invincible and the armored cruiser Warrior were also destroyed.

We were obliged to blow up the small cruiser Elbing, which, on the night of May 31-June 1, owing to a collision with other German war vessels, was heavily damaged, and

it was impossible to take her to port. The crew was rescued by torpedo boats, with the exception of the commander, two other officers, and eighteen men, who remained aboard in order to blow up the vessel. According to Dutch reports they were later brought to Ymuiden on a tug and landed there.

"GERMAN ACCOUNTS FALSE"

The British Admiralty's next statement, dated June 4, impugns the truth of the German report in these terms:

The Grand Fleet came in touch with the German High Seas Fleet at 3:30 on the afternoon of May 31. The leading ships of the two fleets carried on a vigorous fight, in which the battle cruisers, fast battleships, and subsidiary craft all took an active part.

The losses were severe on both sides, but when the main body of the British fleet came into contact with the German High Seas Fleet, a very brief period sufficed to compel the latter, who had been severely punished, to seek refuge in their protected waters. This manoeuvre was rendered possible by low visibility and mist, and, although the Grand Fleet were now and then able to get in momentary contact with their opponents, no continuous action was possible. They continued the pursuit until the light had wholly failed, while the British destroyers were able to make a successful attack upon the enemy during the night.

Meanwhile, Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, having driven the enemy into port, returned to the main scene of the action and scoured the sea in search of disabled vessels. By noon the next day, June 1, it became evident that there was nothing more to be done. He returned, therefore, to his bases, 400 miles away, refueled his fleet, and in the evening of June 2 was again ready to put to sea.

The British losses have already been fully stated. There is nothing to add to or subtract from the latest account published by the Admiralty. The enemy losses are less easy to determine. That the accounts they have given to the world are false is certain, and we cannot yet be sure of the exact truth. But from such evidence as has come to our knowledge, the Admiralty entertains no doubt that the German losses are heavier than the British, not merely relatively to the strength of the two fleets, but absolutely.

There seems to be the strongest ground for supposing that included in the German losses are two battleships, two dreadnought battle cruisers of the most powerful type, two of the latest light cruisers, the Wiesbaden and Elbing; a light cruiser of the Rostock type, the light cruiser Frauenlob, nine destroyers, and a submarine.

To this was added the following on June 6:

An official statement given out in Berlin today, signed "Fleet Command," claims the British lost the Warspite, Princess Royal, Birmingham, and Acasta in the action of May 31. This is claimed on the evidence of British sailors picked up by German ships.

This is false. The complete list of British losses is as published.

The German Admiralty, in an official statement issued on June 2, stated that, among other casualties, a British submarine was sunk in the course of the battle during the afternoon and night of May 31.

All British submarines at sea on that date have now returned. It must, therefore, be assumed, if any importance is to be attached to the German official statement, that the submarine sunk was an enemy submarine. This vessel should be added to the list of German losses stated in the British Admiralty communiqué of June 4.

LUETZOW AND ROSTOCK

An official German statement admitting the loss of the Lützow and Rostock was issued June 8. The losses of the British are again said to have been heavier than admitted by them. The official writer continues:

It is asserted, for instance, that the German fleet left the battlefield and that the English fleet remained master of the battlefield. With regard to this it is stated that by repeated, effective attacks of our torpedo-boat flotillas during the battle on the evening of May 31 the English main fleet was forced to turn around, and it never again came within sight of our forces. In spite of its superior speed and reinforcement by an English squadron of twelve vessels, which came up from the southern North Sea, it never attempted to come again into touch with our forces to continue the battle or attempt in conjunction with the above-mentioned squadron to bring about the desired destruction of the German fleet.

The English assertion that the English fleet in vain attempted to reach the fleeing German fleet in order to defeat it before reaching its home points of support is contradicted by the alleged official English statement that Admiral Jellicoe, with his Grand Fleet, already had reached the basin of Scalpa Flow, in the Orkneys, 300 miles from the battlefield, on June 1.

Numerous German torpedo-boat flotillas sent out after the day battle for a night attack toward the north, and beyond the theatre of the day battle, did not find the English main fleet in spite of a keen search. Moreover, our torpedo boats had an opportunity of rescuing a great number of English survivors of the various sunken vessels.

As further proof of the fact, contested by the English, of the participation of their entire battle fleet in the battle of May 31, it is pointed out that the British Admiralty report too announced that the Marlborough had been disabled. Furthermore, one of our submarines on June 1 sighted another of the Iron

Duke class heavily damaged steering toward the English coast. Both mentioned vessels belonged to the English main fleet.

In order to belittle the great German success the English press also traces the loss of numerous English vessels largely to the effect of German mines, submarines, and airships. Regarding this, it is especially pointed out that neither mines, which, by the way, would have been just as dangerous to our own fleet as to that of the enemy, nor submarines were employed by our High Seas Fleet. German airships were used exclusively for reconnoissance on June 1.

The German victory was gained by able leadership and by the effect of our artillery and torpedo weapons.

Until now we have refrained from contradicting many of the alleged official English assertions regarding the German losses. The latest assertion, again and again repeated, is that the German fleet lost not less than two vessels of the Kaiser class, the Westfalen, two battle cruisers, four small cruisers, and a great number of torpedo-boat destroyers. Moreover, the British indicate that the Pommern, which we reported lost, is not the ship of the line of 13,000 tons from the year 1905, but a modern dreadnought of the same name. We state that the total loss of the German high sea forces during the battle of May 31-June 1 and the following time are: One battle cruiser, one ship of the line of older construction, four small cruisers, and five torpedo boats. Of these losses, the Pommern, launched in 1905; the Wiesbaden, Elbing, Frauenlob, and five torpedo boats already have been reported in official statements. For military reasons, we refrained until now from making public the losses of the vessels Lützow and Rostock.

In view of the wrong interpretation of this measure, and, moreover, in order to frustrate English legends about gigantic losses on our side, these reasons must no longer be regarded. Both ships were lost on the way to the harbor, to be repaired after attempts to keep the badly damaged vessels afloat had failed. The crews of both, including all the severely wounded, are safe.

While the German list of losses is herewith closed, there are positive indications at hand that the actual British losses were materially higher than admitted. It has been established by us on the basis of our own observations and of what has been made public, as well as from statements of British prisoners, that, in addition to the Warspite, the Princess Royal and Birmingham were destroyed. According to reliable reports, the dreadnought Marlborough also sank before reaching harbor.

The high sea battle of the Skagerrak remains a German victory, which it already was even if the conclusions were based solely on the losses of ships admitted officially by the British. The total loss of 69,720 tons of German warships stands against that of 117,750 tons for the British.

CHIEF OF THE ADMIRALTY STAFF.

JELLICOE TO HIS MEN

In a message to the men of the British fleet, given out officially on June 12, Admiral Sir John Jellicoe declared that the glorious traditions handed down by generations of gallant British seamen had been most worthily upheld, and that he was more proud than ever of commanding a navy manned by such officers and men. He added:

Weather conditions that were highly unfavorable robbed the fleet of the complete victory expected by all ranks. Our losses were heavy. We miss many most gallant comrades. But although it is difficult to obtain accurate information as to the enemy's losses, I have no doubt we shall find they certainly were not less than our own. Sufficient information already has been received for me to make that statement with confidence.

Mr. Asquith also spoke in a similar vein on June 14 in an address celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of his election to the House of Commons:

Owing to the rashness of the enemy we were allowed to see another and more stirring, dramatic aspect of the navy's qualities a fortnight ago. The naval action of May 31 was worthy of the best and most treasured traditions of the British Navy. The Germans were driven back into their ports without so much as making an effort to grapple with the main body of our Grand Fleet, and had the temerity to claim what really was a rout as a complete victory. A couple more such victories and there will be nothing left of the German Navy worth speaking about. The truth is slowly leaking out, and its full extent is not yet realized or appreciated. Our command of the seas, so far from being impaired, has been more firmly and unshakably established.

GERMANY'S REPLY

To Jellicoe's assertion that Germany's losses were as great as those of Britain the Admiralty at Berlin retorted on June 15 with the following definite figures:

Against this we point out the comparison of losses officially published on the 7th, showing a total loss in tonnage of German war vessels of 60,720, against the British loss of 117,150, where only those English vessels and destroyers were taken into account whose losses until now have been officially admitted on the English side.

According to statements of English prisoners, further vessels were sunk, among them the dreadnought Warspite.

No other German vessels were lost than those made public. They are the Lützow,

Pommern, Wiesbaden, Frauenlob, Elbing, Rostock, and five torpedo boats. This shows that the human losses to the English in the battle were considerably greater than the German.

While from the English side the officer losses announced were 343 dead or missing and 51 wounded, our losses in officers, engineers, sanitary officers, paymasters, ensigns, and petty officers, are 172 dead or missing and 41 wounded.

The total losses among the English crews as far as published by the Admiralty are 6,104 dead or missing, 513 wounded. On the German side the losses are 2,414 dead or missing, 449 wounded.

During and after the battle our vessels rescued 177 English, while up to now no German prisoners from this battle are known to be in English hands. The names of the English prisoners will be communicated to the British Government in the usual manner.

British Semi-Official Story of Great Sea Fight

Thus far the best informal British account of the battle of Jutland in detail is that which appeared in The Glasgow Herald and which evidently has official authority behind it.

FIRST PHASE, 3:30 P. M., May 31.—Beatty's battle cruisers, consisting of the Lion, Princess Royal, Queen Mary, Tiger, Inflexible, Indomitable, Invincible, Indefatigable, and New Zealand, were on a southeasterly course, followed at about two miles distance by the four Queen Elizabeths.

Enemy light cruisers were sighted and shortly afterward the head of the German battle cruiser squadron, consisting of the new cruiser Hindenburg, the Seydlitz, Derfflinger, Lützow, Moltke, and possibly the Salamis.

Beatty at once began firing at a range of about 20,000 yards, (twelve miles,) which shortened to 16,000 yards (nine miles) as the fleets closed. The Germans could see the British distinctly outlined against the light yellow sky. The Germans, covered by a haze, could be very indistinctly made out by our gunners.

The Queen Elizabeths opened fire on one after another as they came within range. The German battle cruisers turned to port and drew away to about 20,000 yards.

Second Phase, 4:40 P. M.—A destroyer screen then appeared beyond the German battle cruisers. The whole German High Seas Fleet could be seen approaching on the northeastern horizon in three divisions, coming to the support of their battle cruisers.

The German battle cruisers now turned right round 16 points and took station in front of the battleships of the high fleet.

Beatty with his battle cruisers and supporting battleships, therefore, had before him the whole of the German battle fleet, and Jellicoe was still some distance away.

The opposing fleets were now moving parallel to one another in opposite directions, and but for a master manoeuvre on the part of Beatty the British advance ships would have been cut off from Jellicoe's grand fleet. In order to avoid this and at the same time prepare the way so that Jellicoe might envelop his adversary, Beatty immediately also turned right around 16 points, so as to bring his ships parallel to the German battle cruisers and facing in the same direction.

As soon as he was around he increased to full speed to get ahead of the Germans and take up a tactical position in advance of their line. He was able to do this owing to the superior speed of our battle cruisers.

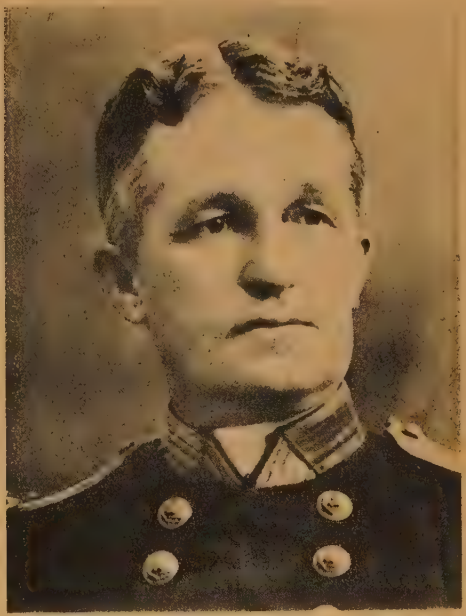
Just before the turning point was reached, the Indefatigable sank, and the Queen Mary and the Invincible also were lost at the turning point, where, of course, the High Seas Fleet concentrated their fire.

A little earlier, as the German battle cruisers were turning, the Queen Elizabeths had in similar manner concentrated their fire on the turning point and destroyed a new German battle cruiser, believed to be the Hindenburg.

Beatty had now got around and headed away with the loss of three ships, racing parallel to the German battle cruisers. The Queen Elizabeths followed behind, engaging the main High Seas Fleet.

COMMANDERS IN NORTH SEA BATTLE

Admiral Horace Hood, Who Went Down With the Invincible
(Photo © Underwood & Underwood.)



Admiral Sir David Beatty, Commander of Squadron That Bore the Brunt of the Fighting
(© American Press Association.)

Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, Commander in Chief of the British Fleet
(© Elliott & Fry.)

Admiral von Capelle, Successor to Admiral von Tirpitz as Head of the German Navy

WARSHIPS SENT TO THE BOTTOM

The Hampshire, British Armored Cruiser, Sunk by a Mine Off the Orkneys With Lord Kitchener and Staff

(Photos from Underwood & Underwood.)

The Pommern, German Battleship, 13,200 Tons

The Queen Mary, British Battle Cruiser, 27,000 Tons

Third Phase, 5 P. M.—The Queen Elizabeths now turned short to port 16 points in order to follow Beatty. The Warspite jammed her steering gear, failed to get around, and drew the fire of six of the enemy, who closed in upon her.

"I am not surprised that the Germans claim her as a loss, since on paper she ought to have been lost, but as a matter of fact, though repeatedly straddled by shell fire with the water boiling up all around her, she was not seriously hit, and was able to sink one of her opponents. Her Captain recovered control of the vessel, brought her around, and followed her consorts.

In the meantime the Barham, Valiant, and Malaya turned short so as to avoid the danger spot where the Queen Mary and the Invincible had been lost, and for an hour until Jellicoe arrived fought a delaying action against the High Seas Fleet.

The Warspite joined them at about 5:15 o'clock, and all four ships were so successfully manoeuvred in order to upset the spotting corrections of their opponents that no hits of a seriously disabling character were suffered. They had the speed over their opponents by fully four knots, and were able to draw away from part of the long line of German battleships, which almost filled up the horizon.

At this time the Queen Elizabeths were steadily firing at the flashes of German guns at a range which varied between 12,000 and 15,000 yards, especially against those ships which were nearest them. The Germans were enveloped in a mist, and only smoke and flashes were visible.

By 5:45 half of the High Seas Fleet had been left out of range, and the Queen Elizabeths were steaming fast to join hands with Jellicoe.

I must now return to Beatty's battle cruisers. They had succeeded in outflanking the German battle cruisers, which were, therefore, obliged to turn a full right angle to starboard to avoid being headed.

Heavy fighting was renewed between the opposing battle cruiser squadrons, during which the Derfflinger was sunk; but toward 6 o'clock the German fire slackened very considerably, showing that Beatty's battle cruisers and the Queen Elizabeths had inflicted serious damage on their immediate opponents.

Fourth Phase, 6 P. M.—The Grand Fleet was now in sight, and, coming up fast in three directions, the Queen Elizabeths altered their course four points to the starboard and drew in toward the enemy to allow Jellicoe room to deploy into line.

The Grand Fleet was perfectly manoeuvred and the very difficult operation of deploying between the battle cruisers and the Queen Elizabeths was perfectly timed.

Jellicoe came up, fell in behind Beatty's cruisers, and, followed by the damaged but still serviceable Queen Elizabeths, steamed right across the head of the German fleet.

The first of the ships to come into action were the Revenue and the Royal Oak with their fifteen-inch guns, and the Agincourt, which fired from her seven turrets with the speed almost of a Maxim gun.

The whole British fleet had now become concentrated. They had been perfectly maneouvred, so as to "cross the T" of the High Seas Fleet, and, indeed, only decent light was necessary to complete their work of destroying the Germans in detail. The light did improve for a few minutes, and the conditions were favorable to the British fleet, which was now in line approximately north and south across the head of the Germans.

During the few minutes of good light Jellicoe smashed up the first three German ships, but the mist came down, visibility suddenly failed, and the defeated High Seas Fleet was able to draw off in ragged divisions.

Fifth Phase, Night.—The Germans were followed by the British, who still had them enveloped between Jellicoe on the west, Beatty on the north, and Evan Thomas with his three Queen Elizabeths on the south. The Warspite had been sent back to her base.

During the night our torpedo boat destroyers heavily attacked the German

ships, and, although they lost seriously themselves, succeeded in sinking two of the enemy.

Co-ordination of the units of the fleet was practically impossible to keep up, and the Germans discovered by the rays of their searchlights the three Queen Elizabeths, not more than 4,000 yards away. Unfortunately they were then able to escape between the battleships and Jellicoe, since we were not able to fire, as our own destroyers were in the way.

So ended the Jutland battle, which was fought as had been planned and very nearly a great success. It was spoiled by the unfavorable weather conditions, especially at the critical moment, when the whole British fleet was concentrated and engaged in crushing the head of the German line.

It was an action on our part of big guns, except of course for the destroyer work, since at a very early stage our big ships ceased to feel any anxiety from the German destroyers. The German small craft were rounded up by their British opponents and soon ceased to count as an organized body.

German Semi-Official Narrative

A semi-official account of the battle of the Skagerrak, issued in Berlin on June 5, gives a very different version of certain aspects of the fight, especially of the number of vessels engaged on both sides:

THE German High Seas Fleet had pushed out into the North Sea in the hope of engaging portions of the English fleet, which had recently been repeatedly reported off the Norwegian south coast. At 3:15 o'clock in the afternoon, some seventy miles off the Skagerrak, some small cruisers of the Calliope class were sighted. Our cruisers at once pursued the enemy, which fled northward at highest speed.

At 5:20 o'clock our cruisers sighted two enemy columns to the west, consisting of six battle cruisers and a great number of small cruisers. The enemy passed toward the south, and our ships, approaching to nineteen kilometers, opened very effective fire on south-southeastern courses. During the battle two English battle cruisers and one destroyer were sunk.

After half an hour's fighting heavy enemy reinforcements, later observed to be five vessels of the Queen Elizabeth class, were sighted to the north. Soon afterward the German main force entered the fight, and the enemy at once turned north.

The British commander, driving his ships at full speed, attempted to evade our extremely effective fire by taking an echelon formation. Our fleet followed at top speed the movements of the enemy. In the course of this period of the fighting one cruiser of the Achilles or Shannon class and two destroyers were sunk, while a number of other vessels suffered heavy damage.

The battle against superior forces lasted until darkness fell. Besides numerous light detachments, at least twenty-five British battleships, six battle cruisers, and four armored cruisers engaged sixteen German battleships, five battle cruisers, six older ships of the line, and no armored cruisers.

After dark our flotillas opened a night attack. During this attack several cruiser and torpedo boat engagements occurred, resulting in the destruction of one battle cruiser, one cruiser of the Achilles class, probably two small cruisers, and at least ten destroyers. Six of the latter, including the new destroyer leaders, the Turbulent and the Tipperary, were destroyed by the leading vessels of our High Seas Fleet.

The British squadron of older battleships, which hurried up from the south, did not arrive until Thursday morning, after the conclusion of the battle, and returned without taking any part in the fighting or coming within sight of our main force.

Kaiser and King Thank Their Naval Fighters

In an address at Wilhelmshaven on June 6 Emperor William congratulated the sailors of the German Navy on their achievement in the North Sea in the following terms:

WHENEVER in past years I visited my fleet at Wilhelmshaven I always rejoiced from the depths of my heart at the sight of the growing fleet and the growing harbor. I looked with satisfaction upon the young crews drawn up in the drill shed, ready to take the oath. Many thousands of you I have seen eye to eye with your supreme commander when taking the oath. He reminded you of your duty, your task, but above all of the fact that when the German fleet went to war it would have to fight against gigantic odds.

This consciousness has become a tradition with the fleet, as it has been with the army from the time of Frederick the Great. Prussia, as well as Germany, has always been surrounded by superior enemies. Therefore it was possible to forge our nation into one mass, which hoarded up in itself endless forces ready to let loose when necessity demanded.

When the great war came envious enemies suddenly attacked the Fatherland. The army, by desperate fighting against powerful foes, slowly conquered them one after another. But the fleet waited in vain for a real fight. In numerous individual encounters the navy clearly demonstrated its heroic spirit, but was forced to wait month after month for a general battle.

Repeated efforts were made to bring the enemy out, but they proved fruitless until the day finally came last week when the gigantic fleet of Albion, ruler of the seas since Trafalgar was fought 100 years ago, appeared in the open, surrounded by a nimbus. Instantly our fleet engaged this superior British armada, and with what result? The English fleet was beaten. The first big blow was dealt the English fleet, whose tyrannical supremacy was shattered.

The news electrified the world and caused unprecedented jubilation everywhere that German hearts beat. Your success in the North Sea fight means that you have added a new chapter to the history of the world. God Almighty steeled your arm and gave you clear eyes to accomplish this.

I, standing here today as your supreme War Lord, thank you from the bottom of my heart. As the representative of the Fatherland I thank you, and in the name of my army I bring you its greetings because you have done your duty unselfishly and only with the one thought that the enemy must be beaten.

At a time when the enemy is slowly being crushed before Verdun and when our allies have driven the Italians from mountain to mountain, you add new glories to our cause. The world was prepared for everything, but not for the victory of the German fleet over the English. The start which you have made will cause fear to creep into the bones of the enemy. What you have done you did for the Fatherland, that in the future it may have freedom of the seas for its commerce. Therefore I ask you to join me in three cheers for our dearly beloved Fatherland.

On the occasion of King George's birthday, June 3, Admiral Jellicoe sent him the heartfelt good wishes of the Grand Fleet, to which the English King replied:

I am deeply touched by the message you have sent in behalf of the Grand Fleet. It reaches me on the morrow of a battle which once more displayed the splendid gallantry of the officers and men under your command.

I mourn the loss of the brave men, many of them personal friends of my own, who have fallen in their country's cause. Yet even more do I regret that the German High Seas Fleet, in spite of its heavy losses, was enabled by misty weather to evade the full consequences of the encounter.

They always professed a desire for a battle, for which, when the opportunity arrived, they showed no inclination. Though the retirement of the enemy im-

mediately after the opening of a general engagement robbed us of the opportunity of gaining a decisive victory, the events of last Wednesday amply justify my confidence in the valor and efficiency of the fleet under your command.

GEORGE R. I.

The German Emperor sent this message to Grand Admiral von Tirpitz, former Minister of the Navy (recently succeeded by von Capelle):

After visiting my fleet, which returned victoriously from a heavy battle, I feel I must again declare to you my imperial thanks for what you have performed in my service in the technical domain and the domain of organization. Our ships and weapons upheld themselves brilliantly in the battle in the North Sea. It is also for you a day of glory.

To Grand Admiral von Koester, former commander of the German Navy, the Kaiser sent this message:

From the fleet flagship, the old fleet chief, my imperial salutations. You laid the foundation for the careful employment of all weapons and the tactical training of the fleet. Building on your work and cultivating the spirit implanted by you, your successors have further developed the fleet to a living war instrument that stood so brilliantly its trial fire. The consciousness of having sowed such seed must be a great source of gratification to you.

[The German Emperor has promoted Vice Admiral Reinhard Scheer, commander of the German fleet in the engagement of May 31, to be a full Admiral. Scheer had assumed temporary command when the late Admiral von Pohl was forced to resign on account of illness. Vice Admiral Hipper has been awarded the Order Pour le Mérite, and war decorations of various kinds have been bestowed upon officers and men who distinguished themselves in the battle.]

Germany's Only Direct News Connection with the American Continents

Since the outbreak of the war, when all German cables were cut, the wireless station at Sayville, L. I., has been the sole means of communication—free from British censorship—between Germany and the United States. The Sayville station works direct with the station at Nauen, just outside of Berlin, daily, except for frequent static interruptions. Since the plant was seized by the Federal Government no commercial business has been permitted. The dispatches are confined to Government and official communications, a portion of which are the German war bulletins furnished daily to The Associated Press. The plant is now inclosed by a great fence with only one gate, and is guarded by a platoon of United States soldiers, and all matter is censored by an American officer, although the operators are Germans.

Fate of Lord Kitchener

FIELD MARSHAL LORD HORATIO HERBERT KITCHENER, the British Secretary of State for War, perished with his staff off the West Orkney Islands on June 5 by the sinking of the British cruiser Hampshire, which struck a mine and went down fifteen minutes later. The entire crew was also lost except twelve men—a warrant officer and eleven seamen—who were found half dead from cold and exhaustion on a raft washed ashore the following day.

Earl Kitchener was en route to Russia at the request of the Russian Government. He intended to land at Archangel and visit Petrograd, expecting to be back in London by June 20. He was accompanied by Hugh James O'Beirne, former counselor of the British Embassy at Petrograd; O. A. Fitzgerald, his military secretary; Brigadier Gen. Ellershaw, and Sir Frederick Donaldson, all of whom were lost. Sir William Robertson, Chief of the Imperial Staff, had taken over the duties of the office during his absence, and at this writing is still in charge. It is reported that the office of Secretary of War has been tendered to David Lloyd George, Minister of Munitions.

The tragic death of Earl Kitchener created a profound sensation throughout the world. It was not until a week later that the details of the tragedy became known. Leading Seaman Rogerson, one of the twelve survivors, described Lord Kitchener's last moments as follows:

Of those who left the ship and have survived I was the one who saw Lord Kitchener last. He went down with the ship. He did not leave her. I saw Captain Savill help his boat's crew to clear away his galley. At the same time the Captain was calling to Lord Kitchener to come to the boat, but owing to the noise made by the wind and sea Lord Kitchener could not hear him, I think.

When the explosion occurred Kitchener walked calmly from the Captain's cabin, went up the ladder and on to the quarterdeck. There I saw him walking quite collectedly, talking to two of the officers. All three were wearing khaki and had no overcoats on.

Kitchener calmly watched the preparations for abandoning the ship which were going on in a steady and orderly way. The crew just went to their stations, obeyed orders, and did their best to get out the boats, but it was impossible. Owing to the rough weather no boats could be lowered. Those that were got out were smashed up at once. No boats left the ship. What people on the shore thought to be boats leaving were rafts.

Men did get into the boats as these lay in their cradles, thinking that as the ship went under the boats would float. But the ship sank by the head, and when she went she turned a somersault forward, carrying down with her all the boats and those in them.

I do not think Kitchener got into a boat. When I sprang to a raft he was still on the starboard side of the quarterdeck talking with the officers. From the little time that elapsed between my leaving the ship and her sinking, I feel certain Kitchener went down with her and was on deck at the time she sank.

Of the civilian members of his suite I saw nothing. I got away on one of the rafts, and we had a terrible five hours in the water. It was so rough that the seas beat down on us and many men were killed by the buffeting. Many others died from the piercing cold. I was quite numbed, and an overpowering desire to sleep came upon us. To keep this away we thumped each other on the back, for the man who went to sleep never woke again.

When men died it was just as though they were falling asleep. One man stood upright for five hours on the raft with the dead lying all around him. One man died in my arms.

As we got near the shore the situation grew worse. The wind was blowing on shore. The fury of the sea dashed our raft against the rocks with tremendous force. Many were killed in this way, and one raft was thrice overturned. I don't quite know how I got ashore, for all the feeling was gone out of me. We were very kindly treated by the people who picked us up. They said it was the worst storm they had had for years.

The British Admiralty on June 15 issued the following official statement:

From the report of the twelve survivors of the Hampshire the following conclusions were reached:

As the men were going to their stations before abandoning the ship Lord Kitchener, accompanied by a naval officer, appeared. The latter said: "Make way for Lord Kitchener." Both ascended to the quarterdeck. Subsequently four military officers were seen there, walking aft on the port side.

The Captain called Lord Kitchener to the fore bridge near where the Captain's boat was hoisted. The Captain also called Lord

Kitchener to enter the boat. It is unknown if Lord Kitchener entered it or what happened to any boat.

The Hampshire was proceeding along the west coast of the Orkneys. A heavy gale was blowing and seas were breaking over the ship, which necessitated her being partly battened down. Between 7:30 and 7:45 P. M. the vessel struck a mine and began at once to settle by the bows, heeling over to starboard before she finally went down, about fifteen minutes after.

Orders were given by the Captain for all hands to go to their established stations for abandoning ship. Some of the hatches were opened and the ship's company went quickly to their stations. Efforts were made, without success, to lower some of the boats. One of them was broken in half and its occupants were thrown into the water.

Large numbers of the crew used lifesaving belts and waistcoats, which proved effective in keeping them afloat. Three rafts were safely launched and, with about fifty to seventy men on each, got clear. It was daylight up to about 11. Though rafts with these large numbers of men got away, in one case, out of seventy men aboard, only six survived. The survivors all report that the men gradually dropped off, even died aboard the rafts from exhaustion and exposure to cold. Some of the crew must have perished in trying to land on the rocky coast after such a long exposure. Some died after landing.

General Brusiloff's Achievements

Written for CURRENT HISTORY

By Charles Johnston

[See map of Russian front on Page 635]

DURING the first week of June General Alexei Brusiloff began and carried forward one of the most brilliant feats of the war, accomplishing something that has been deemed almost impossible, a swift, successful offensive against the strongest modern intrenched lines. He operated on a front over a hundred miles long, against trenches which, at many points, were defended by a dozen or more lines of barbed wire entanglements; trenches which lay one behind the other, sometimes ten or twelve in number, defended by strong Austrian artillery—and all along, the Austrians have had the heaviest guns in the war—and held by six or seven hundred thousand men; lines further strengthened by the two great fortresses of Lutsk and Dubno, which, with Rovno, formed the famous "Volhynia triangle," comparable to the group of French defenses that link Verdun and Toul.

Not only did General Brusiloff sweep these bristling obstacles out of existence, capturing in ten days 115,000 men of the enemy forces, killing or wounding, in all probability, twice as many more, (or 345,000 in all put out of action,) taking enormous quantities of war material, (guns, machine guns, shells, cartridges, trench mortars, barbed wire, enough to supply a modern army,) but he further drove the enemy back, at some points as much as thirty miles, along a front of over 100 miles—in striking contrast to the static situation at Verdun, where, to repeat the somewhat grim pleasantry of a French officer, "ground is bought in small lots and the prices are high."

Roughly speaking, General Brusiloff's battle line stretched from the southeast corner of Russian Poland to the northeast corner of Rumania; running, at the beginning of the drive, through the Russian "governments" of Volhynia and Podolia, a thin slice of each having been held by the invaders; but, as the drive progressed, passing forward into Galicia, sweeping around Brody, menacing Tarnopol and Lemberg, and, to the south, enveloping and in all probability effectively occupying Czernowitz, the oft-disputed capital of the Austrian Crownland of Bukowina, "land of the beech trees." As his left wing rests on Rumania it cannot be turned, or even effectively menaced, without involving Rumania in the war; his right wing joins very strong Russian forces under

General Evert, one of the leaders in the first Russian victory over the Austrian army of General Dankl.

Exactly in what way General Brusiloff has accomplished this military miracle, tearing to pieces over a hundred miles of the strongest modern trenches of the "steel and concrete" type, is still his secret. But we can already see this: Like the French attack in Champagne on Sept. 25 last, he first concentrated a tremendous weight of gunfire on selected points, pouring in "hurricanes" of shells; he then followed this up with astonishing infantry rushes, the men being provided with planks and scaling ladders to help them across what the artillery had left of the barbed wire; and then, as soon as a first foothold was won in the enemy trenches, following this up instantly with fresh hurricanes of shells and new infantry drives, keeping this process up without interruption, day and night. This he was able to do because he had, first, quite unlimited supplies of shells, and, next, because he had, what the French have not had, unlimited supplies of men. For Russia in the last few months has added to her fighting forces some 4,000,000 young men between the ages of 19 and 22, while there are several millions available in the twenties and early thirties. It is the younger men, it would appear, that General Brusiloff is using in his "rushes"; and in this kind of work no fighting man has ever stood higher than the Russian soldier.

But, after we have counted guns and men, there remains the third factor, and the greatest—military genius reinforced by military science; the power to divine the weak point and the golden hour for attack, (the Austrians were celebrating the Skagerrak fight when he attacked;) the power to co-ordinate, to have ample reserves ready and on the spot at the critical instant, and, most of all, the moral driving force to set the whole machine in motion and to keep it moving at top speed.

Having ripped up the curtain of Teuton defenses, General Brusiloff (who is, by training, a cavalry officer) brought back into modern warfare an element that seemed at one time to have grown obsolete; he developed widely extended and swiftly executed cavalry movements that seem to have accounted for a very large proportion of the captures, both in men and guns. The details of his strategy remain to be made known, but it seems certain that General Brusiloff has demonstrated that the whole system of modern defensive (developed first along the line of the Aisne, in the second half of September, 1914) can be torn out of the ground, and that cavalry can still attack, sweeping down even on modern artillery and batteries of machine guns; attack with complete success and bring the batteries in as a trophy.

It would be a complete mistake to think of this brilliant achievement of General Brusiloff as a kind of lucky accident or a happy extemporization. It is neither. He is completing work begun in the first week of the war, along lines he had laid down many months earlier; he is doing again now, in the late Spring and early Summer of 1916, practically the same thing that he did, and did brilliantly, in the late Summer and early Autumn of 1914, over the same ground; but he is doing it now with tried and ripened experience, with a high reputation already assured, with supreme command over this whole sector of the war, with immensely greater forces of men and supplies of artillery; and, this must not be forgotten, against a weakened and harassed foe, behind whom, in the home countries, are famine and desperation.

General Brusiloff is now fighting over ground which he very brilliantly covered in the first weeks of the war. Austria had sought war with Serbia already in 1913, and had then been held back by her ally, Italy; Austria had already prejudged the case against the Serbians in July, 1914, determining in advance not to accept any concessions, however complete, from Serbia, but to force the gallant little kingdom into war; Austria, therefore, was the first of the nations to mobilize, not only against Serbia to the south, but also, in Galicia, against Russia. There were three Austrian armies in Galicia at the end of July, each about

300,000 men—two active, under General Dankl and General Auffenberg, and a third, held in reserve, under the Archduke Charles Francis Joseph, the heir apparent to the throne of the Hapsburgs. General Dankl struck northward into Russian Poland, toward Lublin and Kholm, where he was held in check by Russian forces under General Ivanoff, General Evert, and General Plehve. General Auffenberg moved northeastward toward the famous Volhynia triangle—Lutsk, Dubno, Rovno. But he did not get across the frontier. Already, on Aug. 11, Russian cavalry made a demonstration against Brody, the first Austrian town across the Galician frontier, and this advance guard was rapidly followed by two Russian armies, under General Ruzsky and General Brusiloff, who began to rain blows on Auffenberg's head.

Shortly before the beginning of the war General Brusiloff had been given command of the Twelfth Army Corps, stationed at Vinnitza in Podolia, a little town on the river Bug, and connected by rail with Tarnopol, Halicz, and Lemberg in Galicia. At that time General Ruzsky was in command of the Kieff military district in which Vinnitza is; General Ruzsky therefore commanded the Russian army of the right, while General Brusiloff commanded the army of the left. Moving practically on the same line, they came into touch with Auffenberg on Aug. 23, and on Aug. 26-27 made a furious, concerted attack against his entire front, General Ruzsky moving against Lemberg, while General Brusiloff advanced toward the ancient historic city of Halicz, some sixty or seventy miles further south. They attacked the two cities about the same time, carrying them by storm on Sept. 2; and thus, since this was a week before the decision at the Marne, winning the first great success for the Entente armies. Both Generals were thanked by the Russian Emperor and decorated.

Then came the forward sweep up to and around Przemysl, the Russians enveloping the enormous fortress and pressing their adversaries back against the Carpathians. It was evident even then that Russia lacked adequate artillery and ammunition; otherwise Przemysl would have been taken by storm. It held out, however, standing a not very vigorous siege, and finally surrendering in the Spring, surrendering only after efforts had been repeatedly made for its relief, Austria sending men up in masses through the Lupka Pass, where the railroad from Hungary crosses the Carpathians.

General Brusiloff had fought his way steadily westward, keeping the centre of his army almost continuously on the same line, due west from where he had crossed the frontier, at Woloczysk. His headquarters were now close to the little town of Baligrad, fifteen or twenty miles from the Lupka Pass. From this point he planned and delivered a killing blow against the Austrian reinforcements that were coming down from the pass, and the smashing of this relieving force was what practically determined the fall of Przemysl, with nearly 120,000 Austrian troops. It was a decisive victory for the Russians, but a victory of bayonets rather than artillery.

During the long months of the white Winter, 1914-15, General Brusiloff fought his way toward and into the three Carpathian passes—the Dukla to the north, the Uzsok in the centre, the Lupka to the south; and his long, fierce contest in the snow against ice-covered precipices and buttresses of rock anticipated many of the most daring exploits of the Italian Alpini in the Trentino, Cadore, and Carnia in the Winter of 1915-16. Both in the Carpathians and in the Caucasus the Russians showed that they are magnificently at home, even up to their breasts in snow.

General Brusiloff was wearing down General von Linsingen's resistance and threatening a descent upon the wide Hungarian plains, when to the north, on his right, came the event which reversed and almost neutralized his whole campaign. General Mackensen, who is apparently a soldier of genius, showing far more ability than any other commander on the Teuton side, made his first famous attack on the Dunayetz River, east of Cracow, with what we are now familiar with as "hurricane

fire." Then, just at the most dangerous moment, it was discovered that Russia was short of shells. Her enormous supply, accumulated before the war, was depleted; difficulties with China made Japan slow in sending forward, along the Manchurian and Siberian Railroad, the shells that she was producing; the White Sea was frozen; the allied fleets had hammered in vain at the gate of the Dardanelles; Russian factories, dislocated, depleted of men by the mobilization, supplied ammunition only in driblets; but Mackensen's strategy demanded, to counter it, shells in vastly greater quantities.

General Ruzsky, the victim, it was said, of cancer, had been withdrawn to undergo an operation; General Ivanoff, the defender of Lublin, had taken his place. So, with cold steel, the Russians held back, so far as was possible, Mackensen's hurricane attack, with the hottest and heaviest fire the war had yet seen, though it has since been greatly exceeded by both sides at Verdun. And, in times to come, it may appear that this very hammering was the making of the Russian Army. But at the time there was only disastrous retreat, the giving up of Przemysl, of Lemberg; then of Warsaw, Lublin, Vilna. General Brusiloff retreated, holding his army splendidly together and never for a moment losing his splendidly courageous serenity; retreated, still fighting hard for a foothold on Austrian soil, but at last recrossing the frontier into Russia, still almost on the same east and west line.

And now his tide has turned. He is in supreme command. He has huge, fresh armies of young, exultant troops, who never even consider death; he has enormous supplies of guns and ammunition; he has the enthusiastic trust of his sovereign and his nation; he has military genius, ripe experience, a religious faith in his mission. Behind him lie the inexhaustible resources of the vast Russian Nation. Before him stretch the lands of the enemy—Galicia, with Lemberg and Halicz to be won once more; Bukowina to the south, Russian Poland to the north, and, beyond these, Transylvania, Hungary, Silesia. He has begun magnificently. With magnificent resources and a magnificent opportunity he will, perchance, go far.

What This War Means to France

By E. HENRY LACOMBE.

It would not be surprising to find that in the conglomerate mass of people which has been swept into the United States from every quarter of the globe there is no intelligent appreciation of what this war means to the people of France. What it does mean, to all of them, is best expressed by the farewell of the Breton mother, a sailor's widow, to her only son, a boy of 18. I have read it in no periodical here, but it is known the length and breadth of France.

Théodore Botrel, "Chansonnier des Armées," has embalmed it is verse, and it is sung by poilus in the trenches and on the march.

Noticing that her big boy was restless and unhappy, and divining the cause—a conflict of duties—she said to him unasked: "Embrasse moi et vas-en, pour la France. Elle est ta mère, mon enfant, quand moi, je ne suis que ta p'tite maman."

There are millions of people yet in this country who can appreciate what a spirit this signifies and hail it with reverence and sympathy. God grant that should a day of bitter trial come to us there may be enough left of such a spirit here to save us as, please God, it will save France.

Mexico's Threat of War

Events That Have Produced Strained Relations With the Carranza Government

REAL war between Mexico and the United States seems an imminent possibility as this issue of CURRENT HISTORY goes to press. President Wilson has called for the mobilization of the available militia of all the States, totaling about 100,000 men, and the hostile preparations of the Carranza forces, which have been in progress for several weeks, are being accelerated. It is announced that the American militia are to be used at present only to guard the frontier, but their coming will release the regular army regiments on the border for active service in Mexico—and General Carranza has given formal warning that further movements of American troops into Mexico for any purpose will be opposed by armed force!

The situation is serious because each country holds that its fundamental rights are being violated. Mexican bandits continue almost daily to invade American soil and murder or rob our citizens. The de facto Government of Mexico is unable to stop the outrages, yet it resents the presence of American troops on Mexican soil, demands their withdrawal, and threatens war if the raiders are hunted down by our soldiers.

Events have been traveling toward the present crisis for more than a month. During the conference at El Paso between General Scott and General Obregon in the early days of May it seemed as though a satisfactory understanding had been reached, by which order would be maintained through the co-operation of Mexican and American armies on their respective sides of the border. But at that moment came a raid by Mexican bandits upon the citizens and garrison of Glenn Springs, a town in the Big Bend region of Texas, in which several Americans were killed and others carried into captivity. A punitive expedition was sent after them, and the episode became typical of the events that have since made it impossible to agree on any plan compatible with American responsibility and the demands of the Carranza Government.

Under date of May 22 General Carranza sent a long note to the Washington Government protesting that no agreement had ever been made authorizing the protracted presence of American soldiers on Mexican soil. The presence of our troops at El Pino, sixty miles south of the boundary, was the immediate basis for that protest. The Big Bend raid was the cause of the expedition in question. Since then there have been two other crossings of American troops into Mexican territory, each time for the punishment of a new depredation which the Carranzistas had failed to prevent.

President Wilson answered Carranza's note on June 20, covering its many points in a message of some length. The full text of both notes, reproduced in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY, furnishes a fairly complete history of the subject from both points of view.

In the intervening month the situation was steadily growing worse. Every few days it was aggravated by the news that another band of Mexican outlaws had crossed the Rio Grande in the night, attacked and killed citizens or soldiers, and fled after losing one or more of their number. Twice within one week at different points a dead bandit was found to be wearing the uniform of a Carranza soldier. Public sentiment on the American side of the river, along the whole stretch of frontier between Columbus, N. M., and Brownsville, Texas, became deeply stirred, and at the same time anti-American sentiment grew more intense in Mexico.

On the night of June 16 fifty bandits crossed the line at San Benito, Texas, and attacked the town. They were repulsed by a detachment of the Twenty-

sixth Infantry under Colonel Bullard, and were pursued into Mexico by Lieutenant Newman and Major Anderson with troopers of the Third Cavalry. In reporting that these forces had left on a "hot trail" General Funston added: "I anticipate fighting." This expectation was based on the fact that at about the same time Brig. Gen. John J. Pershing, at his temporary headquarters near Namiquipa, Chihuahua, had received a telegram from General Jacinto Trevino, commander of the Carranza Army of the North, warning him that if any further movement of the American forces already in Mexico were made toward the south, east, or west it would be regarded as a hostile act and resisted by the forces of the de facto Government. It added that if any more troops crossed the border into Mexico they would be attacked.

The particular fighting which General Funston anticipated for the San Benito expedition was avoided by a compromise. After Major Anderson had dispersed the bandits near San Pedro he returned to the American side, having received the promise of General Alfredo Ricaut, head of the Carranzista garrison at Matamoros, to capture and punish the bandits himself. But while in the act of returning the American troops were fired upon, and one of their assailants—in Carranza's uniform—was killed.

The railways in Mexico have been seized, bridges have been destroyed, and other preparations made by the Carranzista forces to oppose the further passage of American troops. General Obregon, Minister of War, has sent out an order calling upon all Mexicans to enlist under the flag against foreign invaders.

On June 18 President Wilson called out the militia through the Governors of all the States, and Mr. Baker, Secretary of War, announced the fact in the following words:

In view of the disturbed conditions on the Mexican border, and in order to assure complete protection for all Americans, the President has called out substantially all the State militia, and will send them to the border wherever and as fully as General Funston determines them to be needed for the purpose stated.

If all are not needed an effort will be made to relieve those on duty there from time to time so as to distribute the duty.

This call for militia is wholly unrelated to General Pershing's expedition, and contemplates no additional entry into Mexico, except as may be necessary to pursue bandits who attempt outrages on American soil.

The militia are being called out so as to leave some troops in the several States. They will be mobilized at their home stations, where necessary recruiting can be done.

It is expected that practically 100,000 men, all drilled during the past year by regular army officers, will be fully mobilized by the beginning of July and ready for service on the border. Both Governments meanwhile are trying to hold the difficult situation within the realm of diplomacy. The chief danger of a serious clash is in the impulsive acts of armed Mexicans if they undertake to interfere with General Pershing's scouting operations, which naturally must continue in all directions, despite the threatening telegram in which General Trevino undertook to dictate the movements of American troops.

Full Text of the Carranza Note

Mexico, D. F., May 22, 1916.

Mr. Secretary:

I AM instructed by the First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army, in charge of the executive power of Mexico, to address your Excellency the following note:

1. The Mexican Government has just been informed that a group of American troops, crossing the international boundary, has entered Mexican territory and is at the present time near a place called El Pino, located about sixty miles south of the line.

The crossing of these troops effected again without the consent of the Mexican Government gravely endangers the harmony and good relations which should exist between the Governments of the United States and Mexico.

This Government must consider the above action as a violation of the sovereignty of Mexico, and therefore it requests in a most urgent manner that the Washington Government should consider the case carefully in order to definitely outline the policy it should follow with regard to the Mexican Nation.

In order to afford a clear understanding of

the basis of the request involved in this note, it becomes necessary to carefully review the incidents which have occurred up to the present time.

REVERTS TO VILLA RAID

2. On account of the incursion at Columbus, N. M., by a band led by Francisco Villa on the morning of March 9, 1916, the Mexican Government, sincerely deploring the occurrence, and for the purpose of affording efficacious protection to the frontier, it advanced its desire that the Governments of the United States and Mexico should enter into an agreement for the pursuit of bandits. The above proposal was made by the Government of Mexico guided by the precedent established under similar conditions obtaining in the years 1880 to 1884, and requested, in concrete, a permission for Mexican forces to cross into American territory in pursuit of bandits, under a condition of reciprocity which would permit American forces to cross into Mexican territory, if the Columbus incident would be repeated in any other point of the frontier line.

As a consequence of this proposal made in the Mexican note of March 10 the Government of the United States, through error or haste, considered that the good disposition shown by the Mexican Government was sufficient to authorize the crossing of the boundary, and to that effect, without awaiting the conclusion of a formal agreement on the matter, ordered that a column of American forces should cross into Mexican territory in pursuit of Villa and his band.

3. The American Government, on this account, made emphatic declarations, assuring the Mexican Government that it was acting with entire good faith and stating that its only purpose in crossing the frontier was to pursue and capture or destroy the Villa band that had assaulted Columbus; that this action did not mean an invasion of our territory, nor any intention to impair Mexican sovereignty, and that as soon as a practical result should be obtained the American troops would withdraw from Mexican territory.

MEXICO NOT NOTIFIED

4. The Mexican Government was not informed that the American troops had crossed the frontier until March 17, at which time it was unofficially known, through private channels from El Paso, that the American troops had entered into Mexican territory. This Government then addressed a note to the Government of the United States stating that, inasmuch as the precise terms and convictions of an agreement which should be formally entered into between both countries for the crossing of troops had not been stipulated, the American Government should not consider itself authorized to send the expedition.

The Washington Government explained the sending of such expedition, expressing its regret that a misinterpretation had occurred in regard to the attitude of the Mexican Government concerning the crossing of American troops over the boundary line in pursuit of Villa, but that this had been done under the impression that the previous exchange of messages implied the full consent of the Mexican Government, without the necessity of further formalities.

The American Government explained also that its attitude was due to the necessity of quick action, and stated that it was disposed to receive any suggestions the Mexican Government would wish to make in regard to the terms of a definite agreement covering the operations of troops on either side of the boundary.

5. Both Governments then began to discuss the terms of an agreement in accordance to which the reciprocal crossing of troops should be arranged, and to this end two projects from the Mexican Government and two counterprojects from the American Government were exchanged. During the discussion of this agreement the Mexican Government constantly insisted that the above-mentioned crossing should be limited within a zone of operations for the troops in foreign territory, that the time the troops should remain within it, the number of soldiers of an expedition and the class of arms they should pertain to should be fixed.

The Government of the United States objected to the above limitations, and when at last the American Government submitted the last counterdraft, accepting them in part, it stated, nevertheless, that while agreeing to sign the agreement, the latter would not apply on the Columbus expedition.

FIRST WITHDRAWAL REQUEST

6. This attitude of the American Government brought forth the Mexican note of April 12, in which, deferring the discussion of the agreement, since the latter was not to apply to the Columbus case, the Mexican Government requested the American Government to withdraw its troops, since the stay of them was not based on any agreement, and the expedtion was then unnecessary, inasmuch as the Villa bandits had been dispersed and reduced to impotency.

7. While the American Government was delaying its reply to the aforesaid note of April 12, and took no action to withdraw its troops, it was considered convenient that military commanders of both countries should meet in some point of the frontier to review the military aspect of the situation and endeavor through this channel to arrive at a satisfactory solution, which on the part of Mexico consisted in the withdrawal of American troops from its territory.

To this end Generals Hugh L. Scott and Frederick Funston, representing the American Government, and General Alvaro Obregon, Secretary of War and Marine, representing Mexico, met, at Ciudad Juarez and El Paso, where they held a series of conferences within an open spirit of cordiality. During these conferences full explanations and data

were exchanged concerning the military situation on the frontier.

As a result of these conferences a draft of a memorandum was submitted to the approval of the Washington and Mexican Governments in accordance with which General Scott declared that the destruction and dispersion of the Villa band had been completed, and, therefore, the American Government was decided to begin the withdrawal of its troops under the promise that the Mexican Government would endeavor to maintain efficacious guard on the frontier against new incursions similar to that at Columbus.

CONDITION WAS REJECTED

8. The Mexican Government refused to approve that sort of agreement, because it was stated in it, besides, that the American Government could suspend the withdrawal of its troops if any other incident should occur which would serve to change the belief of the Washington Government in the ability of the Mexican Government to protect the frontier.

The Mexican Government could not accept this condition to suspend the withdrawal, because the evacuation of its territory is a matter entirely affecting the sovereignty of the country, which should at no time be subjected to the discretion of the American Government, it being possible on the other hand that another incident might occur which would give the indefinite stay of the American troops in Mexican territory a certain color of legality.

9. General Scott, General Funston, and General Obregon were discussing this point, when on the 5th of the present month of May a band of outlaws assaulted an American garrison at Glenn Springs, on the American side, crossing the Rio Grande immediately after to enter into Mexican territory via Boquillas.

10. On tnis account, and fearing that the American Goverment would hasten the crossing of new troops into Mexican territory in pursuit of the outlaws, the Mexican Government instructed General Obregon to notify the United States that the crossing of American soldiers on this new account would not be permitted to enter into Mexico, and that orders had already been given to all military commanders on the frontier to prevent it.

11. When the attitude of the Mexican Government became known Generals Scott and Funston assured General Obregon that no movement of American troops had been ordered to cross the frontier on account of the Boquillas incident, and that no more American soldiers would enter into our territory.

This assurance, which was personally made by Generals Scott and Funston to General Obregon when the conferences were about to be adjourned, was reiterated by General Scott himself in a later private conversation he had with Licenciado Juan Neftali Amador, Sub-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who had had the opportunity to take part in the conferences between the American and the Mexican military commanders.

FEAR OF NEW INCURSION

12. On account of the same incident of Glenn Springs, or Boquillas, fearing that the various bands of outlaws which are organized or armed near the frontier might repeat their incursions, and with a view to procuring an effective military co-operation between American and Mexican forces, this Government suggested through its representative, General Obregon, to Generals Scott and Funston, representing the United States, the convenience of reaching an understanding on a military plan of distribution of troops along the frontier in order that an effective watch could be kept over the whole region, and avoiding in this way, so far as possible, the recurrence of similar assaults. The Mexican Government showed by this action not only its good faith and good wishes, but also its frank willingness to arrive at an effective co-operation with the Government of the United States to avoid all further sense of friction between the two countries.

This plan for the distribution of American and Mexican forces in their respective territories along the frontier was proposed as a means to prevent immediately any new difficulty, and always with the idea of arriving later at the celebration of an agreement for the reciprocal crossing of troops, as long as the abnormal conditions exist in our territory.

13. The conferences between Generals Scott, Funston, and Obregon adjourned on May 11 without reaching any agreement concerning the unconditional withdrawal of the American troops. General Scott insisted in the form of the memorandum concerning the conditonal withdrawal of the American forces, but did not take into consideration the plan proposed by the Mexican Government for the protection of the frontier by means of detachments along the same.

LEFT TO THE CAPITALS

Under these conditions it was left for the Governments of Washington and Mexico to conclude the arrangements initiated during the conferences of Ciudad Juarez and El Paso. Up to that time no complication had occurred on account of the new Boquillas incident, and all the assurances given by Generals Scott and Funston led us to suppose that the above incident would not bring about new difficulties.

14. The Mexican Government, however, has just been informed that 400 men of the Eighth Regiment of the American Army are in Mexican territory, having crossed the line in the direction of Boquillas approximately between the 10th and 11th of May, and are at present near a place called El Pino, about sixty miles south of the frontier. This fact was brought to the attention of the Mexican authorities by the commander himself of the American troops which crossed the frontier, who gave advice to the Mexican military commander at Esmeraldo, Sierra Mojada, by a communication in which he informed him that he crossed the frontier in pursuit of the

band of outlaws which had assaulted Glenn Springs, and in accordance with an agreement existing between the American and the Mexican Governments regarding the crossing of troops, and with the consent of a Mexican Consular official in Del Rio, Texas, to whom the commander alleged to have informed of the entry of his expedition.

15. The Mexican Government cannot assume that an error has been committed a second time by the American Government ordering the crossing of its troops without the consent of the Government of Mexico. It fails to understand also that a commander of troops of the United States Army would enter into Mexican territory without the due authority from his superiors, and believing that he could secure permission for the crossing of his troops from a Consular agent.

The explanation given by the American Government in regard to the crossing of troops at Columbus has never been satisfactory to the Mexican Government; but the new invasion of our territory is no longer an isolated fact and tends to convince the Mexican Government that something more than a mere error is involved.

16. This latter act of the American forces causes new complications for the Mexican Government in the possibility of a satisfactory solution and increases the tenseness of the international situation between both countries.

CHARGES AN INVASION

The Mexican Government cannot consider this last incident except as an invasion of our territory, made by American forces against the expressed will of the Mexican Government, and it is its duty to request, as it does, the American Government to order the immediate withdrawal of these new forces and to abstain completely from sending any other expedition of a similar character.

17. The Mexican Government understands its obligation to protect the frontier; but this obligation is not exclusively its own, and it expects that the American Government, which is subject to an equal obligation, will appreciate the material difficulties with which this task is met, inasmuch as the American troops themselves, notwithstanding their number and in spite of the fact that their attention is not shared by other military operations, are physically unable to effectively protect the frontier on the American side.

The Mexican Government has made every effort on its part to protect the frontier without disregarding, on the other hand, the considerable task of pacification which is being performed in the rest of the country, and the American Goverment should understand that if now and then any lamentable incursions into American territory committed by irresponsible bands of outlaws might occur, this should be a case of pecuniary reparation and a reason to adopt a combined defense, but never a cause for the American authorities to invade our national territory.

The incursion of bands of outlaws into American territory is a deplorable incident, to say the least, but in no way can the Mexican Government be made responsible for them, inasmuch as it is doing everything possible to prevent them. The crossing of regular American troops into Mexican territory, against the express will of the Mexican Government, does constitute an act of which the American Government is responsible.

18. The Mexican Government, therefore, believes that the time has come for it to insist with the American Government that in withdrawing at once the new Boquillas expedition it should abstain in the future from sending new troops. In any case, the Mexican Government after having made clear its unwillingness to permit the crossing of new American troops into Mexican territory, will have to consider the latter as an act of invasion of its territory, and therefore it will be forced to defend itself against any group of American troops which may be found within it.

19. With reference to the troops which are now interned in the State of Chihuahua on account of the Columbus incident, the Mexican Government is compelled to insist on their withdrawal.

The Mexican Government understands that, in the face of the unwillingness of the American Government to withdraw the above forces, it would be left no other recourse than to procure the defense of its territory by means of arms, but it understands at the same time its duty to avoid as far as possible an armed conflict between both countries; and, acting in accordance with Article 21 of the treaty of Feb. 2, 1848, it considers it its duty to resort to all means of a peaceful character to find a solution of the international conflict in which both countries are involved.

20. The Mexican Government considers it necessary to avail itself of this opportunity to request the American Government to give a more categorical explanation of its real intentions toward Mexico. To this end it hopes that in speaking with entire frankness its words may not be interpreted as tending to wound the sensibility of the American Government; but that it finds itself in the condition to set aside all diplomatic euphemism, in order to express its ideas with entire frankness. If in the expression of the grievances hereinafter mentioned the Mexican Government makes use of the most perfect frankness, it is because it considers its duty to convey the most perfect clearness to the mind of the Government and the people of the United States concerning the Mexican point of view.

PROTESTS OF FRIENDSHIP

21. The American Government has for some time been making protests of friendship to Latin-American countries, and it has availed itself of all possible efforts to convince the

same that it is its desire to respect their sovereignty absolutely.

With respect to Mexico especially, the American Government has stated on various occasions that it has no intention to intervene in any way in its internal affairs and that it wishes to leave our country to decide by itself its difficult problems of political and social transformation. It is still reasoned when, on account of the Columbus expedition, the American Government, through the voice of its President, has made the declaration that it does not intend to interfere in the affairs of Mexico nor to invade it, that it does not desire to acquire a single inch of its territory, and that it will in no way impair its sovereignty.

The Washington Government and its representatives on the frontier have also expressly declared that it is not the will of the American people to go into war or have an armed conflict with Mexico.

Summing up all of the above, and judging from the official declarations which have been made for some time past by the Washington Goverment, there should appear to be an honest purpose on the part of the Government and people of the United States not to launch into a conflict with Mexico.

22. The Mexican Government, however, regrets to remark that the acts of the American military authorities are in absolute conflict with the above statements, and therefore finds itself costrained to appeal to the President, the Department of State, the Senate, the American people to the end that once and for all time the true political tendency of the United States toward Mexico be defined.

23. It is equally necessary that on this account the Government of the United States should define in a precise manner its purposes toward Mexico, in order that the other Latin-American nations may be able to judge the sincerity of such purposes and be able to appreciate the proper value of the protests of amity and fraternity which have been made to them during many years.

24. The American Government, through the voice of its own President, stated that the punitive expedition from Columbus would withdraw from Mexican territory as soon as the bands of the Villa outlaws could have been destroyed or dispersed. More than two months have elapsed since this expedition entered into Mexican territory; Generals Scott and Funston declared in Ciudad Juarez that the Villa band has been entirely dispersed, and, knowing this, the American troops are not withdrawn from the territory of Mexico.

The American Government is convinced and has accepted the fact that no military task is now left for the Columbus expedition, and nevertheless the promise made by President Wilson that the forces would withdraw as soon as the purpose which caused them to go in would have been reached has not been complied with.

The causes of any internal political order which may exist not to withdraw the American troops from Mexican territory, however justified they may appear, cannot justify the above attitude, but on the contrary they accentuate the discrepancy between the protests of respect to the sovereignty of Mexico and the actual fact that on account of reasons of internal policy of the United States a status should be maintained which is utterly unjust with regard to the Mexican Republic.

25. The American Government stated that its purpose in causing the American troops to enter Mexico was only to defend the frontier against probable incursions. This statement, however, is in conflict with the attitude assumed by the same American Government in discussing the agreement concerning the reciprocal crossing of the frontier, because while the Mexican Government maintained that said agreement should limit the zone of operations of the troops of one and the other country, as well as the time which the expeditions should last, the number of soldiers and the arm to which they should belong, the American Government constantly eluded these limitations. This attitude of the American Government, which is the one expecting to have frequent occasion to cross the frontier on account of incursions of outlaws, is clearly indicating the purpose of having power to enter Mexican territory beyond the limit which the necessities of defense could require.

26. The Columbus punitive expedition, as it has been called, had not, according to the statements of President Wilson, any other purpose than to reach and punish the band of outlaws which had committed the outrage, and it was organized under the supposition that the Mexican Government had given its consent to it. Such expedition, however, has had a character of such clear distrust toward Mexico and of such absolute independence, that it cannot justly be considered as anything but an invasion made without the consent, without the knowledge, and without the co-operation of the Mexican authorities.

It was a known fact that the Columbus expedition crossed the frontier without the consent of the Mexican Government. The American military authorities have carried this expedition into effect without awaiting for the consent of the Government of Mexico, and even after they were officially informed that this Government had not given its consent for it, they nevertheless continued it, causing more troops to cross the line without informing the Mexican authorities of this fact.

The expedition has entered and operated within Mexican territory without procuring the co-operation of the Mexican authorities. The American military authorities have always maintained complete secrecy regarding their movements without informing the Mexican Government about them, such as they would have done if they really had tried to obtain co-operation. This lack of advice and

agreement was the cause of the clash which occurred in Parral between American forces and Mexican citizens.

In conclusion, the Columbus expedition has been carried into effect without any spirit of harmony, but, on the contrary, under a spirit of distrust with respect to our authorities, as our co-operation was not only unsought, nor were we informed with regard to military operations affected, besides the expedition was organized, carrying artillery and infantry forces.

Now, then, the protests of friendly co-operation made by the American authorities are not in keeping with the use of infantry and artillery exclusively destined to be employed against the regular Mexican forces.

If the Columbus expedition had taken place with the consent of the Mexican Government and its co-operation had been sought, the use of artillery and infantry would have been considered an insult to the Mexican authorities because of the supposition that they might feloniously assault the American forces which would have entered Mexico in pursuit of a common enemy confiding in the friendship of the former. Nevertheless, it is preferable to interpret this act as a proof that the American forces entered into Mexican territory without the consent of the Mexican Government, and, therefore, ready to repel any aggression on the part of regular Mexican forces who were ignorant of their presence.

"A HOSTILE EXPEDITION"

All of the above facts demonstrate that there has been a great discrepancy between the protests of sincere friendly co-operation on the part of the American authorities and the actual attitude of the expedition, which, on account of its distrust, its secrecy regarding its movements and the arms at its disposal, clearly indicated that it was a hostile expedition and a real invasion of our territory.

27. The American Government has stated on different occasions that the Columbus expedition had no other object than to pursue and destroy the Villa bandits, and that as soon as this would be accomplished the expedition would be withdrawn. The facts, however, have shown that the intention of the American Government was not the same during the conference at Ciudad Juarez and El Paso. It cannot be explained otherwise that General Scott should have insisted so emphatically on the signing of a memorandum stating that the American forces would not finish their withdrawal, if any other incident occurred which would mortify the belief of the American Government in the ability of the Mexican Government to protect the frontier.

The conclusion to be drawn from this insistency of General Scott regarding the signing of this memorandum is that the Columbus expedition entered into Mexico promising to withdraw as soon as it should have destroyed the Villa band, but that it is the purpose to make use of it afterward as an instrument to guarantee the protection of the frontier.

28. The American Government justly desires that the frontier should be protected. If the frontier should be properly protected against incursions from Mexico there would be no reason then for the existing difficulty. The American Government knows of the difficulties obtaining in the protection of a frontier line in which there are no natural facilities to aid in its defense, and, notwithstanding its immense resources, the American Government itself has not been able to render an effective protection along a line of more than 2,000 kilometers to be guarded.

The Mexican Government proposed that the military chiefs in charge of the troops in one and the other country should discuss a plan of cantonments along the boundary line, and, notwithstanding the protestations of the American Government of its desire to solve its difficulties with Mexico, General Scott did not approve the above plan of cantonments, which is the only thing rational and the only plan that could be carried into effect without involving the sovereignty or territory of one or the other country. The American Government prefers to keep its troops inactive and idle within the territory of Mexico, instead of withdrawing them to post them along the frontier in accord with Mexican authorities who would do likewise on their side. By this action the American Government gives room for the supposition that its true intention is to keep the troops it already has interned in Mexico anticipating that it may make use of them later for future operations.

CHARGES BAD FAITH

29. The American Government has on all occasions declared its desire to help the Constitutionalist Government to complete the work of pacification and its desire that this task should be carried into effect within the least time possible. The true attitude of the American Government in relation with these desires appears to be entirely incongruous, inasmuch as for some time back it has been doing things indicating that it does not only render any assistance to the work of pacification of Mexico, but that, on the contrary, it appears to place all possible obstacles to the execution of this task. As a matter of fact, without considering the great number of diplomatic representations made under the pretext of protection to American interests in Mexico, which are constantly embarrassing the task of the new Government, whose intention it is to reorganize the political, economic, and social conditions of the country on a new basis, there is a great number of facts which cause the influence of the American Government to be felt against the consolidation of the present Government of Mexico.

The decided support given at one time to Villa by General Scott and the Department of State itself was the principal cause for

GENERAL ALEXEI A. BRUSILOFF

Commander of Russian Armies on Southwest Front, Who Has Broken Through the Austrian Lines and Invaded Galicia

A British Armored "Scout" Near the French Front
(Photo by Underwood & Underwood.)

A Group of Italian Armored Cars of a New Type, With Two Gun Turrets
(From an Official Photograph.)

the prolongation of civil war in Mexico for many months. Later on the continuous aid which the American Catholic clergy has rendered to the Mexican Catholic clergy, which is incessantly working against the Constitutionalist Government, and the constant activities of the American interventionist press and business men of that country, are, to say the least, an indication that the present American Government does not wish or is unable to prevent all the works of conspiracy against the Constitutionalist Government carried into effect in the United States.

30. The American Government claims constantly from the Mexican Government an effective protection of the frontiers, and, nevertheless, the greater number of the bands which take the name of rebels against this Government is provided and armed, and perhaps also organized, on the American side under the tolerance of the authorities of the State of Texas, and, it may be said, even of the Federal authorities of the United States. The leniency of the American authorities toward such bands is such that in the majority of cases the conspirators, who are well known, and wherever they have been discovered and imprisoned, are released under insignificant bonds, permitting them to continue in their efforts.

Mexican emigrants, who are plotting and organizing incursions on the American side, have now more facilities to cause injury than before, because knowing that any new difficulty between Mexico and the United States will prolong the stay of American troops, they endeavor to increase the occasions for a conflict and friction.

31. The American Government claims to help the Constitutionalist Government in its task of pacification and urges that such a work be done within the least time possible, and that the protection of the frontiers be effected in the most efficacious way. And nevertheless, on various occasions, the American Government has detained shipments of arms and ammunition purchased by the Mexican Government in the United States, which should be employed to hasten the task of pacification and to more efficaciously protect the frontier. The pretexts given to detain the shipment of munitions consigned to this Government have always been futile and never have we been given a frank reason; it has been said, for example, that the munitions were embargoed because it was not known who the owner might be, or because of the fear that they might fall into the hands of Villista bands.

The embargo of war material consigned to the Mexican Government can have no other interpretation than that the Government of the United States wishes to protect itself against the emergency of a future conflict, and therefore it is endeavoring to prevent arms and ammunition which might be used against American troops from reaching the hands of the Mexican Government. The American Government would have the right to take this precaution against such emergency, but in that case it ought not to say that it is endeavoring to co-operate with the Mexican Government, and it would be preferable to give out a more frank statement concerning its procedure.

The American Government either desires to decidedly and frankly help the Mexican Government to re-establish peace, and in this case it ought not to prevent the exportation of arms, or the true purposes of the American Government are to get ready so that in the case of future war with Mexico the latter may find itself less provided with arms and ammunition. If this is the case, it would be preferable to say so.

In any case, the embargo on arms and ammunition consigned to the Mexican authorities, under the frivolous pretext of preventing these arms and ammunition from falling into the hands of Villista bands, is an indication that the actual acts of the American military authorities are entirely in conflict with the purposes of peace of the American Government.

The Mexican Government cannot wish war with the United States, and if this should occur it would undoubtedly be as a consequence of a deliberate purpose of the United States. For the time being the above precautionary acts of the American Government indicate that there is a purpose of preparedness for such emergency, or that, which is the same, the beginning of hostility on the part of the United States toward Mexico.

32. In conclusion, the New York American authorities, alleging that they act at the suggestion of a neutral peaceful society, have ordered the detention of several parts of machinery which the Mexican Government was forwarding to Mexico for its ammunition factory. It could not be conceived that this machinery could be used before several months after it had reached its destination. This action of the American Government, tending to prevent the manufacturing of munitions in a remote future, is another clear indication that its true purposes toward Mexico are not peaceful, because while millions and millions of dollars' worth of arms and ammunition are being daily exported for the European war without peace societies becoming impressed by the spectacle of that war, the New York authorities are showing exceedingly marked interest in seconding the purposes of the above-mentioned humanitarian societies whenever it is a matter of exporting to Mexico any machinery for the manufacture of arms and ammunition.

Mexico has the indisputable right just like the United States and all other nations in the world to provide for its military necessities, especially so when it is confronting so vast a task as that of insuring the pacification of the interior of this country; and the action of the Government of the United States in detaining machinery destined for the manufact-

ure of ammunitions is indicative either that the United States wishes to place obstacles to its complete pacification, or that this action is one of the series carried into effect by the American authorities as a matter of precaution in case of a projected war with Mexico.

33. All of the above-mentioned circumstances indicate that the true purpose of the military authorities of the United States are in absolute contradiction with the continuous protestations of amity of the American Government toward Mexico.

34. The Mexican people and Government are absolutely sure that the American people do not wish war with Mexico. There are, nevertheless, strong American interests and strong Mexican interests laboring to secure a conflict between the two countries. The Mexican Government firmly desires to preserve peace with the American Government, but to that effect it is indispensable that the American Government should frankly explain its true purposes toward Mexico.

It is indispensable that the above contradiction between the protests of amity on the part of Washington and the acts of distrust and aggression on the part of American military authorities should be brought to an end.

The Mexican Government and people, therefore, are anxious to know what they should expect, and they want to be sure that the expressions so many times made by the Government of the United States should be really in keeping with the sincere desires for peace between the two countries, a friendship which should exist not only in declarations, but crystallize in deeds.

The Mexican Government, therefore, formally invites the Government of the United States to cause the situation of uncertainty between the two countries to cease and to support its declarations and protests of amity with real and effective action which will convince the Mexican people of the sincerity of its purposes. This action, in the present situation, cannot be other than the immediate withdrawal of the American troops which are now in Mexican territory.

In complying with the instructions of the First Chief, I avail myself of this occasion to offer your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

(Signed) C. AGUILAR,
Secretary.

His Excellency Robert Lansing,
Secretary of State of the United States of America, Washington, D. C.

Text of the American Government's Answer to Carranza

THE United States Government, through Secretary Lansing, sent a firm reply on June 20 to General Carranza's note of May 22, flatly rejecting his demands. It stated plainly that the de facto Government had not done its part in preventing the depredations upon our border, and that American troops would not be withdrawn until it showed its willingness and power to stop the outrages. The discourteous tone of Carranza's note was rebuked, and the determination of the United States, as well as our essential good-will, were made clear. The document left the responsibility for the next step with the Carranza Government.

The full text of the American note is as follows:

The Secretary of State to the Secretary of Foreign Relations of the de facto Government of Mexico.

Department of State,
Washington, June 20, 1916.

SIR: I have read your communication, which was delivered to me on May 22, 1916, under instructions of the Chief Executive of the de facto Government of Mexico, on the subject of the presence of American troops in Mexican territory, and I would be wanting in candor if I did not, before making answer to the allegations of fact and the conclusions reached by your Government, express the surprise and regret which have been caused this Government by the discourteous tone and temper of this last communication of the de facto Government of Mexico.

The Government of the United States has viewed with deep concern and increasing disappointment the progress of the revolution in Mexico. Continuous bloodshed and disorders have marked its progress. For three years the Mexican Republic has been torn with civil strife; the lives of Americans and other aliens have been sacrificed; vast properties developed by American capital and enterprise have been destroyed or rendered nonproductive; bandits have been permitted to roam at will through the territory contiguous to the United States and to seize, without punishment or without effective attempt at punishment, the property of Americans, while the lives of citizens of the United States, who ventured to remain in Mexican territory or to return there to protect their interests, have been taken, in some cases barbarously taken, and the murderers have neither been apprehended nor brought to jus-

tice. It would be difficult to find in the annals of the history of Mexico conditions more deplorable than those which have existed there during these recent years of civil war.

It would be tedious to recount instance after instance, outrage after outrage, atrocity after atrocity, to illustrate the true nature and extent of the widespread conditions of lawlessness and violence which have prevailed. During the past nine months in particular, the frontier of the United States along the lower Rio Grande has been thrown into a state of constant apprehension and turmoil because of frequent and sudden incursions into American territory and depredations and murders on American soil by Mexican bandits, who have taken the lives and destroyed the property of American citizens, sometimes carrying American citizens across the international boundary with the booty seized.

STATEMENT OF OUTRAGES

American garrisons have been attacked at night, American soldiers killed, and their equipment and horses stolen. American ranches have been raided, property stolen and destroyed, and American trains wrecked and plundered. The attacks on Brownsville, Red House Ferry, Progreso Post Office, and Las Peladas, all occurring during September last, are typical. In these attacks on American territory. Carranzista adherents and even Carranzista soldiers took part in the looting, burning, and killing. Not only were these murders characterized by ruthless brutality, but uncivilized acts of mutilation were perpetrated. Representations were made to General Carranza, and he was emphatically requested to stop these reprehensible acts in a section which he has long claimed to be under the complete domination of his authority.

Notwithstanding these representations and the promise of General Nafarrete to prevent attacks along the international boundary, in the following month of October a passenger train was wrecked by bandits and several persons killed seven miles north of Brownsville, and an attack was made upon United States troops at the same place several days later. Since these attacks, leaders of the bandits well known both to Mexican civil and military authorities, as well as to American officers, have been enjoying with impunity the liberty of the towns of Northern Mexico. So far has the indifference of the de facto Government to these atrocities gone that some of these leaders, as I am advised, have received not only the protection of that Government, but encouragement and aid as well.

Depredations upon American persons and property within Mexican jurisdiction have been still more numerous. This Government has repeatedly requested in the strongest terms that the de facto Government safeguard the lives and homes of American citizens and furnish the protection which international obligation imposes, to American interests in the northern States of Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Sonora, and also in the States to the south.

For example, on Jan. 3, troops were requested to punish the bands of outlaws which looted the Cusi mining property, eighty miles west of Chihuahua, but no effective results came from this request. During the following week the bandit, Villa, with his band of about 200 men, was operating without opposition between Rubio and Santa Ysabel, a fact well known to Carranzista authorities. Meanwhile a party of unfortunate Americans started by train from Chihuahua to visit the Cusi mines, after having received assurances from the Carranzista authorities in the State of Chihuahua that the country was safe and that a guard on the train was not necessary. The Americans held passports or safe conducts issued by authorities of the de facto Government. On Jan. 10 the train was stopped by Villa bandits, and eighteen of the American party were stripped of their clothing and shot in cold blood, in what is now known as the "Santa Ysabel massacre." General Carranza stated to the agent of the Department of State that he had issued orders for the immediate pursuit, capture, and punishment of those responsible for this atrocious crime, and appealed to this Government and to the American people to consider the difficulties of according protection along the railroad where the massacre occurred. Assurances were also given by Mr. Arredondo, presumably under instructions from the de facto Government, that the murderers would be brought to justice, and that steps would also be taken to remedy the lawless conditions existing in the State of Durango.

MASSACRE UNPUNISHED

It is true that Villa, Castro, and Lopez were publicly declared to be outlaws and subject to apprehension and execution, but so far as known only a single man personally connected with this massacre has been brought to justice by Mexican authorities. Within a month after this barbarous slaughter of inoffensive Americans, it was notorious that Villa was operating within twenty miles of Cusihuiriachic and publicly stated that his purpose was to destroy American lives and property. Despite repeated and insistent demands that military protection should be furnished to Americans, Villa openly carried on his operations, constantly approaching closer and closer to the border. He was not intercepted nor were his movements impeded by troops of the de facto Government and no effectual attempt was made to frustrate his hostile designs against Americans. In fact, as I am informed, while Villa and his band were slowly moving toward the American frontier in the neighborhood of Columbus, N. M., not a single Mexican soldier was seen in this vicinity. Yet the Mexican authorities were fully cognizant of his movements, for on March 6, as General Gavira publicly an-

nounced, he advised the American military authorities of the outlaw's approach to the border, so that they might be prepared to prevent him from crossing the boundary.

THE COLUMBUS RAID

Villa's unhindered activities culminated in the unprovoked and cold-blooded attack upon American soldiers and citizens in the town of Columbus on the night of March 9, the details of which do not need repetition here in order to refresh your memory with the heinousness of the crime. After murdering, burning, and plundering, Villa and his bandits, fleeing south, passed within sight of the Carranzista military post at Casas Grandes, and no effort was made to stop him by the officers and garrison of the de facto Government stationed there.

In the face of these depredations, not only on American lives and property on Mexican soil, but on American soldiers, citizens, and homes on American territory, the perpetrators of which General Carranza was unable or possibly considered it inadvisable to apprehend and punish, the United States had no recourse other than to employ force to disperse the bands of Mexican outlaws who were with increasing boldness systematically raiding across the international boundary.

The marauders engaged in the attack on Columbus were driven back across the border by American cavalry, and subsequently, as soon as a sufficient force to cope with the band could be collected, were pursued into Mexico in an effort to capture or destroy them. Without co-operation or assistance in the field on the part of the de facto Government, despite repeated requests by the United States, and without apparent recognition on its part of the desirability of putting an end to these systematic raids, or of punishing the chief perpetrators of the crimes committed, because they menaced the good relations of the two countries, American forces pursued the lawless bands as far as Parral, where the pursuit was halted by the hostility of Mexicans, presumed to be loyal to the de facto Government, who arrayed themselves on the side of outlawry and became in effect the protectors of Villa and his band.

JUSTIFIED IN OUR ACTION

In this manner and for these reasons have the American forces entered Mexican territory. Knowing fully the circumstances set forth, the de facto Government cannot be blind to the necessity which compelled this Government to act, and yet it has seen fit to recite groundless sentiments of hostility toward the expedition and to impute to this Government ulterior motives for the continued presence of American troops on Mexican soil. It is charged that these troops crossed the frontier without first obtaining the consent or permission of the de facto Government. Obviously, as immediate action alone could avail, there was no opportunity to reach an agreement (other than that of March 10-13, now repudiated by General Carranza) prior to the entrance of such an expedition into Mexico if the expedition was to be effective. Subsequent events and correspondence have demonstrated to the satisfaction of this Government that General Carranza would not have entered into any agreement providing for an effective plan for the capture and destruction of the Villa bands.

While the American troops were moving rapidly southward in pursuit of the raiders, it was the form and nature of the agreement that occupied the attention of General Carranza, rather than the practical object which it was to obtain—the number of limitations that could be imposed upon the American forces to impede their progress, rather than the obstacles that could be raised to prevent the escape of the outlaws. It was General Carranza who suspended through your note of April 12 all discussions and negotations for an agreement along the lines of the protocols between the United States and Mexico concluded during the period 1882-1896, under which the two countries had so successfully restored peaceful conditions on their common boundary.

It may be mentioned here that, notwithstanding the statement in your note that "the American Government gave no answer to the note of April 12," this note was replied to on April 14, when the department instructed Mr. Rodgers by telegraph to deliver this Government's answer to General Carranza.

Shortly after this reply the conferences between Generals Scott, Funston, and Obregon began at El Paso, during which they signed on May 2 a project of a memorandum ad referendum, regarding the withdrawal of American troops. As an indication of the alleged bad faith of the American Government, you state that though General Scott declared in this memorandum that the destruction and dispersion of the Villa band "had been accomplished," yet American forces are not withdrawn from Mexico. It is only necessary to read the memorandum, which is in the English language, to ascertain that this is clearly a misstatement, for the memorandum states that "the American punitive expeditionary forces have destroyed or dispersed many of the lawless elements and bandits * * * or have driven them far into the interior of the Republic of Mexico," and, further, that the United States forces were then "carrying on a vigorous pursuit of such small numbers of bandits or lawless elements as may have escaped."

The context of your note gives the impression that the object of the expedition being admittedly accomplished, the United States had agreed in the memorandum to begin the withdrawal of its troops. The memorandum shows, however, that it was not alone on account of partial dispersion of the bandits that it was decided to begin the withdrawal of American forces, but equally on account of

the assurances of the Mexican Government that their forces were "at the present time being augmented and strengthened to such an extent that they will be able to prevent any disorders occurring in Mexico that would in any way endanger American territory," and that they would "continue to diligently pursue, capture, or destroy any lawless bands of bandits that may still exist or hereafter exist in the northern part of Mexico," and that it would "make a proper distribution of such of its forces as may be necessary to prevent the possibility of invasion of American territory from Mexico." It was because of these assurances and because of General Scott's confidence that they would be carried out that he stated in the memorandum that the American forces would be "gradually withdrawn."

It is to be noted that, while the American Government was willing to ratify this agreement, General Carranza refused to do so, as General Obregon stated, because, among other things, it imposed improper conditions upon the Mexican Government.

CARRANZA'S WORD NOT KEPT

Notwithstanding the assurances in the memorandum, it is well known that the forces of the de facto Government have not carried on a vigorous pursuit of the remaining bandits, and that no proper distribution of forces to prevent the invasion of American territory has been made, as will be shown by the further facts hereinafter set forth. I am reluctant to be forced to the conclusion which might be drawn from these circumstances that the de facto Government, in spite of the crimes committed and the sinister designs of Villa and his followers, did not and does not now intend or desire that these outlaws should be captured, destroyed, or dispersed by American troops or, at the request of this Government, by Mexican troops.

While the conferences at El Paso were in progress, and after the American conferees had been assured on May 2 that the Mexican forces in the northern part of the republic were then being augmented so as to be able to prevent any disorders that would endanger American territory, a band of Mexicans, on the night of May 5, made an attack at Glenn Springs, Texas, about twenty miles north of the border, killing American soldiers and civilians, burning and sacking property, and carrying off two Americans as prisoners. Subsequent to this event, the Mexican Government, as you state, "gave instructions to General Obregon to notify that of the United States that it would not permit the further passage of American troops into Mexico on this account, and that orders had been given to all military commanders along the frontier not to consent to same."

This Government is of course not in a position to dispute the statement that these instructions had been given to General Obregon, but it can decisively assert that General Obregon never gave any such notification to General Scott or General Funston, or, so far as known, to any other American official. General Obregon did, however, inquire as to whether American troops had entered Mexico in pursuit of the Glenn Springs raiders, and General Funston stated that no orders had been issued to American troops to cross the frontier on account of the raid, but this statement was made before any such orders had been issued and not afterward, as the erroneous account of the interview given in your note would appear to indicate.

Moreover, no statement was made by the American Generals that "no more American troops would cross into our territory." On the contrary, it was pointed out to General Obregon and to Mr. Juan Amador, who was present at the conference, and pointed out with emphasis, that the bandits de la Rosa and Pedro Vino, who had been instrumental in causing the invasion of Texas above Brownsville, were even then reported to be arranging in the neighborhood of Victoria for another raid across the border, and it was made clear to General Obregon that if the Mexican Government did not take immediate steps to prevent another invasion of the United States by these marauders, who were frequently seen in the company of General Nafarrete, the Constitutionalist commander, Mexico would find in Tamaulipas another punitive expedition similar to that then in Chihuahua.

OUR TROOPS AUTHORIZED

American troops crossed into Mexico on May 10, upon notification to the local military authorities, under the repudiated agreement of March 10-13, or in any event in accordance with the practice adopted over forty years ago, when there was no agreement regarding pursuit of marauders across the international boundary. These troops penetrated 168 miles into Mexican territory in pursuit of the Glenn Springs marauders, without encountering a detachment of Mexican troops or a single Mexican soldier.

Further discussion of this raid, however, is not necessary, because the American forces sent in pursuit of the bandits recrossed into Texas on the morning of May 22, the date of your note under consideration—a further proof of the singleness of purpose of this Government in endeavoring to quell disorder and stamp out lawlessness along the border.

EL PASO CONFERENCES

During the continuance of the El Paso conferences, General Scott, you assert, did not take into consideration the plan proposed by the Mexican Government for the protection of the frontier by the reciprocal distribution of troops along the boundary. This proposition was made by General Obregon a number of times, but each time conditioned upon the immediate withdrawal of American troops, and the Mexican conferees were invariably informed that immediate withdrawal could not take place, and that, therefore, it was

impossible to discuss the project on that basis.

I have noted the fact that your communication is not limited to a discussion of the deplorable conditions existing along the border and their important bearing on the peaceful relations of our Governments, but that an effort is made to connect it with other circumstances in order to support, if possible, a mistaken interpretation of the attitude of the Government of the United States toward Mexico. You state in effect that the American Government has placed every obstacle in the way of attaining the pacification of Mexico, and that this is shown by the volume of diplomatic representations in behalf of American interests which constantly impede efforts to reorganize the political, economical, and social conditions of the country; by the decided aid lent at one time to Villa by American officers and by the Department of State; by the aid extended by the American Catholic clergy to that of Mexico; by the constant activity of the American press in favor of intervention and the interests of American business men; by the shelter and supply of rebels and conspirators on American territory; by the detention of shipments of arms and munitions purchased by the Mexican Government, and by the detention of machinery intended for their manufacture.

ANSWER TO CHARGES

In reply to this sweeping charge, I can truthfully affirm that the American Government has given every possible encouragement to the de facto Government in the pacification and rehabilitation of Mexico. From the moment of its recognition it has had the undivided support of this Government. An embargo was placed upon arms and ammunition going into Chihuahua, Sonora, and Lower California, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the armed opponents of the de facto Government. Permission has been granted from time to time, as requested, for Mexican troops and equipment to traverse American territory from one point to another in Mexico in order that the operations of Mexicans troops against Villa and his forces might be facilitated.

In view of these friendly acts, I am surprised that the de facto Government has construed diplomatic representations in regard to the unjust treatment accorded American interests, private assistance to opponents to the de facto Government by sympathizers in a foreign country and the activity of a foreign press as interference by the United States Government in the domestic politics of Mexico. If a denial is needed that this Government has had ulterior and improper motives in its diplomatic representations, or has countenanced the activities of American sympathizers and the American press opposed to the de facto Government, I am glad most emphatically to deny it.

It is, however, a matter of common knowledge that the Mexican press has been more active than the press in the United States in endeavoring to inflame the two peoples against each other, and to force the two countries into hostilities. With the power of censorship of the Mexican press, so rigorously exercised by the de facto Government, the responsibility for this activity cannot, it would seem, be avoided by that Government, and the issue of the appeal of General Carranza himself, in the press of March 12, calling upon the Mexican people to be prepared for any emergency which might arise, and intimating that war with the United States was imminent, evidences the attitude of the de facto Government toward the publications.

REASON FOR STOPPING MUNITIONS

It should not be a matter of surprise that, after such manifestations of hostile feeling, the United States was doubtful of the purpose for which the large amount of ammunition was to be used which the de facto Government appeared eager to import from this country. Moreover, the policy of this de facto Government in refusing to co-operate, and in failing to act independently in destroying the Villa bandits, and in otherwise suppressing outlawry in the vicinity of the border, so as to remove the danger of war materials, while passing southward through this zone, falling into the hands of enemies of law and order, is, in the opinion of this Government, a sufficient ground, even if there were no other, for the refusal to allow such materials to cross the boundary into the bandit-infested region. To have permitted these shipments without careful scrutiny would, in the circumstances, have been to manifest a sense of security which would have been unjustified.

HOSTILITY OF COMMANDERS

Candor compels me to add that the unconcealed hostility of the subordinate military commanders of the de facto Government toward the American troops engaged in pursuing the Villa bands and the efforts of the de facto Government to compel their withdrawal from Mexican territory by threats and show of military force instead of by aiding in the capture of the outlaws, constitute a menace to the safety of the American troops and to the peace of the border. As long as this menace continues and there is any evidence of an intention on the part of the de facto Government or its military commanders to use force against the American troops instead of co-operating with them, the Government of the United States will not permit munitions of war or machinery for their manufacture to be exported from this country to Mexico.

As to the shelter and supply of rebels and conspirators on American territory, I can state that vigorous efforts have been and are being made by the agents of the United States to apprehend and bring to justice all persons found to be conspiring to violate the laws of the United States by organizing to oppose with arms the de facto Government of Mexico. Political refugees have undoubtedly

sought asylum in the United States, but this Government has vigilantly kept them under surveillance, and has not hesitated to apprehend them upon proof of their criminal intentions, as the arrest of General Huerta and others fully attests.

THE REAL SITUATION

Having corrected the erroneous statements of fact to which I have adverted, the real situation stands forth in its true light. It is admitted that American troops have crossed the international boundary in hot pursuit of the Columbus raiders, and without notice to or the consent of your Government, but the several protestations on the part of this Government by the President, by this department, and by other American authorities, that the object of the expedition was to capture, destroy, or completely disperse the Villa bands of outlaws or to turn this duty over to the Mexican authorities when assured that it would be effectively fulfilled, have been carried out in perfect good faith by the United States. Its efforts, however, have been obstructed at every point: First, by insistence on a palpably useless agreement, which you admit was either not to apply to the present expedition or was to contain impracticable restrictions on its organization and operation; then by actual opposition, encouraged and fostered by the de facto Government, to the further advance of the expedition into Villa territory, which was followed by the sudden suspension of all negotiations for an arrangement for the pursuit of Villa and his followers and the protection of the frontier; and, finally, by a demand for the immediate withdrawal of the American troops. Meantime, conditions of anarchy in the border States of Mexico were continually growing worse. Incursions into American territory were plotted and perpetrated. The Glenn Springs raid was successfully executed, while no effective efforts were being made by General Carranza to improve the conditions and to protect American territory from constant threat of invasion.

UNREASONABLE DEMANDS

In view of this increasing menace, of the inactivity of the Carranza forces, of the lack of co-operation in the apprehension of the Villa bands, and of the known encouragment and aid given to bandit leaders, it is unreasonable to expect the United States to withdraw its forces from Mexican territory, or to prevent their entry again when their presence is the only check upon further bandit outrages and the only efficient means of protecting American lives and homes—safeguards which General Carranza, though internationally obligated to supply, is manifestly unable or unwilling to give.

In view of the actual state of affairs as I have outlined it above, I am now in a position to consider the conclusions which you have drawn in your note under acknowledgment from the erroneous statements of fact which you have set forth.

Your Government intimates, if it does not openly charge, that the attitude of the United States is one of insincerity, distrust, and suspicion toward the de facto Government of Mexico, and that the intention of the United States in sending its troops into Mexico is to extend its sovereignty over Mexican territory, and not merely for the purpose of pursuing marauders and preventing future raids across the border. The de facto Government charges by implication which admits of but one interpretation, that this Government has as its object territorial aggrandizement even at the expense of a war of aggression against a neighbor weakened by years of civil strife. The Government of the United States, if it had had designs upon the territory of Mexico, would have had no difficulty in finding during this period of revolution and disorder many plausible arguments for intervention in Mexican affairs.

Hoping, however, that the people of Mexico would through their own efforts restore peace and establish an orderly Government, the United States has awaited with patience the consummation of the revolution.

RECOGNITION OF CARRANZA

When the superiority of the revolutionary faction led by General Carranza became undoubted, the United States, after conferring with six others of the American republics, recognized unconditionally the present de facto Government. It hoped and expected that that Government would speedily restore order and provide the Mexican people and others, who had given their energy and substance to the development of the great resources of the republic, opportunity to rebuild in peace and security their shattered fortunes.

This Government has waited month after month for the consummation of its hope of expectation. In spite of increasing discouragements, in spite of repeated provocations to exercise force in the restoration of order in the northern regions of Mexico, where American interests have suffered most seriously from lawlessness, the Government of the United States has refrained from aggressive action and sought by appeals and moderate though explicit demands to impress upon the de facto Government the seriousness of the situation and to arouse it to its duty to perform its international obligations toward citizens of the United States who had entered the territory of Mexico or had vested interests within its boundaries.

In the face of constantly renewed evidence of the patience and restraint of this Government in circumstances which only a Government imbued with unselfishness and a sincere desire to respect to the full the sovereign rights and national dignity of the Mexican people would have endured, doubts and suspicions as to the motives of the Government of the United States are expressed in your communication of May 22, for which I can imagine no purpose but to impugn the good faith of this Government, for I find it hard

to believe that such imputations are not universally known to be without the least shadow of justification in fact.

PROOFS OF GOOD FAITH

Can the de facto Government doubt that, if the United States had turned covetous eyes on Mexican territory, it could have found many pretexts in the past for the gratification of its desire? Can that Government doubt that months ago, when the war between the revolutionary factions was in progress, a much better opportunity than the present was afforded for American intervention, if such had been the purpose of the United States as the de facto Government now insinuates? What motive could this Government have had in refraining from taking advantage of such opportunities other than unselfish friendship for the Mexican Republic?

I have, of course, given consideration to your argument that the responsibility for the present situation rests largely upon this Government.

In the first place, you state that even the American forces along the border whose attention is undivided by other military operations "find themselves physically unable to protect effectively the frontier on the American side." Obviously, if there is no means of reaching bands roving on Mexican territory and making sudden dashes at night into American territory it is impossible to prevent such invasions unless the frontier is protected by a cordon of troops. No Government could be expected to maintain a force of this strength along the boundary of a nation with which it is at peace for the purpose of resisting the onslaughts of a few bands of lawless men, especially when the neighboring State makes no effort to prevent these attacks. The most effective method of preventing raids of this nature, as past experience has fully demonstrated, is to visit punishment or destruction on the raiders. It is precisely this plan which the United States desires to follow along the boundary without any intention of infringing upon the sovereign rights of her neighbor, but which, although obviously advantageous to the de facto Government, it refuses to allow or even countenance.

LIVES MUST BE PROTECTED

It is, in fact, protection to American lives and property about which the United States is solicitous, and not the methods or ways in which that protection shall be accomplished. If the Mexican Government is unwilling or unable to give this protection by preventing its territory from being the rendezvous and refuge of murderers and plunderers, that does not relieve this Government from its duty to take all the steps necessary to safeguard American citizens on American soil. The United States Government can not and will not allow bands of lawless men to establish themselves upon its borders with liberty to invade and plunder American territory with impunity, and, when pursued, to seek safety across the Rio Grande, relying upon the plea of their Government that the integrity of the soil of the Mexican Republic must not be violated.

The Mexican Government further protests that it has "made every effort on its part to protect the frontier," and that it is doing "all possible to avoid a recurrence of such acts." Attention is again invited to the well-known and unrestricted activity of De la Rosa, Ancieto Piscano, Pedro Vino, and others in connection with border raids, and to the fact that, as I am advised, up to June 4, De la Rosa was still collecting troops at Monterey for the openly avowed purpose of making attacks on Texan border towns, and that Pedro Vino was recruiting at other places for the same avowed purpose. I have already pointed out the uninterrupted progress of Villa to and from Columbus, and the fact that the American forces in pursuit of the Glenn Springs maurauders penetrated 168 miles into Mexican territory without encountering a single Carranzista soldier. This does not indicate that the Mexican Government is doing "all possible" to avoid further raids; and if it is doing "all possible," this is not sufficient to prevent border raids, and there is every reason, therefore, why this Government must take such preventive measures as it deems sufficient.

It is suggested that injuries suffered on account of the bandit raids are a matter of "pecuniary reparation," but "never the cause for American forces to invade Mexican soil." The precedents which have been established and maintained by the Government of the Mexican Republic for the last half century do not bear out this statement. It has grown to be almost a custom not to settle depredations of bandits by payments of money alone, but to quell such disorders and to prevent such crimes by swift and sure punishment.

A PARAMOUNT OBLIGATION

The de facto Government finally argues that "if the frontier were duly protected from incursions from Mexico, there would be no reason for the existing difficulty." Thus the de facto Government attempts to absolve itself from the first duty of any Government, namely, the protection of life and property. This is the paramount obligation for which Governments are instituted, and Governments neglecting or failing to perform it are not worthy of the name. This is the duty for which General Carranza, it must be assumed, initiated his revolution in Mexico, and organized the present Government, and for which the United States Government recognized his Government as the de facto Government of Mexico. Protection of American lives and property, then, in the United States is first the obligation of this Government, and in Mexico, is, first, the obligation of Mexico, and, second, the obligation of the United States.

In securing this protection along the common boundary, the United States has a right

to expect the co-operation of its neighboring republic; and, yet, instead of taking steps to check or punish the raiders, the de facto Government demurs and objects to measures taken by the United States. The Government of the United States does not wish to believe that the de facto Government approves these marauding attacks, yet, as they continue to be made, they show that the Mexican Government is unable to repress them. This inability, as this Government has had occasion in the past to say, may excuse the failure to check the outrages complained of, but it only makes stronger the duty of the United States to prevent them, for if the Government of Mexico cannot protect the lives and property of Americans, exposed to attack from Mexicans, the Government of the United States is in duty bound, so far as it can, to do so.

REFUSAL TO WITHDRAW

In conclusion, the Mexican Government invites the United States to support its "assurances of friendship with real and effective acts," which "can be no other than the immediate withdrawal of the American troops." For the reasons I have herein fully set forth, this request of the de facto Government cannot now be entertained. The United States has not sought the duty which has been forced upon it of pursuing bandits who, under fundamental principles of municipal and international law, ought to be pursued and arrested and punished by Mexican authorities. Whenever Mexico will assume and effectively exercise that responsibility, the United States, as it has many times before publicly declared, will be glad to have this obligation fulfilled by the de facto Government of Mexico. If, on the contrary, the de facto Government is pleased to ignore this obligation and to believe that "in case of a refusal to retire these troops there is no further recourse than to defend its territory by an appeal to arms," the Government of the United States would surely be lacking in sincerity and friendship if it did not frankly impress upon the de facto Government that the execution of this threat will lead to the gravest consequences. While this Government would deeply regret such a result, yet it cannot recede from its settled determination to maintain its national rights and to perform its full duty in preventing further invasions of the territory of the United States and in removing the peril which Americans along the international boundary have borne so long with patience and forbearance. Accept, &c.

ROBERT LANSING.

The Man and the Machine

By Gilbert K. Chesterton

The Famous English Essayist

AMONG the fairy tales in which we formerly indulged is one which we are luckily losing in the deadly disillusionment of war. It may be called the legend of the Teutonic Race; or, the fairy tale of the two-golden-haired brothers. These two blonde and beautiful persons, the Englishman and the German, were twins in some prehistoric perambulator and were destined to embrace again at some far-off family party, having only been separated in the interval by the one being occupied in annexing the whole of the earth and the other the whole of the sea. Other groups and institutions, such trifles as the Roman Empire, the French Revolution, the melting pot of America, and what can only be called the continent of Russia—these things did not exist at all, except as things to be annexed. It is legitimate, I think, to be proud of having really artistic dreams; and it has no disadvantages, except that in order to dream we must sleep. And we awoke when the knife was at our throat. When we sought for our brother we saw the face of a stranger, and looked into the eyes of a savage.

The truth is that no two men, neither of them literally black nor literally naked, could well be more different than the two types which have come to stand for England and for Germany. It is the islander against the inlander, the amateur against the specialist, the eulogist of a liberty falling into laxity against the eulogist of a discipline driven to terrorism, the heir of a ruined Roman province against the chief of a half-baked and hardly baptized tribe, the wanderer whose winnings have all been at the ends of the earth against the plodder who has laid field to field, and taken his provinces from his nearest neighbors. The perception of

this contrast is no mere recoil due to the war; it has long been apparent to those who preferred European history to Teuton mythology. Its solidity can be proved by the fact that the contrast holds in the weaknesses as in the merits of England.

That Prussianized Germany is supremely efficient is indeed widely asserted and often taken for granted. When I remarked elsewhere on the spiritual insanity of modern Germany, a critic ruefully expressed the wish that the German rulers would bite some of our own. I am far from saying that the German rulers may not bite somebody; one never can tell where true scientific progress may lead. But I am prepared to maintain that in the plain test of positive battle, their biting has been much less effective than General Joffre's nibbling.

German discipline seems to be the science of repeating a mistake. It would really seem as if the concentration of the mind on mechanical triumphs made the mind itself mechanical. The essence of all machinery is recurrence. But though the engine must repeat itself to be a success, if the engineer always repeats himself he will be a bore. The wheel is always returning and beginning again; but we do not want the coach to be always going back and starting again. Nowadays it does not seem so much to be the North Germans who make a machine that repeats itself; it is rather the machine that makes them repeat themselves. The fanciful might think they had really found perpetual motion, the impossibility—which has passed into a proverb; and that they had found it, like so many things mysteriously forbidden, a disaster for the sons of men.

Those who talk as if the English tradition of liberty or looseness were an unmixed weakness are perpetually reminding us of the fiasco of Gallipoli. The English abandoned the effort against Gallipoli. The Germans have not abandoned the effort against Verdun. To them it will probably appear a paradox, but it is a very solid truism, that the Germans have therefore suffered a much more crushing defeat than the English.

But there is a much wider area in which the truth is supremely true and supremely important. I mean, of course, the English tradition of a liberal adaptability in the problems of colonies and dependencies. Here again a mere jingo optimism merely swamps the honest objectivity of the claim we can really make. England has done many things which I, as an Englishman, deplore or detest; she has done some things which all Englishmen deplore or detest. But what is strictly and scientifically true about England is this, that wherever the English influence is present, men feel that it has something which I can only call the flexibility of a living thing. The vital point is not that these things were done; it is that they were done and undone; that the men who made the mistake were alive enough to see the mistake. The strength of the Prussian, not by our account, but by his own account, lies in his inflexibility; and there are not wanting at this moment advocates of panic and persecution to urge this foreign fad upon the Government of England.

The truth is that amnesty and compromise have been for England a strength in the very strongest sense—that most athletic type of strength that goes with activity. A wooden leg is not stronger than a living leg, because it does not flinch and draw back when it steps on a thorn. The strength of the English influence has been that at the extremest limits of its sprawling limbs it has been at least alive, and knew the nature of what it touched. People complained of it, but they also complained to it; for they knew it had strength enough to move and mend. But the wooden leg is planted firmly in Belgium today; and we shall not waste our time in complaining to a wooden leg. We shall do so the less because the wooden leg is in truth adorned and completed by a wooden head; and the whole is one huge wooden idol carved like Hindenburg, which the limbs of living men shall lift and cast into the fire.

War Events From Two Viewpoints

In order that no phase of the truth may be overlooked CURRENT HISTORY offers two expert interpretations of the military events of the month, one written from the German, the other from the American point of view.

[AMERICAN VIEW]

The Month's Military Developments

From May 15 to June 15, 1916

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

[See map of Italy on Page 643]

THE month ended June 15 has produced some of the most surprising incidents of the great war. These are the naval battle in the North Sea, the Austrian attack against the Italian positions in Trentino, and the Russian offensive against the Austrian positions from the Pripet Marshes to Bukowina.

As to the naval battle, its facts and figures are set forth fully elsewhere. There now seems to have been very little difference between the respective casualties. The great difference in the naval resources of the Allies and the Central Powers, however, makes such conditions a German defeat. If it were a German victory, Germany needs but few more such to be eliminated from consideration as a naval power.

It is clear that the battle of Verdun is not going in a way that tends to instill confidence in the German mind, either at home or on the firing line. Possibly, also, the Balkan nations are commencing to wonder whether the world's verdict on the German possibilities is not, after all, a mistaken one. There have been rumblings from the Reichstag for some time over the progress, or rather the lack of progress, of events. The German people were led to believe great things of the Verdun attack. The failure of these things to materialize has caused, first, surprise, and now apparently some little resentment. It was necessary that something be done to draw public attention from Verdun and focus the public gaze on some more spectacular happening. The sudden naval engagement in the North Sea supplied that need.

An intelligent reference to the situation created in Italy's fortunes by the attack of Austria in Trentino requires a brief preface of the general Italian plan. The original plan was for an offensive on only one front, that of the Isonzo. The entire western and northern Austro-Italian border is heavily buttressed with almost impassable mountains, the Isonzo front alone being open and offering the necessary elemental prospects of success. In Trentino, however, these mountains are penetrated by several valleys, which, if left open, would have nullified any attempt to operate against the Isonzo line, by providing a very ready passage for Austrian troops, who would then take the Isonzo line in the rear. The Italians, therefore, at the very beginning, attempted to close these gaps as a measure of defense on the Isonzo line. In this defensive operation in Trentino they advanced some distance up the principal valleys, until they were at the gates of Rovereto and Riva and were seriously threatening both cities. At this point, however, they were content to rest and spend all their energies on the eastern front. For some months there had been almost absolute quiet in this field, which was the situation when the Austrian offensive started.

The Austrian move was dictated by a very ambitious plan to invade Northern Italy, penetrate beyond the mountain

barrier into the plains, seize the railroad lines crossing these plains and running to Venice, take this latter city itself, and paralyze the entire Isonzo operation. As an incident to this success, the entire Italian line in the north of Italy would be taken in the rear and would either have to retire south of the railroad or be captured through being cut off. The area embraced by the Austrian attack can best be roughly described as a right-angle triangle, the base of which is a line forty miles due east of Borghetto and whose altitude is thirty miles due north along a line drawn from the point thus reached. The hypotenuse of this triangle will thus approximate the boundary between Austria and Italy. The object of the attack was, as noted, the control of the railroads crossing the northern Italian plain. There are two such roads serving the Isonzo front, one passing through Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, and Treviso, and the other through Mantua and Padua. The latter is the more important, as it reaches the more important industrial centres and depots of Lombardy and Piedmont. It is apparent that if the Austrians could take the more northern of these lines the Isonzo front would be imperiled, and if they took both it would be completely cut off.

The two principal exits from the Alps to the northern Italian plain are the Val Lagarina, which is the valley of the Adige, and the Val Sugana, which is the valley of the Brenta. These carry the two main roads and the only railroads of this part of the Trentino country. One, if not both, must be in Austrian hands before it can be said that they have done anything seriously to hamper the Italian operations. The critical points in the two valleys are Valstagna, in the Val Sugana, and Borghetto, in the Val Lagarina, as from these points south the character of the country begins to change from the altitudinous Alps to the plains below. The Austrians drove the Italians back on an average of about ten miles over the entire front, taking position after position in the most difficult country imaginable, and captured a great number of men and quantities of material. They advanced with the towns of Arsiero and Asiago as their immediate objectives to within about five miles of either place. The importance of these places, particularly Asiago, relates only to the Val Sugana. From Asiago to Valstagna is but seven miles. A successful fight for the latter town would give the Austrians complete control of the Val Sugana and turn the entire Italian position in this valley.

It is to be noted that the Austrian success was made possible by a very heavy and entirely unexpected concentration of men and heavy guns, utilized to their utmost ability by an attack in which surprise was the dominating characteristic. To this feature of surprise and to their heavy artillery the Austrians owe the measure of success they have so far attained. As they advance, however, owing to the extremely difficult nature of the terrain, the transportation of guns and munitions becomes an operation increasingly difficult. This shows itself in the fact that for several weeks now the Austrians have been halted almost in place.

The indications are that the Austrian blow has spent its force and that the Italians are taking the offensive. If this is so the Austrians have but little to show for their effort. They have reconquered a small amount of territory and have, indeed, carried the war to Italian soil. They have also captured a large number of prisoners and a number of guns. The only loss that the Italians will feel, however, is the loss in artillery, which may well prove serious. Judging from present indications, the Austrian effort is a plan that died a-borning, and that as an offensive movement it is purely local in character and effect.

The feature of the month has been the inauguration of a great Russian offensive, which has taken in the entire front from the Gulf of Riga to Czernowitz, on the Pruth. This movement has created great surprise in the minds of all followers of the war. In the first place, the Russian march through the Caucasus and along the Black Sea seemed so pregnant of important possibilities that Russia was expected to devote most of her energies to that campaign. In the

BATTLE LINE OF GREAT RUSSIAN DRIVE IN VOLHYNIA AND GALICIA, SHOWING STAGE OF PROGRESS ON JUNE 15, 1916.

second place, it has only been a few weeks since an offensive on the southern part of the western front was begun and crushed. Finally, it was not considered that Russia had had sufficient time to recoup her losses in men and material incident to the terrific drubbing she received from Germany last Summer.

The time for such a movement was, it is true, propitious. Austria is known not to have any too many men. She has called to the colors her 1918 class and has already warned the 1919 class. The Russians hold almost as many Austrian prisoners as the Germans do Russian prisoners. Owing to the calamities that overtook her in the early days of the war, her losses have been out of all proportion to Germany's, or even to Russia's. When the offensive against the Italian Trentino was started it was but natural, therefore, to wonder where Austria obtained the men. Her reserves were certainly not ample for the purpose, and even if they were it would not seem a very wise policy to use them in such an enterprise. They could not have been taken from the Isonzo front, as the Austrian forces there were under constant pressure from the Italians and the front could not be weakened without giving the Italians free passage of the river at the Gorizia bridgehead. The only other place the men could have come from was that section of the Russian line between the Pripet Marshes and the Bessarabian frontier. And as the Russian offensive progresses it is becoming evident that this is where they did come from.

Apparently the Austrians, having beaten Russia back, felt that the enemy would not strike there soon again. But Russia did strike, and struck with tremendous impact, which broke the Austrian lines as they had not been broken since the first months of the war, when Russia conquered all of Galicia. In vain did Austria call for German assistance.

The Germans were firmly hooked at Verdun. They had been pouring troops into the Verdun area since February, and France would not let her go. Moreover, Russia was active also in the Dvinsk sector, and Germany did not dare weaken this front for fear that the Russians would break through here. Consequently Austria has had to fight the fight alone, with such meagre help as the Germans in the Poliesse region could give.

Conjecture as to the Russian object is unnecessary. The direct object of the attack is certain—the railroad centres, first of Kovel and then of Lemberg. The Russian movement was admirably planned, the time selected with unerring reasoning, the strategy perfect in conception. In the first days of the attack Kovel was apparently deemed the all-important point. Accordingly, the full force of the Russian blow struck first at Volhynia. The Volhynian triangle is the crux of the entire situation in this section. Lutsk and Dubno fell into Austrian hands early last Fall. With them went most of the area included in the triangle. Along the Ikwa and the Styr ran the Austrian lines in heavily intrenched positions. But in one June week both of the western fortresses fell, and the Russians were overrunning the entire triangle, capturing prisoners by the thousands. In the south, on the west bank of the Sereth River, the Russians also drove forward, but it seemed that their object was merely to prevent any transfer of troops to the threatened section. As matters have developed, however, the Austrian lines here also were weak, and have been driven back in some places to the Stripa, and in some places across it and almost to Zlota Lipa. Czernowitz, the capital of the Austrian crown land of Bukowina, is almost completely surrounded and cut off, the bridgeheads of the Dniester to the north are all forced and in Russian hands. At this writing the Russians are fighting within three miles of the city. Unless the force of the Russian attack is suddenly spent, it seems that nothing can prevent the fall of the city.

In the north, west of Volhynia, the Russians have advanced to within less than twenty miles of Kovel and are still pushing rapidly forward. As they move west their progress will be seriously retarded by the fact that the lines of communication of the Austrians become shorter, and their troops, because of Austro-German control of the railroads, can be shifted much more quickly. But the speed of the Russian attack has carried them far beyond the last line of Austrian intrenchments, and the Austrians are not being given the opportunity to prepare new ones. They are being rapidly pursued by the Cossacks, who have taken great masses of war material of all kinds.

Because of the rapidity of their advance, however, the Russian lines are becoming very irregular and somewhat broken. Their consolidation will take some little time. At the same time, the Austrian position is very precarious. Deep salients are being created in their lines about Kovel, so that the flank of their line further north is being vitally affected. If Kovel falls the entire line, at least as far north as Pripet, will have to fall back, as it is dependent on the railroad running through Kovel for supplies.

The extent of the Russian success cannot yet be determined. They have captured so far about 150,000 prisoners and have completely disrupted the entire system of Austrian defense. At least one-third of the entire Austrian force in this section has been put out of action, and each day Russia reports thousands of additional prisoners. The Germans have attempted to relieve the situation by an attack along the Dwina, but the Russians, without diminishing the force of their blow against Austria, have answered with a heavy attack in the Lake Narosc region to the south. In ten days the Russians have retaken many more times the area that Germany has taken about Verdun since February, have taken five times the number of prisoners, though operating in a much more difficult territory and on a much more extended front.

In other theatres but little has happened of interest. The Germans are

still keeping up their attacks at Verdun, but their progress is to them painfully slow. The only change in the situation worthy of note is the fall of Fort Vaux. This may prove to be the turning point in the Verdun fighting, as it may enable the Germans little by little to outflank the entire French main position on the ridge of Louvemont. What the German object is in persisting in these attacks for a small fortified area is still a mystery. No military conception is yet apparent that offers a reasonable explanation. The Russian endeavor in the Near East is apparently at a standstill, only local engagements of minor importance having taken place during the month. This, however, is not unnatural, in view of the Russian operations further west. In summarizing the month's operations it may be said that at no time since the Marne have the prospects of the Allies been so bright. Russia's rejuvenation, as thorough as it has been unlooked for, has changed the whole face of things.

[GERMAN VIEW]

Progress at All the Battle Fronts

Written for CURRENT HISTORY

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New York Staats-Zeitung

[See war maps on Pages 635 and 643]

OVERSHADOWING all the month's military developments stands the great naval battle off the coast of Denmark, which history will regard as a crucial test of strength. It is one of the most significant events of this war, the greatest in the history of modern naval warfare, the clash of a centuries-old claim, based upon many successes, with a "Future Upon the Water." And herein lies the world-historic importance of the sea fight of May 31—that it signified the dusk—the Götterdämmerung—of an antiquated claim and the dawn of a new future.

The battle at the Skagerrak did not succeed in hauling from the topmast of Britain's naval power the glory-crowned colors that have through centuries fluttered above all seas; but it wound the sprouting green of the German oak around the iron cross on black-white-and-red, the German navy's ensign. Claims and counterclaims have been made as to the losses, as determined by the figures of tonnage. The losses, however, can only determine the fighting strength that is left on either side; they cannot nullify the verdict of history.

The sea battle off the Skagerrak constitutes one of the greatest events in the history of modern naval warfare, because the course, result, and effects of this battle put naval warfare under an entirely new perspective, create new rules of tactics, and lead to an evolutionary phase of the whole naval situation.

PHASES OF THE BATTLE

The battle took the following course:

(a) The taking of positions by the opposing fleets.

(b) The battle in the afternoon of May 31.

(c) The attempt of the British cruiser squadron to cut off the German fleet from its base.

(d) The continuation of the battle during the night from May 31 to June 1.

The British main fleet had been concentrated off the Orkney Isles for a proposed raid on the German coast. This home fleet consisted of units of the four battleship squadrons, the three cruiser squadrons, the light cruiser squadron, the destroyer flotilla, and the submarine flotilla. Admiral Sir John Jellicoe was in chief command; Vice Admiral Beatty commanded the cruiser squadron. The itinerary first led the British fleet in the direction of the Skagerrak, the object

being later to take a southern course toward the German coast, the main base of the German fleet, and to attack Heligoland and Wilhelmshaven.

The excellent reconnoissance work of the German Navy had reported both the British naval concentration off the Orkney Isles and the subsequent approach of the hostile warships. The German High Seas Fleet, Admiral Scheer in chief command and Rear Admiral Hipper in charge of the cruiser squadron, left Wilhelmshaven, gathered the mosquito flotillas patrolling the waters around Heligoland, steamed out to meet the enemy, met him in the afternoon of May 31 between Horn's Riff and the Skagerrak, and opened battle at a distance of 11 kilometers.

At this comparatively short distance the battle was bound to dissolve soon into separate running actions. Neither side attempted to destroy the enemy at long distance before the smaller cruisers and torpedo craft could approach. All the weapons of naval warfare took a hand soon after the opening of the battle, and its course and result were determined by all weapons.

In the artillery engagement at short distance the medium calibres and the marksmanship as well as dexterity of manoeuvring proved great assets upon the German side. The comparatively short distance at which this stage of the battle was fought constituted a hindering element for the participation of the dreadnoughts and their big-calibre guns.

The first phase of the afternoon battle had entered into the seventh hour when Vice Admiral Beatty undertook to place his cruiser squadron between the German fleet, and its base. This was a tactical mistake, for the extension of the battle line—between points respectively 40 and 135 kilometers from the Jutland Coast—should have been sufficient to prove to him the futility of such an attempt.

The first official communications of the British Admiralty denied that on the English side any battleships participated in the afternoon fighting. This version was later corrected by London: Upon the arrival of the battleships, it was then stated, the Germans hastily took to retreat. With the settling of dusk the fourth phase (d) of the battle began. It lasted far into the night. This phase was, from the military standpoint, the most interesting and instructive. It brought the almost exclusive action of the torpedo craft.

It was, one English version puts it, as if, after an effective artillery initiation and preparation, infantry went forth to attack. It was the liveliest running action of the whole fight. In the first two phases marksmanship and clever manoeuvring were decisive; now personal courage and integrity counted. It was as in the open battlefield, where the man proves his full worth and individual qualities count.

LESSONS OF THE BATTLE

1. The legend of the British Navy's immunity from attack, and of its inviolability, has been shattered. The claim that Britannia, unchallenged, rules the waves has been rendered untenable.

2. With the Skagerrak battle was brought into being a Verdun of the sea. For, as at Verdun, so in the naval fight off Jutland's coast, the bearing-down strategy, the strategy that aims at defeating the enemy in the open, has taken the lead. What trench warfare is on land, submarine warfare is on water, both in purpose and tactics. As in the trenches, the opponent is to be worn down and out, so utter exhaustion is to be brought about at sea by the submarines. But the ultimate and final decision, attained only by the destruction of the opponent's military strength, falls, as on land, also on the sea—in open battle.

3. The course and result of the Skagerrak battle have given the lie to the dreadnought school and the submarine school. The former sees in the "one-calibre" ship and in the increase of calibre the decisive weapon for the destruction of the opponent. The latter would revolutionize, through the medium of the submarine, the whole scheme of tactics in naval warfare, and would place the scene of the decision under water.

Belying such claims and theories of these two schools, the recent sea fight demonstrates that the decision is not

GENERAL LUIGI CADORNA

Commander in Chief of the Italian Armies, Who Has Checked the Great Austrian Offensive in the Alps

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

BARON CONRAD VON HERTZENDORF

The Austrian Commander Who Directed the Powerful Offensive Against the Italians in the Trentino

(Photo © by Universal Press Syndicate.)

determined by any one particular weapon, but that it is rather attained by the employment of all offensive weapons.

The sea fight off Jutland did not accord the heaviest artillery, the 38-centimeter guns, the rôle of the decisive factor. The "bigger-than-the-other" tactics, which prompted the gigantic construction program of the dreadnought and superdreadnought battleships, did not assert itself, inasmuch as the course and the result of the battle were determined at, and by, shorter distances.

On the basis of the official accounts of both sides, and with the aid of the statistical data given in the Taschenbuch der Kriegsflotten by Captain Lieut. B. Weyer, the losses of both sides are seen to have been:

On the German side, 60,720 tons.

On the British side, 117,150 tons.

But these figures prove nothing. Success in the Skagerrak battle depended upon quite different factors. The means of power by which England maintains her world dominion are mostly unreal. The prestige of the British name and the myth of the inviolability and immunity from attack of the English fleet form the clasps that hold the world empire together. Whatever claims and counterclaims may be cited to prove victory or defeat for one or the other side, one result, that which is epoch-making, is irrefutable—the mistaken theory about England's world rule. The myth is disposed of.

THE RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE

Since the initiation of the Russian offensive on June 3, the situation on the southeastern front has again become the centre of interest in the European war. The offensive was launched along a line beginning north of the Pripet and extending southward to the Bessarabian frontier, a distance of 250 miles.

The immediate objectives are Lemberg, capital of Galicia, in the west, and Kovel in a north-northwestward direction. The fighting is over the possession of the following important railway lines: The Lutsk-Kovel-Brest-Litovsk railway; the Dubno-Brody-Lemberg railroad, and the sector Tarnopol-Krasno, which there meets the Brody-Lemberg line.

The distance from Dubno to Lemberg is 140 kilometers; from Buczacz to Lemberg, 135 kilometers; from Tarnopol to Lemberg, 120 kilometers; from Lutzk to Kovel, 60, and thence to Brest-Litovsk, 120 kilometers.

At the time this review is concluded the military situation on the southeastern front has developed as follows:

1. Volhynian Front.—The Russians have occupied the fortresses of Lutzk and Dubno, and to the north and south have crossed the River Styr. They have been halted and even driven back, however, by the Austro-Hungarians at Kolki, where the crossing of the Styr, in the direction of Kovel, had been forced.

2. Galician Front.—After crossing the River Sereth the Russians occupied Buczacz, and in dense masses pushed toward Przevloka, but were beaten back there by the army of the Bavarian General, Count von Bothmer.

3. Bukowina Front.—This has always been the most vulnerable spot in the entire southeastern battle line. Czernowitz, which the Russians in the previous course of the war captured several times, fell with the occupation by the Russians of Zaleszczyki, Horodenka, and Okna.

Simultaneously, a Russian forward movement was launched against the positions to the north of Baronovitchi, a sector of the front held by the Bavarian Prince Leopold. Seven times the attackers stormed against the German "trench front," which begins in that region and extends further northward as far as the Dwina. Seven times the Muscovite masses were thrown back.

It was scarcely necessary for the Austro-Hungarian high command to announce officially that the Russian official reports concerning numbers of prisoners taken are grossly exaggerated. To believe those enormous Russian figures would be to assume that the Austro-Hungarian troops stood in dense masses on top of one another. The official Vienna statement says further that the losses of the Russians are between two and three times as large as the Austrian. That is plausible when one considers that the Russians are attacking en masse on a very long front.

The further development of this Russian offensive will depend upon the answers to two questions: When will sufficient reinforcements have arrived on the Teutonic side, and how long can the "forward" strategy of General Brusiloff, with its waste of human material and ammunition, keep up? Such waste has spelled disaster to every previous Russian offensive.

The Austro-German lines southwest of Kovel are holding; the Teuton resistance here becomes more stubborn hourly. Here it is, however, that General Brusiloff must pierce the Teuton lines and drive them beyond Kovel, thus placing himself in control of the entire railway system serving the Teuton southern wing. The further the Russians advance in the south and the stronger the Austro-German forces become in the north, the more perilous becomes the position of the Russian left wing, for it exposes itself more and more to the menace of a flanking attack from the north which might accomplish what was tried in vain in the great 1915 drive—the complete envelopment and capture of a whole Russian army.

ON THE ITALIAN FRONT

The happenings in the Italian theatre of war do not at all indicate that the "long-distance" effect of the Russian offensive is making itself felt in the necessity to draw Austro-Hungarian forces from the South Tyrolean frontier. The principal fighting goes on at present in the area between Arsiero and Asiago. East of Asiago the attackers have extended their front beyond Ronci, have stormed Monte Meletta, and have advanced as far as Stoccareddo. To the southeast of Asiago they have taken possession of the hostile positions on the Monte Lemerle, south of Gesuna.

Monte Meletta dominates the Brenta Valley, through which runs the Trent-Venice railway. Ronci lies only a few kilometers from the station of Vallzuga. This advance in an eastward direction from Asiago purposes cutting off the Italians from the vital line of communication eastward. As soon as this purpose is achieved the retirement of all the Italian forces further east in the Val Sugana will become imperative. Moreover, the road leads through the Frenzela Valley and the Brenta Valley to Bassano, where the Venetian plain begins, and further to Citadella, on the great line Vincenza - Citadella - Castellofranco -Treviso-Venice.

Not only the military but also the intended political "long-distance" effect of the Russian offensive upon the developments on the Italian front and the situation in Italy have failed. It did not even save the Salandra Cabinet, despite the retired Premier's explicit reference to this Russian offensive.

PROGRESS AT VERDUN

The Verdun campaign is hastening toward its conclusion. On the right bank of the Meuse the inner enceinte of forts already has been taken under German fire. After the capture of Vaux Fort the German lines to the west of the fort extend to Thiaumont farm, with Hill 321, southward to the village of Fleury and Fort Souville, and southeastward to Fort Tavannes. The latter lies south of the Metz-Verdun railway, and forms the easternmost fortification of Verdun. Between this ring and the fortress proper there are only Forts Belleville and St. Michel and the detached works of Douaumont, (not to be confused with the fort of the same name long since in German hands.)

At the same time the operations west of the Meuse continue. Chattancourt, the key to the line Esnes-Fort de Bois Bourrus-Fort de Marre, is under the Crown Prince's heavy artillery fire. The Fort de Marre forms the fortification nearest to Verdun proper from the northwest. From the line Esnes-Hill 310-Bourrus Wood the advance will proceed southward as far as the Verdun-Paris railway.

The forward movements east and west of the Meuse proceed at an even pace; in other words, as soon as a success has been gained on one bank, the line is straightened out by a subsequent advance on the other. The definite fall of Verdun will be forced from the northeast and northwest.

A Year of the War in Italy

[Written for CURRENT HISTORY by a Staff Contributor]

IT has been said that of all the immensely varied and widespread battlefields of the world war—and they stretch from the Gulf of Finland in the north to the south of Africa, from the English Channel to the Yellow Sea of China, with sea fights even more remote—the Italian battle front is the most beautiful and full of romance. It is also, unless, perhaps, we except the frozen peaks and passes of the Caucasus, in which Russian troops often fought up to their breasts in snow, by far the most difficult; immensely long, stretching in a jagged line 400 miles from end to end, it is, for the most part, immensely high also; every half dozen miles there are summits running up to seven or eight or even ten thousand feet. The battle is being fought along an international boundary running among the Alps, and the boundary has been made to run from mountain summit to mountain summit, along precipices and lofty ridges of gaunt, barren, or snow covered rock. Only at two points—the valley leading down to the northern end of the Lake of Garda, and the coast land where the Isonzo River enters the Gulf of Trieste—does the Austro-Italian battle front come anywhere near to sea level; and, along the Isonzo, the actual battle line now runs along the verge of the Carso, which is a huge, desolate bastion of rock.

Italy is fighting to bring under her standard (the tricolor of red, white, and green) the territory which lies on the further side of this precipitous wall of rock, territory for the most part only less barren and precipitous than the rugged boundary wall itself. Save for three cities—Trent, Gorizia, Trieste—the stakes would hardly be worth the contest. But it is, with Italy, a point of honor and nationalism; and for her nationalism Italy is paying high. She seeks to reunite to her territory these three cities, each of which is overwhelmingly Italian in population and tradition—and, with them, to gain a few more little towns and villages, a few Alpine valleys and much barren rock. For ten months Italy wrangled with Austria over these towns and villages; then, on Sunday, May 23, 1915, set on fire by the burning eloquence of Gabriele D'Annunzio, she declared war, nominally against Austria alone; but legally, as the Leipsic courts have just decided, against Germany also.

It has been openly said that Italy really protracted the negotiations with Austria in order to prepare more thoroughly for war, in order to train her men and to lay up the immense stores of munitions that modern war requires. But at last she felt prepared, and on Monday, May 24, her troops rushed forward at chosen points all along the jagged, lofty line, seizing advantageous posts and passes, from the southern corner of Switzerland to the Isonzo. Italy's Alpinists with their light mountain guns, a force created and trained with a view to this very kind of fighting, struggled, high in the air, against the Tyrolean sharpshooters, mountaineers as skillful, as hardy, as brave; and to this frontier Austria also brought large bodies of Slavonic troops, whose fidelity in fighting against their Slavonic cousins in the east was more than doubtful.

In the early Summer of 1915 the Italian Alpini fought their way from the Stelvio Pass, which leads into Eastern Switzerland and the Engadine, up the glacial peaks of the Ortler, which rises nearly 13,000 feet above the Italian plains; a little further south, half way between the corner of Switzerland and Lake Garda, they scaled Mount Adamello, some 12,000 feet; on the other side of the southward-pointing Trentino wedge, in the battle zone called the Cadore sector, they rushed through the lovely little city of Cortina, with its mountain roads leading westward to Bolzano (Bozen) and northward to Brunech, and thence to the Brenner Pass, the great highway, some 4,400 feet high, which leads from Italy to the Tyrol; they swarmed across the

mountain wall into the Daone Valley, immediately to the west of Lake Garda, and south of Mount Adamello; they seized Monte Altissimo, (which, in spite of its name, is not "the highest" peak, though it measures well over 6,000 feet;) they captured Ala, on the River Adige, about half way between the Italian frontier and Rovereto, (which is a name softened from the old Roman, Roboretum, "the oak wood";) Monte Maggio, and the territory between the Chiesa and the Brenta, which flows past Borgo through the Val Sugana, the great road to the central and ardently desired City of Trent.

The work of trench-building is here replaced by the more arduous task of hewing positions out of bare rock, and hence the extraordinary difficulty and extreme slowness of the Italian advance. In the Trentino, the most westerly of the four Italian battle zones, (Trentino, Cadore, Carnia, Isonzo,) the Alpini occupied the southern end of the Val Giudecaria, to the west of Lake Garda; the southern end of Val Lagarina, to the east of the lake; the eastern end of the Val Sugana, up to Borgo; and a very thin slice of rock, joining the Trentino sector to Cadore.

The Cadore sector lies right along the western end of the Carnic Alps, from Monte Cristallo, (some 10,000 feet high,) across the peaks of Tre Cime, Monte Popera, Monte Croce, to Monte Peralba, none of them much lower than Monte Cristallo; from the frontier a sea of peaks extends southward toward the Venetian plain; another sea of peaks extends northward toward the Hohe Tauern in Tyrol. As early as August, 1915, the Alpini had made some headway here, in brilliant, perilous work among the precipices, with the result that, when the first snows of Autumn fell, the three rock citadels, the Einser, the Elfer, and the Drei Zinnen, had been won and fortified against the Austrians.

Taking Cortina as their base, the Italians fough their way up the Valle d'Ampezzo, just west of Monte Cristallo, until they won Ospitale, the little town through which the curiously angular road leads northward to the Puster Thal and Brunech. In September they succeeded, by daring rock work, in gaining possession of Monte Coston. Then the snow began to fall on the heights. During the first period of soft snow, military operations became almost impossible, even for the hardy and skillful Alpini, but, as the snow hardened, and the use of skis became possible, some incredibly daring achievements were carried out, for example, on the north slopes of Monte Adamello, (which lies, as we have said, about half way between the Lake of Garda and Switzerland,) and on the Presanella, immediately to the north of Adamello, to which the Alpini made their way through the Tonale Pass.

The battle sector of Carnia, which lies between the Cadore and the Isonzo sectors, is, if possible, more barren, rugged, desolate than the Cadore sector itself. It lies wholly along the backbone of the Carnic Alps, which separate the very mountainous regions of Northern Venetia from the Austrian valleys of the Zeglia (or Gail) and the Save. Here the battle line has all along clung very close to the international boundary, being, for the most part, just north of it, so that the Italians have some slight (but very slight) advantage. At about Pontafel, where the railroad from Venice to Vienna crosses from Italian to Austrian territory, the Carnia sector merges into the Isonzo sector; and in this fourth and last sector, which contains the richest prizes, there has been the severest fighting, conforming more to the general features of armed conflict, and less resembling chamois hunting.

The Isonzo Valley, widening to the south, allows the warm southern airs of Italy to penetrate far northward from the Gulf of Trieste; so that Gorizia, in the neck of the valley, has for centuries been famed as a Winter resort, and, in Spring, a place where peaches ripen earlier than anywhere else in the Austrian Empire. It is, indeed, the centre of a great fruit garden, almost Californian in climate, in products, in vegetation. Gorizia itself lies about a high rock, on which is perched the ancient citadel-fortress of the Dukes of Gorizia and Gradisca; it is the centre of a ring

MAP OF WHOLE ITALIAN FRONT, SHOWING SCENE OF RECENT AUSTRIAN OFFENSIVE IN THE TRENTINO.

of hills, and much of the ring is still in Austrian hands; so that, though Italian guns have for several months commanded Gorizia, Italian troops have found it either impossible or at least inexpedient to penetrate there.

On the railroad from Udine, on the Italian side, in the centre of the Friul country which rejoices in a Romanic tongue of its own, somewhat nearer to Latin than is Italian, to Gorizia, the first station on the Austrian side of the frontier, is Cormons, which lies at the southern verge of the hills that descend gradually from the Carnic and Julián Alps to the Venetian plain; Cormons was captured, soon after the beginning of the war, by General Count Cadorna's forces, and has since served as a basis of operations against Gorizia.

It may be said that, as regards Gorizia, the effort of the Italian command seems to have been rather to exericise a steady pressure, such as would compel Austria to keep considerable bodies of troops there, than to take the City of Gorizia by storm, at the cost of very heavy Italian losses. The strategy of Count Cadorna is, therefore, to be viewed rather as a part of the whole plan of the Quadruple Entente than as a separate aggressive, designed immediately to win territory for Italy. One would say that the purpose of Italy is to divert troops from other Entente fronts, counting on the peace negotiations rather than on actual fighting to restore the territory of Unredeemed Italy. At any rate, after thirteen months of war, Italy has advanced only a few miles toward Trent, only a few miles toward Gorizia, only a few miles toward Trieste—the three real prizes of the war. There has been pretty constant artillery fighting on all four frontiers, but, from the nature of the regions, there have been few infantry charges.

The valley of the Isonzo is bounded, on the east by the curious Carso (or Karst) plateau, which is one of the most desolate and forbidding regions in Europe. A lofty plateau of grayish limestone, the Carso was once heavily wooded, and fairly fertile, where clearings were made in the forests. But the trees were recklessly cut down and carried away; and, as the rains began to beat directly on the very thin layer of soil that covered the whitish limestone rock, the water swept the soil away, leaving the rock entirely bare. So that, even in Summertime, the Carso plateau looks as if it were covered with dirty snow. In the limestone, however, it is possible to excavate trenches such as are seen on the other fronts, and very severe trench warfare has been going on here for months, the Italians gradually making their way, first up the front of the great rock bastion, then eastward and southward, along its surface.

The battle line reaches the sea just eastward of Monfalcone, which is only about twelve miles from Trieste. Trieste is the greatest prize of the Italian campaign, a fine harbor, and rich commercial city, almost wholly inhabited by Italians; and, with the whole peninsula of Istria, and, indeed, much of the Dalmatian coast, rich in remains of the great past of the Roman Empire. Pola and Fiume are Italian cities of Istria, only less important and less coveted than Trieste itself.

Three of the four Italian war sectors are, as we have seen, along the backbones of high mountain ridges; and the snow, in the Winter of 1915-16, fell thicker and deeper than in other years. As a result, the higher passes are only now, at the beginning of July, beginning to be passable for any one but an Alpino on skis, so that ordinary warfare is practically impossible. The Isonzo front alone is enjoying the early warmth of Summer, and it will soon be exceedingly hot across the desolate Carso.

Such, then, along the four sectors, was the general position, after a year's warfare, when the recent powerful Austrian drive began.

The Austrian Offensive Against Italy

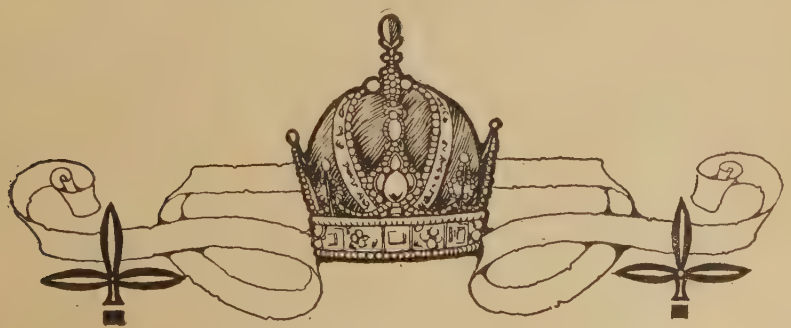
SIMULTANEOUSLY with the ending of Italy's first year of war against Austria, which from its beginning had been for Austria a continuous defensive campaign, with loss of some territory and prestige, the Hapsburg Monarchy suddenly inaugurated a powerful offensive movement, which for a time bade fair to overwhelm the Italian forces along the whole western Alpine front.

The full seriousness of this counter-offensive was discovered by the Italians on May 17, when the Austrian troops begun plowing through the Ledro and Lagarina Valleys—also into the zone between the Terragnolo and Upper Astico Valleys—and began a fierce artillery attack on the Isonzo front. The Italians fell back from nearly every advanced position in the region of Southern Tyrol, while the Austro-Hungarians pursued their advantage with furious artillery and infantry attacks along the entire Trentino front. It is estimated that the Austrians employed over 2,000 guns of heavy calibre in the initial preparation, and the weight of metal thrown is said to have been heavier, considering the length of time and the extent of the sector, than at any other front during the entire war—except at Verdun. It is estimated that 360,000 reinforcements were brought from Galicia and the Balkans, and that when the drive began the Austrians had at least 750,000 men.

The plan of campaign was skillfully laid, and with such secrecy that the Italians were not fully aware of what was happening until they had lost many of the outposts conquered through a whole year's sacrifices of blood and treasure.

For ten days the Austrian drive showed no signs of weakening. The Italians continued to retreat with a loss of over 30,000 prisoners and 298 cannon. The Austrians recovered many strategic points in the Sugana Valley, including Monte Baldo, Monte Fiara, Monte Priafora, Punta Cordin, and penetrated into Italian territory in the region of Asiago and Arsiero. It was not until May 25, about 10 days after the offensive was launched, that the Italians were able to meet the invaders with strength and determination. Finally their counterattacks began to tell, and the Austrians slowly fell back or were prevented from further advances. At the beginning of June the great Russian offensive was launched in Bukowina and Galicia, with such overwhelming results that the Austrians were compelled hastily to abandon the Italian campaign and endeavor to stay the onslaught at the East.

Meanwhile Italy had been stirred to the centre by the events in the high Alps, resulting in the fall of the Ministry. At this writing a coalition Government is being formed. Apparently the Italians have entirely recovered command of the military situation, and are winning back some of the lost territory. It is understood that they will soon begin a new and more serious offensive all along the front.



America's International Relations

Party Platforms on War Issues

PLATFORM declarations on the war and international relations by the two great political parties, as adopted at the respective National Conventions, were as follows:

REPUBLICAN PLANKS

[*Adopted June* 8, 1916]

In 1861 the Republican Party stood for the Union. As it stood for the union of States, it now stands for a united people, true to American ideals, loyal to American traditions, knowing no allegiance except to the Constitution, to the Government, and to the flag of the United States. We believe in American policies at home and abroad.

We declare that we believe in and will enforce the protection of every American citizen in all the rights secured to him by the Constitution, treaties, and the law of nations, at home and abroad, by land and sea. These rights, which, in violation of the specific promise of their party, made at Baltimore in 1912, the Democratic President and the Democratic Congress have failed to defend, we will unflinchingly maintain.

We desire peace, the peace of justice and right, and believe in maintaining a straight and honest neutrality between the belligerents in the great war in Europe. We must perform all our duties and insist upon all our rights as neutrals, without fear and without favor. We believe that peace and neutrality, as well as the dignity and influence of the United States, cannot be preserved by shifty expedients, by phrasemaking, by performances in language, or by attitudes ever changing in an effort to secure groups of voters.

The present Administration has destroyed our influence abroad and humiliated us in our own eyes. The Republican Party believes that a firm, consistent, and courageous foreign policy, always maintained by Republican Presidents in accordance with American traditions, is the best, as it is the only true way to preserve our peace and restore us to our rightful place among the nations. We believe in the pacific settlement of international disputes and favor the establishment of a world court for that purpose.

We reaffirm our approval of the Monroe Doctrine, and declare its maintenance to be a policy of this country essential to its present and future peace and safety, and to the achievement of its manifest destiny. * * *

Such are our principles, such are our purposes and policies. We close as we began. The times are dangerous, and the future is fraught with peril. The great issues of the day have been confused by words and phrases. The American spirit, which made the country and saved the Union, has been forgotten by those charged with the responsibility of power. We appeal to all Americans, whether naturalized or native born, to prove to the world that we are Americans in thought and in deed, with one loyalty, one hope, one aspiration. * * *

DEMOCRATIC PLANKS

[*Adopted June* 16, 1916]

AMERICANISM.—The part that the United States will play in the new day of international relationships which is now upon us will depend upon our preparation and our character. The Democratic Party therefore recognizes the assertion and triumphant demonstration of the indivisibility and coherent strength of the nation, as the supreme issue of this day, in which the whole world faces the crisis of manifold change. It summons all men, of whatever origin or creed, who would count themselves Americans to join in making clear to all the world the unity and consequent power of America.

This is an issue of patriotism. To taint it with partisanship would be to defile it. In this day of test, America must show itself, not a nation of partisans, but a nation of patriots. There is gathered here in America the best of the blood, the industry, and the genius of the whole world, the elements of a great race, and a magnificent society to be melted into a mighty and splendid nation.

Whoever, actuated by the purpose to promote the interest of a foreign power, in disregard of our own country's welfare or to injure this Government in its foreign relations or cripple or destroy its industries at home, and whoever, by arousing prejudices of a racial, religious, or other nature, creates discord and strife among our people so as to obstruct the wholesome process of unification, is faithless to the trust which the privileges of citizenship repose in him and disloyal to his country.

We, therefore, condemn as subversive of this nation's unity and integrity, and as destructive of its welfare, the activities and designs of every group or organization, political or otherwise, that has for its object the advancement of the interest of a foreign power, whether such object is promoted by intimidating the Government, a political party, or representatives of the people, or which is calculated and tends to divide our people into antagonistic groups, and thus to destroy that complete agreement and solidarity of the people, and that unity of sentiment and national purpose so essential to the perpetuity of the nation and its free institutions.

We condemn all alliances and combinations of individuals in this country of whatever nationality or descent, who agree and conspire together for the purpose of embarrassing or weakening our Government or of improperly influencing or coercing our public representatives in dealing or negotiating with any foreign power. We charge that such conspiracies among a limited number exist, and have been instigated for the purpose of advancing the interests of foreign countries to the prejudice and detriment of our own country. We condemn any political party which, in view of the activity of such conspirators, surrenders its integrity or modifies its policy.

PREPAREDNESS.—Along with the proof of our character as a nation must go the proof of our power to play the part that legitimately belongs to us. The people of the United States love peace. They respect the rights and covet the friendship of all other nations. They desire neither any additional territory nor any advantage which cannot be peacefully gained by their skill, their industry, or their enterprise; but they insist upon having absolute freedom of national life and policy, and feel that they owe it to themselves, and to the rôle of spirited independence which it is their sole ambition to play, that they should render themselves secure against the hazard of interference from any quarter, and should be able to protect their rights upon the seas or in any part of the world. We, therefore, favor the maintenance of an army fully adequate to the requirements of order, of safety, and of the protection of the nation's rights, the fullest development of modern methods of seacoast defense, and the maintenance of an adequate reserve of citizens trained to arms and prepared to safeguard the people and territory of the United States against any danger of hostile action which may unexpectedly arise, and a fixed policy for the continuous development of a navy worthy to support the great naval traditions of the United States, and fully equal to the international tasks which the United States hopes and expects to take a part in performing. The plans and enactments of the present Congress afford substantial proof of our purpose in this exigent matter.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.—The Democratic Administration has throughout the present war scrupulously and successfully held to the old paths of neutrality and of the peaceful pursuit of the legitimate objects of our national life, which statesmen of all parties and creeds have prescribed for themselves in America since the beginning of our history. But the circumstances of the last two years have revealed necessities of international action which no former generation can have foreseen. We hold that it is the duty of the United States to use its power, not only to make itself safe at home, but also to make secure its just interests throughout the world, and both for this end and in the interest of humanity, to assist the world in securing settled peace and justice. We believe that every people has the right to choose the sovereignty under which it shall live; that the small States of the world have a right to enjoy from other nations the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon, and that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression or disregard of the rights of peoples and nations, and we believe that the time has come when it is the duty of the United States to join with the other nations of the world in any feasible association that will effectively serve these principles, to maintain inviolate the complete security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all nations.

The present Administration has consistently sought to act upon and realize in its conduct of the foreign affairs of the nation the principle that should be the object of any association of the nations formed to secure the peace of the world and the maintenance of national and individual rights. It has followed the highest American traditions. It has preferred respect for the fundamental rights of smaller States, even to property interests, and has secured the friendship of the people of these States for the United States by refusing to make a more material interest an excuse for the assertion of our superior power against the dignity of their sovereign independence. It has regarded the lives of its citizens and the claims of humanity as of greater moment than material rights, and peace as the best basis for the just settlement of commercial claims. It has made the honor and ideals of the United States its standard alike in negotiation and action.

PAN-AMERICAN CONCORD.—We recognize now, as we have always recognized, a definite and common interest between the United States with the other peoples and republics of the Western Hemisphere in all matters of national independence and free political development. We favor the establishment and maintenance of the closest relations of amity and mutual helpfulness between the United States and the other republics of the American continents for the support of peace and the promotion of a common prosperity. To that end we favor all measures which may be necessary to facilitate intimate intercourse and promote commerce between the United States and her neighbors to the south of us, and such international understandings as may be practicable and suitable to accomplish these ends.

We commend the action of the Democratic Administration in holding the Pan-American Financial Conference at Washington in May, 1915, and organizing the International High Commission, which represented the United States in the recent meeting of representatives of the Latin-American republics at Buenos Aires, April, 1916, which have so greatly promoted the friendly relations between the people of the Western Hemisphere.

The Inside of the Irish Revolt

By Arnold Bennett

Noted English Novelist and Publicist

IN common with a majority of the Sinn Feiners themselves, I was considerably startled by the Irish rebellion. Just before it occurred I had been studying the everlasting Irish question, and this sanguinary revolt did not seem to agree with the conclusions I had drawn. As soon as the firing was over and men's souls calmed down a little I sought to inform myself as to the realities behind the tragic and tawdry threatrical display. I need not detail my inquiries. It suffices to say that I was fortunate. In no quarter was my desire for information balked. I obtained new facts, but the important result of the inquest in my own mind was a rearrangement of the old facts into their proper perspective.

ARNOLD BENNETT

The revolutionary movement was not pure Sinn Fein. The problem of Ireland, and in particular the problem of Dublin, with its unsurpassed slums, is not purely a problem of interracial politics. The chief sources of discontent are not political, but social. Connolly commanded the late rising, and Connolly was a disciple of Larkin. Larkin has said, and said often, that he would not give a fig for home rule if he could insure a minimum wage of £1 a week for all workers. Therein he showed his sense and a true appreciation of values. Again there are, or were, in Ireland sundry personalties who for political crimes, including homicide, had suffered severe punishment under British law. They needed revenge. These three types, labor insurgent, unadulterated Sinn Fein, and apostle of vengeance, had often quarreled, but finally they coalesced under the stimulus of a common end and made rebellion. Connolly represented the first type, MacNeil the second, and Clarke, the old Fenian, the third. The directing element was the labor element, not the Sinn Fein element.

In its constitution the rebel organization was autocratic to the point of Prussianism. Discipline was absolutely rigid. The executive consisted of a very small handful of men who knew everything; the rank and file knew nothing, and their sole privilege was to obey. It is quite clear, from the admissions of deported rebels, that when they fell in on Easter Monday they had no adequate idea of what awaited them. They expected a brief and showy demonstration in force, and no more. They went to their assigned posts, and immediately the leaders began to use their rifles, thus committing the rank and file irrevocably to the adventure. The rank and file could not go back home, or even pause for reflection, and the rank and file were very young. They were pathetically young. The mass of those deported are of sophomore age.

Now, the autocratic principle is always the principle of secret societies. It is the principle, for example, of the Clan-na-Gael. It is, indeed, essential to secrecy. It works excellently provided the autocrats be wise and the slaves abject. In

the Irish case neither condition was fulfilled. The leaders were gullible and rash, and many of the slaves had such objection to Prussian ideas that they seceded before the culminating event.

The explanation of the very rapid development of the rebellion is twofold. It lies both in internal causes and in external causes. The main internal causes were as follows:

First, the vigor and success of the recruiting campaign in Ireland, which had aroused jealousy and fear in the councils of sedition. Ireland's general loyalty to the Allies was in part the origin of her misfortune.

Second, mistrust of the Nationalist Parliamentary Party on account of its enthusiastic official support of the British War Government and of its consent to postponing home rule.

Third, fear of conscription for Ireland—an absurd fear.

Fourth, the influence of the younger priests, and especially of those who spring from the laboring class and are implacable on the subject of labor grievances, very legitimate grievances.

The external causes were the Clan-na-Gael in the United States and support promised through the Clan-na-Gael and through other minor channels by the German Government.

The Clan-na-Gael is an interesting and rather human society, so far as I have ascertained. Its autocrats completely exclude respectability. They will have no truck with that quality. Its funds are drawn partly from members' subscriptions and partly from Germany. All subsidies are paid direct to a small secret executive. Accounts are not furnished to members. That graft on a mighty scale is unknown to the Clan-na-Gael appears to me improbable. Still, subscribers and foreign Governments occasionally demand something for their money, and at such periods the Clan-na-Gael has set about to do something. No doubt it does as little as it can because its existence depends on the continuance of the Irish problem. It was and is terrifically opposed to the Home Rule act for the reason that home rule would put an end to the Irish problem.

The Clan-na-Gael was delighted and greatly invigorated when the Irish Volunteers were formed in answer to the Ulster Volunteers of Carson, and when the Irish Volunteers split into two unequal parts, the loyal majority following Redmond, the Clan-na-Gael was still more delighted. It nursed the irreconcilable remnant with literature and with arms and generally luxuriated in Irish domestic strife.

It openly discussed the project of using the Volunteers against Britain, whether home rule became law or not. In The Gaelic American of June 6, 1914, it was suggested that the Volunteers should be officered from the Sixty-ninth Regiment of New York.

When the war broke out the grandiose scheme of the German-Irish propaganda was initiated in the United States. American citizens were wont to encounter it viva voce in front of the newspaper offices and in hotels, subways, and trolley cars. In spite of the extreme multiplicity of its agents and of the majestic indifference of the British Government to pro-ally American newspapers, the scheme failed, but it cost a lot of money.

In August, 1915, the Clan-na-Gael was obviously hard up and its supporters were obviously discontented. The executive seem to have got an imposing grant from Germany. They collected heartily also from their members. A defense-of-Ireland fund was started and a collecting card sent out. The phraseology of this card, which I have seen, leaves not the slightest doubt as to the object of the fund. The collection was not a success, and much of the German money apparently vanished in graft. What remained was used against the Allies.

After the Irish race convention held in New York in March of this year a new appeal was made, in which occur the following words:

"Not only must the organization be made great in numbers, but in material resources. It must be put in a position successfully to grapple with the great problem which it has been called into existence to solve by giving Ireland the help which she so badly needs in this hour of

her great danger and of her opportunity."

And there was a noticeable voyaging of certain Irish-Americans between the United States and England, Ireland, and Germany. Then came Casement, Eastertide, and the rising.

The rising failed, but it did to a certain small extent accomplish a diversion of military energy and a disturbance of the warlike concentration which Germany hoped for. Germany bluffed the rebels in a manner characteristically cynical. Even the modern German rifles which she promised turned out to be obsolete Russian rifles. The price, in addition to money paid by Germany, for this transient success was a heavy price. It was the complete loss of all Irish sympathy.

With regard to the actual outbreak, it is established that as late as Easter Saturday the component parts of the rebel leadership were actually at variance as to the advisability of a revolt, the pure Sinn Fein element, under MacNeil, arguing from the Casement fiasco and the arms fiasco, was against an immediate insurrection, but the highly truculent and rash labor element under Connolly bore down MacNeil on the Sunday evening and the rebellion was ordained.

The lack of premeditation accounted for the first facile success. It also accounted for the rapidity of the collapse. The state of mind of the leaders was such that they actually tried to obtain guidance in tactics from British officers whom they made prisoners! Perhaps only in Ireland could a thing so richly humorous happen.

The British soldiers had a mixed reception. In one house they would receive cakes and ale, and in the next bullets. The majority of citizens were markedly sympathetic; the minority virulent and treacherous in the extreme. Upon occasion the methods of the soldiers may have been summary, but their behavior was incomparably superior to that of the insurrectionary bands. To say this is not necessarily to accuse the true Sinn Feiners themselves of frightfulness. It must be remembered that the dregs of Dublin were joyously abroad, and that these dregs were considerable. They reveled in riot and were not overcareful of their own lives.

As for the responsibility of the British Government, it is gradually being ascertained. Broadly, it was neither more nor less than the historic responsibility inherited from hundreds of years of Anglo-Saxon unimaginativeness. One may say that Birrell, like other Secretaries for Ireland, paid in his person for England's atrocious vagaries in the eighteenth century and the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century.

But the Irish problem is not primarily the result of bad government; it is the result of incompatibility of temperament between two races whom geography has inseparably bound together. Evidence before the Royal Commission shows that the Government could not squelch the Irish Volunteers because they could not squelch Carson's Volunteers without bloodshed, so one may go back and back into time. Ulster is such and the rest of Ireland is such that home rule could not have been put into practice without bloodshed. The British Government was bound to hope against hope that bloodshed might be avoided. The immediate Governmental mistake was in overestimating the common sense of the rebel organization. If it had learned the lesson of history it would have had more soldiers in Dublin, and bloodshed would have been not avoided but probably postponed until after the war.

The execution of the rebel leaders aroused adverse comment. One cannot foresee the verdict of history, but it is certain that much less than 1 per cent. of the rebels have been shot, and I think an assaulted Government has rarely shown greater magnanimity in a more dangerous crisis. Mankind will progress and the time will come when cold-blooded homicide will be as repugnant to the majority as it is now to the minority, and will cease to form a part of the machinery of justice; but at present the structure of social order is ultimately based on cold-blooded homicide.

If ever there was a rebellion in which the leaders led and the rank and file were kept in ignorance, the Easter rising in Ireland was that rebellion. It was not a

popular rising—it was artificial, it was fostered from without. The responsible leaders were autocrats. They knew just what they were risking and that their success might signify the saving of Germany from defeat. By no means all the leaders were Irish patriots, and even the alleged pacifists among them wanted armed rebellion. Thus the late Sheehy Skeffington, whose pacifism strangely has been accepted as axiomatic by all the British newspapers, speaking at the centenary banquet of the John Mitchel Club, appealed at great length for money to buy arms with which to fight the British Government when the time came. He is dead; I greatly regret the manner of his death; but a pacifist he was not.

The executions are now over. The political prospects of Ireland are brighter. Good may come out of evil. Racial temperaments, however, will remain, and geography will not alter. The arguments for and against any kind of home rule are tremendous, and therefore the millennium is probably not at hand.

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Ireland and the Kaiser

By JOHN McF. HOWIE

At the beginning of the war THE NEW YORK TIMES published an account of a meeting at Celtic Park under the auspices of the Ancient and Honorable Order of Hibernians. Resolutions of sympathy for the Germans were passed and cabled to the Kaiser. A parade was indulged in, headed by a large band. A German flag was unfurled, and the band played "Die Wacht am Rhein." The lines written at that time are here offered as equally apropos of the recent uprising in Ireland:

There's trouble in ould Oireland,
And in ould Europe, too;
The Kaiser's foightin' England,
We now know phwat to do.
We feel the call to arms,
For our country, yours and mine;
So we'll paste Ould England in the nose
And sing the "Wacht am Rhein."

We've suffered many a long, long year,
From Oppression's weary load;
We've felt the tyrant's heavy hand,
Been tortured by his goad.
But now the sky is all serene,
Our hearts are light, well nigh, Sir,
For it's "Raus mit Faugh a Ballagh,"
And it's up wid "Hoch der Kaiser."

Men's faces pale when Clan Nha Ghael
Or "Fenian" names we sphoke, Sir;
And now our hearts are beatin' high
To see Ould England broke, Sir.
We needn't suffer anny more
John Bull's sarcastic sallies;
Now we can sing, "T'ell wid the King"
Und "Deutschland über Alles."

Our bagpipes blow a warlike blast
To summon one and all, Sir,
We're ready for the redcoats now,
We'll answer to the call, Sir.
Our whisky must go overboard,
No Dublin stout shall cheer, Sir;
Down wid historic old Potheen,
And up wid lager beer, Sir.

Now down wid France, now down wid Spain,
Now down wid Russia too, Sir;
Now down wid Italy and Greece,
The Orange and the Blue, Sir.
Up wid the good ould Irish flag,
Unfurl it in the sky, Sir;
Tuh 'ell wid everybody else,
Here's t' Oireland and the Kaiser!

[SECOND INSTALLMENT]

The Battle of Verdun

An Authoritative French Account Based On Official Records

By M. Ardouin-Dumazet

Military Editor of Le Temps and Le Figaro

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY]

THURSDAY, April 6.—The battle about Verdun, which seemed to be ending in disconnected attacks, suddenly took a new lease of life. The object was to search out a weak point, or to satisfy German opinion, which has for so long been expecting an important success. On Sunday, (April 9,) that is to say, fifty days after the inception of the undertaking, which has brought our enemy such a serious discomfiture, a general offensive surpassing in dimensions that of February was let loose along the whole front from the Forest of Montfaucon, near Avocourt, to the ridges of the Meuse, near Vaux. This is a battle line of nearly 25 kilometers, (15½ miles,) that is, comparable to that of the battle of Champagne.

The struggle was developed especially on the left (west) bank of the Meuse, between the forest and Cumières. An interval of 5 kilometers, (3 miles,) including a wide stretch of meadows, across which the river unrolls its meanderings, and the river bend of Champneuville separated that zone from Vacherauville, to which the Poivre Ridge sinks down; the latter was equally the scene of very active fighting, in the direction of Douaumont. It may be said, therefore, that there were two battles, the more violent developing to the west. We shall follow them separately, recalling the events which preceded the new offensive.

WEST OF THE MEUSE

We ended the preceding installment of this narrative by saying that a German attack against Haucourt had been repulsed on April 4. A new attempt, preceded by the usual bombardment, took place on the following day (Wednesday, April 5) at nightfall, and was continued all night long on the sector included between Avocourt and Béthincourt. The enemy sent in very heavy forces. The assaults against Béthincourt were stopped by our fire, in spite of the furious fighting of the battalions thrown against the village. In the centre of the battle line, Haucourt was attacked with especial violence. Ceaselessly driven back with enormous losses, the enemy constantly returned to the charge. In the middle of the night he finally succeeded in gaining a footing amid the ruins of the village; but we remained on the outskirts and, from the neighboring heights, dominated the hollow in which Haucourt lies hidden.

On the Avocourt side the initiative of the struggle remained with us. After bombarding the part of the wood held by the Germans, our troops, leaping from the recently won redoubt, carried by assault the zone called Bois-Carré, ("the square wood.") The following day (Thursday, April 6) was employed by the enemy in pushing the bombardment of Béthincourt; then, toward the south, the villages of Esnes and Montzéville were bombarded. When night fell, having increased the violence of the preliminary artillery struggle, the enemy launched an attack between Béthincourt and Le Mort Homme, on the line marked by the road from Cumières. Near 265-Meter Hill the enemy penetrated a first-line trench, the greater part of which we were able to recover by a counterattack.

Friday, April 7.—The attacks were resumed with renewed fury. When their heavy guns seemed to have cleared the approaches of Haucourt to a distance of 2 kilometers (1¼ miles) to the east, in

the direction of Béthincourt, a formidable assault was attempted; but our cannon and machine guns succeeded in smashing the enemy masses, which were compelled to withdraw to their trenches, leaving the ground strewn with dead bodies. During this combat the German shells covered Le Mort Homme and Cumières. The attempt was renewed during the night on the same front; repeated attacks failed. To the east, at the southern outlet from Haucourt, between the village and a point marked 287, two small works were, however, taken from us.

Saturday, April 8.—The day was marked only by artillery fire. While the enemy directed his fire from Béthincourt to Cumières, our artillery took as its target the German batteries in the Cheppy Wood and in the zone comprised between Malancourt and Montfaucon, where enemy forces were massed. There were still more considerable forces behind Montfaucon, toward Nantillois, at the end of one of the field railways connected with the line from Sedan. Our heavy batteries reached this point.

BETHINCOURT EVACUATED

Our command foresaw the grand offensive which was to be let loose on the morrow, Sunday, (April 9,) and met it with such resources that the Germans had already discounted their success. During the night (Saturday-Sunday, April 8-9) the salient formed by Béthincourt in advance of our lines was evacuated without the Germans seeming to be aware of it; at least, they made no attempt to interfere with the movement. After this evacuation we had a less twisted line, which therefore offered no exposed point of approach.

Sunday, April 9.—Throughout the whole day the enemy renewed his assaults without succeeding in shaking our defensive. His attempts were especially furious between Le Mort Homme and Cumières. The assailants, setting out from the cover offered by the Corbeaux and Cumières Woods, came on in close formation, offering a target for our gusts of shells and for the bullets of our machine guns. After a series of efforts as vain as they were frequent, the Germans were compelled to withdraw, leaving the ground covered with hundreds of corpses. It was in this sector that their losses were most important. The elements launched against Le Mort Homme suffered equally.

Not less violent was the attack on the sector comprised between the Avocourt Wood and the Forges stream, down the river from Haucourt. At all points it was met by the tenacious resistance of our soldiers, and this attack also was broken. On the skirt of the Avocourt Wood a German detachment succeeded at one time in gaining a foothold in our trenches; it was quickly dislodged.

The day was, therefore, a check for the enemy along the whole front. At night a new attack on Le Mort Homme permitted the Germans to penetrate our front-line trenches along a front of 500 meters (550 yards) at a cost of heavy losses.

Monday, April 10.—On the night following, the bombardment was resumed with great violence, being particularly directed against 304-Meter Hill. This cannonade was continued throughout April 10, growing in intensity until noon, at which time an attack was launched, which extended from Haucourt to Béthincourt. In spite of the fury of the assault the enemy was compelled to retire, leaving the ground covered with his dead. Between Le Mort Homme and Cumières, where he attacked with even greater fury, all his attempts failed.

They were renewed in the evening, with the aid of sprays of flaming liquids, which were unable to force us to give up Le Mort Homme. When the enemy masses came out from the Corbeaux Wood they were stopped short by our gun and rifle fire. At the extreme right of our line certain small elements of trenches were occupied by the enemy.

Tuesday, April 11.—On this day there was no infantry attack but cannon thundered incessantly from Le Mort Homme to Cumières, preparing a new attempt for the next morning.

Wednesday, April 12.—The little Caurettes Wood, situated to the south of the road from Le Mort Homme to Cumières, was assaulted; in spite of the employ-

ment of flaming liquids, the enemy was stopped and everywhere repulsed.

EAST OF THE MEUSE

On the right (east) bank of the Meuse, during the week April 6-12, the enemy made a considerable effort at first only on the Poivre Ridge. It will be remembered that this long backbone with denuded sides extends for almost 3 kilometers (1¾ miles) from the approaches of Louvemont as far as the Meuse, above the goose foot formed by the roads from Vacherauville. On this side, a little wood covers the slope above the river and descends to a ravine in which the spring of Saint Martin has its source.

On Thursday, April 6, an intense bombardment was directed against our lines, the prelude of an infantry attack, which was expected to develop great violence. But our guns intervened with so much precision that the enemy did not venture forth from his cover. Then he remained quiet until April 9. On that day, in spite of a powerful artillery preparation, the assaulting masses were no more successful in their effort to come forth. During the night a very lively engagement was fought in the little wood beside the spring of Saint Martin, and during the whole of the next day the bombardment continued.

Further to the east, the positions which we had reoccupied in the Caillette Wood, to the south of the Douaumont front, were assaulted on Wednesday, April 5; the enemy was compelled to withdraw after suffering heavy losses. On the following day, April 6, we resumed the struggle with the bayonet, driving our enemies back on a front of 500 meters (550 yards) and to a depth of 200 meters, (220 yards;) a counterattack failed to drive us out of the trenches we had regained.

On the following days we continued step by step to gain ground in the communicating trenches. On April 9 the contest begun on the Poivre Ridge was extended as far as the approaches to Vaux; at no point was the enemy able to carry out the assault. On April 10 several attempts against the Caillette Wood were repulsed. During the night an attack, preceded by jets of burning liquids and directed against trenches which we had gained the day before in the approaches to the village of Douaumont, cost the aggressors a sanguinary check, after which the Germans furiously resumed the bombardment of the region of Douaumont and Vaux, while the cannonade was continued against our positions on the hills.

The enemy had not given up the hope of capturing Douaumont, the Caillette Wood, and the approaches of Vaux. On Tuesday, April 10, he resumed the bombardment with renewed vigor, following up the rain of giant shells with furious gusts of lachrymal or asphyxiating shells. Taking for granted that our trenches were either abandoned or filled only with dying men, the enemy launched a strong attack from Douaumont to Vaux. Certain of our communication trenches were invaded, but an immediate counter-attack drove out the Germans, who left a hundred prisoners in our hands.

The inspiring Order of the Day addressed to his troops by General Pétain, who is so reserved in his expressions, bears witness to the importance of the German check on Sunday, April 9:

> April 9 is a glorious day for our armies. The furious assaults of the soldiers of the Crown Prince were broken everywhere; the infantrymen, the artillerymen, the sappers, the airmen of the second army, vied with one another in heroism.
>
> Honor to all!
>
> Doubtless the Germans will attack again; let every one work and watch in order to gain the same success as on yesterday.
>
> Courage. * * * We shall get them!

The period April 13-19 was, on the contrary, marked by only one serious attack, and it was quite local in character.

A FURIOUS ATTACK

At the beginning of this period the reports recorded a moderate activity in the batteries between the Meuse and Douaumont.

Thursday, April 13.—On the evening of this day the fire became heavier in preparation for a small attack to the south of Douaumont, which was completely repulsed. Beginning from this moment the gun fire became hotter and hotter.

Friday, April 14; Saturday, April 15.—In spite of this heavy and long-con-

tinued fire, our infantry on the evening of April 15 delivered a vigorous offensive against the German trenches at Douaumont. The official report did not lay much stress on this affair, which must have been hot, nevertheless, as we took 200 prisoners and occupied certain trench elements.

Sunday, April 16; Monday, April 17.—On these two days artillery fire continued; the German guns had as their principal objective the south of the Haudromont Woods, which cover the ridges and slopes, seamed with ravines, of a valley which opens on the Meuse toward Bras, at the foot of the last slopes of the Poivre Ridge. On April 17 the bombardment was accentuated.

Tuesday, April 18.—In the morning the fire became furious, from the Meuse near Bras to Douaumont. The Poivre Ridge, whose culminating point, 342 meters, (1,121 feet,) is some 150 meters (492 feet) above the water level of the Meuse; the Haudromont Woods to the north of the valley, the Chaufour Wood to the south, whose edge approaches Douaumont, were covered with shells, which steadily increased in numbers until 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

Then the attack was let loose. The first information was that at least two divisions had been launched in the assault against this front of 4 kilometers, (2½ miles;) the second information announced the presence of regiments belonging to five different divisions. These troops, gathered from different army corps, re-formed, completed, had been brought together in two divisions of three brigades each, or twelve regiments, equal to an army corps and a half. It was, therefore, a very great effort; the assaulting mass comprised about 35,000 men, who presented themselves before our lines—lines that might be thought to have been crushed by the prodigious artillery fire; but the moment the masses appeared our barring fire opened upon them, cannon and machine guns tearing bloody rents in their ranks. At the two ends of the Poivre Ridge, near the Meuse and the Haudromont Wood, the attack had been more furious; there, especially, were their dead heaped up. Along this whole front of 4 kilometers the enemy was thus repulsed, but on our right the Germans succeeded in penetrating our first-line trench to the south of the Chaufour Wood. A counterattack drove them out of a part of it.

These events between the Meuse and the Woevre coincided with an almost continuous gun fire against the ridges of the Meuse. Moulainville, situated below the fort of that name, which protects on the southern side the entrance into the ridges of the railway and of the road from Conflans, and Haudiomont, where the road from Metz enters the hills to reach Verdun, were made especial targets. An attack was being prepared on this side; movements of troops were announced in Woevre; our cannon, installed on the approaches of the road from Pont-à-Mousson to St. Mihiel, reached convoys between Nonsard and Essey, in the valleys of La Machine and Le Rupt du Mad. In the same quarter, at the foot of the ridges, massing enemy troops were dispersed.

Wednesday, April 19.—The enemy at last attempted an infantry operation against our positions of Les Eparges; it was driven out of the only trench which it succeeded in reaching.

BATTERING MORT HOMME

During the whole week it might have been thought that important events would take place on the west (left bank) of the Meuse, but no infantry movement took place, in spite of the persistence and violence of the gun fire. On Wednesday, April 12, numerous indications suggested the preparation for an assault at the close of the day. Our artillery then opened fire on the enemy trenches and the troops signaled as massing in the Malancourt Wood. This gun fire resulted in preventing the formation of the assaulting columns; the Germans on the first line did not leave their trenches.

Up to Wednesday, April 19, the whole conflict was confined to an artillery duel, the enemy's fire at times being directed with extreme intensity against the little Caurettes Wood, between Cumières and Le Mort Homme, 304-Meter Hill, and even our second lines, without doubt

from Montzéville to the Bourrus Wood. While answering the fire of our adversaries, our batteries also carried their action beyond them. The Corbeaux Wood, the passages of the Forges stream, the roads which spread out from Montfaucon and lead to the attacked front, felt the effect of our projectiles.

During the next few days the fighting about Verdun continued, but with longer intervals, on less extended fronts, and with diminished fury, although preceded by extremely violent bombardments.

On the right (east) bank of the Meuse there was only one attack; two took place on the left (west) bank. None of them allowed the Germans to realize the smallest gain of ground, while several actions on our part won us communication trenches which strengthened our lines. Progress of this kind was made to the northwest of the pond at Vaux and to the south of the Haudromont Wood, between Douaumont and Bras.

Thursday, April 20.—The attack which we repulsed was directed on the evening of April 20, from the Thiaumont farm, to the southwest of Douaumont, up to the pond at Vaux. After the usual furious bombardment, the enemy masses succeeded in getting a first footing in a part of our lines; instantly counterattacked, the assailants were driven out and pressed back upon their own positions.

Friday, April 21; Saturday, April 22.—On Saturday, Easter eve, another movement was in preparation, but the assaulting troops perceived in the trenches were so vigorously cannonaded by our batteries that it was necessary to withdraw them to the rear.

On the left (west) bank of the Meuse the enemy continued to show greater activity; he did not abandon the hope of forcing our front on Le Mort Homme, and the increasing activity of our artillery in the region of Avocourt might be taken to indicate an attempt on that side. But we did not leave the enemy at liberty to move freely. A part of the trenches carried by him on April 10 on Le Mort Homme was retaken and, to the north of the Caurettes Wood, we reoccupied a trench.

These rectifications of our line were fortunate; we made 150 prisoners.

The Germans responded by a violent bombardment. Then, in the night of Friday-Saturday, April 21-22, they attacked the northern slopes of Le Mort Homme; gaining an entry at one time into our trenches, they were driven out again. At the same time they sprayed flaming liquids into our shelter to the north of the Caurettes Wood, and sketched an attack which was swiftly repulsed.

Sunday, April 23.—The Germans renewed their efforts between Le Mort Homme and the valley of Esnes, without any greater success.

Monday, April 24.—After this check the enemy resumed the bombardment of Le Mort Homme, which led up, on the afternoon of Easter Monday, April 24, to new assaults. These were three times repulsed.

AN AGGRESSIVE DEFENSE

Tuesday, April 25; Wednesday, April 26.—While continuing to act on the defensive, we took measures to scatter disturbance over the enemy's centres of troop formation and supply. Our long-range guns reached the communication roads, while our airmen dropped bombs on the cantonments and railway stations.

Thursday, Friday, Saturday, April 27-29.—The physiognomy of the "siege of Verdun"—as the Germans say, although they have not even got near it, threatening it only on a front of 14 miles, while on the remaining 30 miles of the periphery no attack has taken place—has continued unchanged. Or, rather, it has been altered to the detriment of the Germans themselves, who have been pressed back on the narrow sector of Le Mort Homme-Cumières, the object of their efforts.

It was on Saturday, April 29, that we attacked the enemy positions to the north of Le Mort Homme. Our soldiers captured trenches and communicating trenches on a front of 1,000 meters, (1,094 yards,) and to a depth of 300 to 600 meters, (330 to 660 yards.)

Sunday, April 30.—The same success crowned an attack to the north of Cumières.

Monday, May 1.—The loss of these trenches, the winning of which had cost such tremendous efforts, led the Germans to attempt, on May 1, ferocious attacks, preceded by the usual bombardment. To the north of Le Mort Homme two German regiments, successively sent forward, suffered enormous losses under our fire. To the north of Cumières the assault was three times repeated and as often broken.

Tuesday, May 2; Wednesday, May 3.—On May 3, to the northwest of Le Mort Homme, a brilliant assault allowed us to carry new German positions and to take a hundred prisoners.

On the right (east) bank of the Meuse the enemy bombarded our positions almost incessantly, from the Poivre Ridge to Vaux. A first attack on the slopes of Vaux fort had been repulsed; a second, between Haudromont farm and Thiaumont farm, was not allowed to develop, the enemy, while still in his trenches, having been subjected to a very accurate artillery fire. Then the bombardment was resumed, preceding a violent movement against our trenches to the west of the Thiaumont farm, in the direction of the Nawé Wood. In spite of the use of flaming liquids, the Germans were not able to force us from our shelters and, as soon as they appeared, they were cut down by our fire. An attack against Douaumont and Vaux was no more successful.

In this same sector, on May 1, we ourselves took the offensive against the German positions to the southeast of the Douaumont fort, a zone in which we held the Caillette Wood and Vaux pond. Our soldiers, launched against a German trench, carried it on a front of 500 meters, (550 yards.)

More and more the events of the war are concentrated around Verdun, the enemy ceaselessly bringing new troops to resume his attack.

INCREDIBLE SHELL FIRE

During the period May 4-10 his principal effort was directed against the French positions on the left (west) bank of the Meuse, from Le Mort Homme to 304-Meter Hill. But the bombardment which has progressively reached a violence hitherto unknown, it is said, in this series of battles in which artillery has attained to a concentration of fire never before believed possible—this bombardment has been extended from Cumières as far as the wood of Avocourt, more than 8 kilometers, (5 miles.) This fire was at times interrupted or extended by the enemy, to allow of assaults which he carried out with growing fury, without succeeding in forcing our positions; hardly even obtaining slight successes, which were as quickly neutralized by our counterattacks. If the Germans have not brought into action effectives comparable to those of the closing days of February, they have nevertheless sent forward great masses, and have demanded from them efforts and sacrifices proportionately greater.

On May 2 and 3 we took the offensive, not with the intention of pushing back the enemy, but in order to rectify our lines. On May 2, while the Germans were directing an intense artillery fire on the Avocourt sector, our troops carried out an assault on the German trenches to the northwest of Le Mort Homme, that is, against 265-Meter Hill. These trenches were brilliantly carried by us, 100 prisoners and four machine guns falling into our hands, while the Germans suffered heavy losses from our shells. During the whole night (May 3-4) our soldiers continued to advance from one communicating trench to another, organizing the ground as they went forward.

Thursday, May 4.—The enemy directed an attack on these newly won trenches, but it was immediately broken. In the evening of May 4, after artillery preparation of extreme violence, 304-Meter Hill, until then only bombarded, was assaulted by strong German contingents; these were repulsed, but our front trench was invaded in some places. A German division composed of fresh troops had made the assaults; it suffered crushing losses.

Friday, May 5.—The enemy, after attempting to repair this check, resumed the bombardment more furiously than ever. Large calibre and asphyxiating shells fell in unheard-of numbers. The whole region was torn up, and rendered untenable; it became necessary to evac-

uate a part of the trenches on the north slope, facing Haucourt; but the waves of assault were not able to organize themselves, our artillery covering with projectiles the ground on which the enemy intended to form.

Saturday, May 6.—During the night of May 5-6 the Germans attempted to carry the small wood which, to the north and northwest, covers the edge of the plateau of 304-Meter Hill; a counterattack with the bayonet was sufficient to push them back within their lines.

The bombardment did not cease. It was instead resumed with such fury that officers who had taken part in the first battles of Verdun said that they had never seen such gun fire. The shell fire was continued day and night.

ATTACK IN ESNES RAVINE

Sunday, May 7.—An attack was begun, conducted by three divisions constituted of fresh troops, who had not yet taken part in the fighting at Verdun; 304-Meter Hill seemed at first directly threatened. But this was only a feint. The main weight of the attack was carried forward swiftly, in a powerful effort along the bottom of the valley of the Esnes rivulet, between this hill and Le Mort Homme, which faces it. Another assault was directed to the west, near the road from Esnes to Haucourt. On this front, which comprises four kilometers, (2½ miles,) the attacking regiments came forward like a waterspout, believing that our resistance had been broken by their gun fire. But our batteries had been able to hold their ground; machine guns barred the way; several times the German onrush crumbled before our shells and rifle bullets. After suffering frightful losses the enemy was compelled to retire; he had succeeded in getting a foothold in a small communicating trench at the bottom of the valley. All night long the struggle continued, the Germans arriving with fury before our lines, where our fire mowed them down.

Monday, May 8.—In the morning a counterattack completed our success; we retook the communicating trench which had been taken from us. However, the bombardment continued against the Avocourt Wood; during the day the enemy attempted a new attack, this time taking as their objective 287-Meter Hill, a long ridge which descends toward Haucourt, between the Forges stream, which takes its rise at the west end of the hill, and a dry ravine. The assailants were not even able to reach our trenches; our cannon and machine guns stopped them as soon as they showed themselves.

The Germans were not sparing of their assaults against 304-Meter Hill. During the whole night of May 8-9 they rained shells upon it.

Tuesday, May 9.—At 3 o'clock in the morning the Germans attempted a new surprise attack, which was equally fruitless, as was a second attempt during the afternoon.

Wednesday, May 10.—Yet another attack was made against the approaches of 287-Meter Hill; it was repulsed and left a number of prisoners in our hands.

On the right (east) bank of the Meuse, from May 2 to May 6, there was only the usual artillery duel; this gained vigor on the night of May 6-7, and grew to a vigorous bombardment of our trenches connecting the Haudromont Wood with the approaches of Douaumont Fort. On May 7 an infantry attack developed, carried out by a division; the onrush was such that on the west, that is to the south of the Haudromont Wood, our first-line trenches were entered on a front of 500 meters, (550 yards.) The enemy paid very dearly for this success, which was, besides, very short-lived, as, on the following night, a series of counterattacks drove him out of most of the ground gained. During the night of May 8-9 we completed the recapture of these lines in the neighborhood of Thiaumont farm.

On Wednesday, May 10, a small offensive action carried out by our troops on the western slopes of Le Morte Homme allowed us to occupy enemy trench elements, and to capture two machine guns and about 100 men.

Thursday, May 11; Friday, May 12.—On Thursday, at Le Mort Homme, and on Friday, to the southeast of Haucourt, that is, toward 287-Meter Hill, we widened our positions by local actions.

Saturday, May 13.—On their side, on three occasions, on May 10, 12, and 13,

the Germans tried to get close to our lines; they failed at 287-Meter Hill and on 304-Meter Hill.

Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, May 14-16.—During the following days enemy action was confined to bombardment, directed particularly against 304-Meter Hill and Avocourt Wood. On May 16 a German attack in this direction was quickly stopped; as was also an attack with grenades against Le Mort Homme.

On the east bank of the Meuse several attempts were made against our positions between Haudromont Wood and the Vaux Pond. On May 11, at 2 o'clock in the morning, the Germans assaulted the wooded zone situated to the west of the pond; our soldiers drove them back with the bayonet and with grenades. On the following day, May 12, after a prolonged bombardment of all our lines on this front, two successive attacks against our trenches to the southeast of Douaumont Fort were repulsed with serious loss to the enemy. He returned to the charge during the night, to the west of the Thiaumont farm.

Wednesday, May 17.—The attack was repeated in the morning; our barrier fire was sufficient to throw the enemy back, and in this direction his effort was ended.

On the ridges of the Meuse, to the south of the Vaux region, besides the artillery struggle nothing was announced except the check of a strong reconnoissance toward Les Eparges, and the success of an attack by our troops against a point, not precisely indicated, between Les Eparges and St. Mihiel. It might be supposed that the enemy was massing troops in the plain, as our long-range guns fired on enemy detachments to the southeast of Thiaucourt.

Our airmen were also active. On the night of May 16-17 our air squadrons dropped bombs on several enemy bivouacs at Damvillers and Wille-Devant-Chaumont, to the north of Vaux; on the railway station at Brieulles, whence the military railway to Nantillois and Montfaucon branches off; and on the villages of Nantillois and Romagnes-sous-Montfaucon.

Half a Million Men Fighting Like "Madmen in a Volcano"

By a French Staff Captain

With the beginning of the fourth month of fighting at Verdun the deadlock changed to the most terrific pitched battle in history. Fully half a million men were engaged altogether, without a respite from slaughter for several days. Following are the impressions of an eyewitness:

VERDUN has become a battle of madmen in the midst of a volcano. Whole regiments melt in a few minutes, and others take their places only to perish in the same way. Between Saturday morning (May 20) and noon Tuesday (May 23) we estimate that the Germans used up 100,000 men on the west Meuse front alone. That is the price they paid for the recapture of our recent gains and the seizure of our outlying positions. The valley separating Le Mort Homme from Hill 287 is choked with bodies. A full brigade was mowed down in a quarter hour's holocaust by our machine guns. Le Mort Homme itself passed from our possession, but the crescent Bourrus position to the south prevents the enemy from utilizing it.

The scene there is appalling, but is dwarfed in comparison with fighting around Douaumont. West of the Meuse, at least, one dies in the open air, but at Douaumont is the horror of darkness, where the men fight in tunnels, screaming with the lust of butchery, deafened by shells and grenades, stifled by smoke.

Even the wounded refuse to abandon the struggle. As though possessed by devils, they fight on until they fall sense-

less from loss of blood. A surgeon in a front-line post told me that, in a redoubt at the south part of the fort, of 200 French dead fully half had more than two wounds. Those he was able to treat seemed utterly insane. They kept shouting war cries and their eyes blazed, and, strangest of all, they appeared indifferent to pain. At one moment anesthetics ran out owing to the impossibility of bringing forward fresh supplies through the bombardment. Arms, even legs, were amputated without a groan, and even afterward the men seemed not to have felt the shock. They asked for a cigarette or inquired how the battle was going.

Our losses in retaking the fort were less heavy than was expected, as the enemy was demoralized by the cannonade—by far the most furious I have ever seen from French guns—and also was taken by surprise. But the subsequent action took a terrible toll. Cover was all blown to pieces. Every German rush was preceded by two or three hours of hellstorm, and then wave after wave of attack in numbers that seemed unceasing. Again and again the defenders' ranks were renewed.

Never have attacks been pushed home so continuously. The fight for Cemetery Hill at Gettysburg was no child's play, nor for Hougoumont at Waterloo, but here men have been flung 5,000 at a time at brief intervals for the last forty-eight hours. Practically the whole sector has been covered by a cannonade, compared to which Gettysburg was a hailstorm and Waterloo mere fireworks. Some shell holes were thirty feet across, the explosion killing fifty men simultaneously.

Before our lines the German dead lie heaped in long rows. I am told one observer calculated there were 7,000 in a distance of 700 yards. Besides they cannot succor their wounded, whereas of ours one at least in three is removed safely to the rear. Despite the bombardment supplies keep coming. Even the chloroform I spoke of arrived after an hour's delay when two sets of bearers had been killed.

The dogged tenacity needed to continue the resistance far surpasses the furious élan of the attack. We know, too, the Germans cannot long maintain their present sacrifices. Since Saturday the enemy has lost two, if not three, for each one of us. Every bombardment withstood, every rush checked brings nearer the moment of inevitable exhaustion. Then will come our recompense for these days of horror.

How the Battle of Verdun Began

By a Combatant

This article in the Paris Matin of May 10 created a stir, and other papers were forbidden to quote from it. The next day the French Government published an official denial of its main point. The text of this denial appears at the end of the present translation.

"General Pétain was able to save a particularly delicate situation."—Official citation in the Order of the Day.

A CERTAIN number of facts are now available to throw at least a little light upon the beginnings of the battle still raging at Verdun. There is, for instance, the mention of General Pétain in the official dispatches, in which it was stated that he "was able to save a delicate situation." There is, besides, the replacing of General Langle de Cary, who commanded the central group of armies (of which the Verdun army forms a part) by this same General Pétain. Nor is the public ignorant of the fact that General de Castelnau, in his capacity as Major General, [second to Joffre,] hastened to the Meuse as soon as the wide character of the German attack became known, and took measures on his personal initative which brought about the French "restoration."

In what respect was the situation "delicate"? What were the responsibilities assumed in the circumstances? Certain details on these points have already been ascertained; we wish to add some new ones.

It will be remembered that the whole

month of February had been marked by a series of local offensives made by the Germans against the entire line of our front from the sea to the Vosges—*except the Verdun sector.* There was a manifest tactical policy in this, intended to cause us to make changes in the region where the real attack was to be made, and to hinder us from concentrating our reserves to stop it. The fact is that General Pétain's army, which our Commander in Chief was reserving for the honor of this vital blow, was nowhere near Verdun, and that it could not be conveyed there until the battle had already been going on several hours.

Nevertheless, several military leaders had seen to it that the German strategy did not circumvent them. For several weeks they had been announcing that the blow of the enemy would strike precisely upon the banks of the Meuse, where no action seemed to be contemplated. They based their predictions upon very serious information, according to which great preparations had long been in progress behind the German front in this sector, whole divisions and even new army corps being concentrated there, and a formidable quantity of heavy artillery and munitions accumulated.

Two currents of opinion then prevailed in our General Staff. Some of the officers held that Verdun was going to be the actual objective chosen by the Germans; the others persisted in refusing to regard that eventuality as probable. Our front, which then ran to the top of the Caures Woods, was held chiefly by territorial and African troops. As General Herr, who at that time commanded the whole intrenched camp of Verdun and its outposts, called for reinforcements, the Twentieth Corps, then resting in the Mailly camp, was placed at his disposal, but was not dispatched to the scene.

These were the conditions when the attack of Feb. 21 took place. For thirty-six hours the army did not realize all the gravity of the case. It was only when the folding back of our lines became accentuated—we were fighting with three divisions (60,000 men) against five army corps (200,000 men)—and when we had to rectify our front beyond Samogneux, Beaumont, and Ornes that the situation appeared in its true light. What was to be done? It appeared impossible to oppose an adequate dike to the German flood, because no such dike was ready, and time was lacking to improvise it. It must not be forgotten, either, that no new railroad track had been laid in the region of Verdun, and that—since the Germans were at St. Mihiel—we possessed, in all and for all, only one single railway to transport everything to our stronghold. Besides, at the end of February the Meuse was in flood, and the crossing of bridges accessible to the heavy projectiles of the enemy was becoming precarious.

A decision, believed to be one of prudence, was prepared—*the evacuation of the whole of the right bank of the Meuse.* The screen of troops fighting on the first line had no other mission than to resist while retreating and thus retard the enemy as much as possible, in order to permit the withdrawal of the rest of our forces and, if possible, our supplies to the other bank of the Meuse.

These orders had already been received when General de Castelnau arrived at Verdun. He saw, he judged, and, of his own initiative, possessing as Major General the delegated powers of the Generalissimo, he decided to reverse the plan that had been decreed, and to hold his ground, cost what it might, against the enemy on the plateau of Douaumont. Thus Verdun would be saved. The task offered immense difficulties, and General Pétain was commissioned to perform it.

The first act that had a decisive influence on subsequent events was the utilization of automobile trucks for the transport of troops and munitions. Four thousand seven hundred trucks were taken from the neighboring armies and these, running day and night without interruption, established between Bar-le-Duc and Verdun the "endless pulley" system that saved the day. It was by grace of these trucks that the Twentieth Army Corps, brought by railway from Mailly to Bar-le-Duc, could be transferred in twelve hours from Bar-le-Duc to the plateau of Douaumont. The transfer was begun Feb. 24 at 7 o'clock in the

evening. The next morning at 10 that army corps was taking part in the battle. The same trucks in the days immediately following assured the transport of the whole army of General Pétain, and, throughout the two and a half months of the battle thus far they have never ceased to carry the provisions, the munitions, the fresh troops, the returning wounded, the evacuated battalions, and the units relieved at the front.

But, though General de Castelnau had taken it upon himself to modify the orders first given, these orders had already begun to be executed at certain points. The development of the battle of Verdun in the last days of February appears particularly confused because the counterorders of General de Castelnau could not reach all the units in time; some of them acted on the original orders, even after the whole general plan had been changed. We cannot now, for reasons easy to understand, reveal the reverses that resulted from this state of things. * * *

This article called forth from the Ministry of the Interior the following communiqué:

At no moment of the Verdun battle has the high command given orders with a view to the retreat of the French troops to the left bank of the Meuse.

On the contrary, from the morning of Feb. 23, General Langle de Cary instructed the troops of the right bank that the occupation of every point, even after it had been overrun, of every position even completely surrounded, must be maintained at any price, and that there must be only one order, "Hold on."

On the 24th, in the evening, the General in Chief gave the order to hold the front between the Meuse and Woevre by employing all means at the disposal of the army. He also directed General de Castelnau to Verdun.

The next morning, Feb. 25, while on his way, General de Castelnau confirmed by telephone to General Herr that in conformity with the orders of the General in Chief the positions of the right bank of the Meuse ought to be held at any cost.

Finally, on the evening of the same day the General in Chief sent to General Pétain on his taking up his command the following order: "I have ordered yesterday, the 24th, that the right bank of the Meuse to the north of Verdun be held. Any commander who gives an order to retreat will be brought before a court-martial."

How Different Nationalities Act in Battle

As to the qualities and characteristics of the various non-Teutonic soldiers of Europe, German army officers speak interestingly and not without generosity. The French soldier is gallant, nervous, and very brave, only it is difficult to make him return a second or third time into the same fire. The English fighter is dogged and individually resourceful. The Italian, though ferocious in assault, is discouraged by failure. He goes on one impulse and hates to repass his own dead for a second charge. That is how a German sees three of his adversaries. As to a fourth, he volunteers nothing, but if he is pressed, he will add: "The Russian is terrible."

The meaning of that assertion develops slowly, with many hesitations. It is not that the individual Russian soldier is particularly terrible. No, that is not what he means to say. The Russian cannot be singularized. You have to think of Russians, infinite in plurality, a slow-moving, ominous, imposing mass. They come in lines ten and twelve deep, heedless and heavy, so controlled by their own momentum that they cannot stop. They will go anywhere, into anything, again and again, as if they did not know how to be afraid. "The only thing you can do," says the German officer, "is to slaughter them and pray that you will have ammunition enough to keep it up."

Why Verdun?

By Gabriel Hanotaux

Of the Paris Figaro and the French Academy

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY]

THE obstinacy of the offensive at Verdun gives increasing proof each day of the importance which the Germans attach to that enterprise. It is desirable that the French soldier, the "soldier of Verdun," should be informed fully of the causes of this desperation, for thus he will be convinced more deeply each day that he is fighting not only for ground and the honor of victory, but that he is defending, at the price of his blood, the very life of his native land.

Each minute of these long months and each clod of that earth represents a unit of our national existence. By each act, by each moment of suffering, our soldiers are preparing in advance the conditions of an advantageous and liberating peace. They are at this very moment the creators of the future. With cannon shots, with rifle shots, with bayonet thrusts, with grenade blows, they are destroying, rag by rag, the "grand German plan." The Kaiser has decided to risk his highest stakes upon this card; he has intrusted to his troops at Verdun the supreme ambition of Germany. If this attack fails, the whole Pan-Germanist scheme crumbles and its body will soon measure the earth. The monster will no longer have any other hope than that of prolonging the phases of its death agony.

From the beginning of the war the German plan has aimed principally at Verdun. If the Crown Prince has been placed at the head of the assailants, it is because the decisive victory was reserved for him. The movement in Belgium was meant to turn the flank of the adversary, but to conquer him the Germans counted especially—in accordance with the principles of the elder Moltke—upon the offensive of the centre.

It is in harmony with the energy of the German leaders to group their fighting units and employ them in mass formation against the enemy, in order to break his principal force. Now, the principal force of the French Army from the beginning has been in the east, and it is still that frontier which popular instinct calls the "iron frontier." Of that force Verdun is the apex; it is the tooth penetrating into the live flesh of the enemy. Without Verdun the German army advancing on Paris could have no free communication with Germany. Without Verdun there could be no sure protection for Metz. Ever since the ancient treaty that divided up the heritage of the sons of Charlemagne, Verdun has been the point around which all the history of France and Germany has pivoted: Verdun is the name that one finds again and again on all the pages of our history.

Geographically Verdun presents two incomparable advantages for the German offensive. It commands the Valley of the Meuse. As some one had said, Verdun is the "hinge" between the eastern and northern provinces. We have no other way of liberating our country from German servitude than to hold on until death to this corner of earth; otherwise there is no longer any line of communication between Lille and Nancy. To allow the line of the Meuse to be crushed in would be to erase from our history the battle of the Catalonian Fields, the battle of Valmy, our eternal defense on the Argonne, and, finally, the battle of the Marne, which is only a repetition of its glorious predecessors.

This geographic interest is rounded out, as we now know—thanks to the luminous writings of M. Engerand—by an economic interest no less powerful and no less agonizing. Germany cannot remain mistress of the world's metal industries unless she can keep and extend her possessions of mineral ores in the

French province of Briey and the neighboring regions. We have the statement of the German metal workers that Germany could not continue the present war if she no longer controlled the iron ore of Lorraine, technically known as minette. We have a statement from German experts declaring that so long as these mines are under the cannon of Verdun the economic and military destiny of Germany remains precarious and exposed to French domination. We are in a position to affirm that one of the chief reasons for the war has been the desire to conquer the Briey basin and seize the strategical key of that immense wealth—in a word, Verdun!

If the French soldier knows all this he will understand why he is fighting, and why, in defending that ground, he is defending both the heart and the breastplate of his fatherland.

Strategically the reiterated determination of the Germans to conquer at this point in order to obtain "their" victory may be gathered also from their own avowals. In the first part of the war the plan was to capture Verdun, and it was because Verdun did not fall that the German Army had to substitute the war of trenches for the war of manoeuvres. We can believe their own statements on this subject. One of their historians (Gottlob Egelhaaf) wrote:

"If the Crown Princes of Bavaria and Prussia had been in a position to take Verdun in August-September, 1914, and thus to pierce the line of the Meuse, the German armies would have broken through to Paris in a single movement. But the Princes remained nailed at Verdun * * * and so the supreme commander had to decide to withdraw the right wing of the German Army. The Germans retired, then, from the Marne as far back as the Aisne. Because Verdun could not be taken, it appeared necessary to change the plan of the war."

Is it clear? Do we need any higher or more striking proof? If so, who does not recall the telegram addressed by the Kaiser to the Landtag of Brandenburg, in which he celebrated the taking of Verdun, which he believed to be an accomplished fact:

"I rejoice greatly in the new and grand examples of Brandenburg vigor and fidelity even unto death which the sons of that province have furnished in the last few days, in the course of their irresistible assault upon the powerful fortress of our chief enemy."

He really thought—and it was repeated a hundred times after him in Germany—that the taking of Verdun was the end of the war, a decisive German victory. And that is why the desperate resistance of our soldiers, "the French victory of Verdun," has been and will be for him and his followers the supreme disillusionment.

This is why our magnificent corps of Generals, and our army, now responding so nobly to their appeals, realize that at Verdun, as on the Marne, we must conquer or perish. General Joffre gave us the key to these unanimous sentiments when he made known his telegram, sent at the time of his famous order of the day on the Marne:

"The evening of the same day, the 25th, the Commander in Chief sent to General Pétain, then taking command, the following order: 'Yesterday, the 24th, I gave orders to hold the right bank of the Meuse, north of Verdun. Any commander who shall give an order to retreat will be court-martialed.'"

Compare the two telegrams, that of the Emperor and that of the General, and you can judge which is the hand that is engraving history.

The Iron Key to War and Peace

By Henri Berenger

Member of the French Senate

Further data on the crucial value of the French iron mines seized by Germany are furnished by Senator Berenger in Le Matin:

THERE is no reason to be astonished that Germany, from the very beginning of the war, has sought to maintain possession of the Basin of Briey, which represented 90 per cent. of our iron production, and that the attack on Verdun has been for the purpose of confirming and perpetuating this possession.

To understand all the tragedy of our problem it is necessary to know that it is precisely the Basin of Briey which is the battlefield for the sovereignty of iron between Germany and France. The Basin of Briey lies between Verdun and Metz, like a gigantic key of the war, thrown at equal distance from these two fortresses of the Lorraine frontier.

From this fact may not one perceive the interest which the Germans have in taking Verdun—an interest equal to that which we should have in retaking Metz?

Certain reliable figures, collected before the war and since the war began, will impart to all Frenchmen the truth.

Before the war Germany produced annually 28,000,000 tons of iron, of which 21,000,000 tons came from that part of the Basin of Briey which had been annexed to Germany since 1870-71.

France produced annually 22,000,000 tons of iron, of which 15,000,000 tons came from the part of the Basin of Briey which had remained French.

Since the war began France, having lost the Basin of Briey through invasion, has been almost exclusively furnished with iron from England and America.

Germany, on the contrary, having occupied at the same time the Basin of Briey in France and in Luxemburg, has put in operation nearly all the great furnaces there and thus adds to her 28,000,000 tons, before the war, the 15,000,000 tons of our basin and the 6,000,000 of the Basin of Luxemburg—that is 28 plus 15 plus 6, making 49,000,000 tons of iron for herself and her allies.

If we recall that in Germany, thanks to the Rhenish foundries, 100 tons of pig iron produce 92 tons of steel, Germany has at her disposition about 45,000,000 tons of steel for military and naval appliances of all sorts.

Far from having realized against Germany the essential brockage, which would be the brockage of the iron, the prime material in this war, we have, on the contrary, left her in possession of 90 per cent. of our French production of iron and of 80 per cent. of the national production of steel we had before the war.

The artless proof of what I set forth here has been for some time furnished by German documents which the Comité des Forges de France [Committee of the Foundries of France] has published in its circulars Nos. 655, 666, and 3,287.

Here, notably, is what one may read since May 20, 1915—just a year ago—in the "Confidential Memorandum on the Conditions of Future Peace" which was addressed to von Bethmann Hollweg, Chancellor of the Empire, by the six great industrial and agricultural associations of Germany:

> If the production of pig iron and steel had not been doubled since August, 1914, the continuation of the war would have been impossible. At present the mineral of Briey furnishes from 60 to 80 per cent. of the appliances made from iron and steel. If this production be disturbed the war will be practically lost.

Once masters of Verdun the Germans will be able to believe themselves masters of the indefinite continuation of the war, because the Basin of Briey incloses in the totality of its subsoil more than 3,000,000,000 tons of iron.

On the other hand, if we remain masters of Verdun and again, by our armies, become masters of Metz, we shall, by the same stroke, put an end to the war, because we shall have taken from Germany

21 plus 15 plus 6, amounting to 42,000,000 tons of iron of the 49,000,000 tons which the empire contains—that is to say, nine-tenths of her total production of steel, the entire key to her production of war material.

Germany and the Lorraine Iron Mines

By Otto Hué

Socialist Member of the Reichstag

Confirmation of the statement that Germany would not have steel enough to continue the war if it were to lose control of the rich mines east of Verdun is furnished by the following extract from an article in the Metallarbeiter-Zeitung, the weekly organ of the German Metal Workers' Union:

IN Alsace-Lorraine a great ore mining and iron and steel making industry has developed in a period of time so brief as to remind us of conditions in the United States. In 1872 only twenty mining concessions were granted, the ore output amounted to only 990,000 tons, and the pig iron production to but 220,000 tons. In 1878-79 along came the process for the extraction of phosphorus, named after its inventors, Thomas and Gilchrist, and already in 1882 there were 230 mining concessions granted in Alsace-Lorraine, and the production of ore soon reached 2,000,000 tons, although the work of smelting at the point of production developed more slowly, because the construction of big smelting plants required more time and money than that necessary for the opening of the mines, the greater part of which was then close to the surface.

It is sufficiently well known that the Thomas-Gilchrist process raised the Lorraine-Luxemburg iron ore, (minette,) which contained too much phosphorus for the older Bessemer process, to the rank of a most profitable ore with one blow. This is the base for a development of the mining, iron, and steel industry in Alsace-Lorraine unparalleled in Europe. The production of minette ore jumped from 2,150,000 tons in 1885 to 21,130,000 tons in 1913. Of the round 19,000,000 tons of pig iron smelted within the limits of the German Tariff Union (Germany and Luxemburg) in 1913 some 33 per cent. came from Lorraine and Luxemburg. The outbreak of the war interrupted the increased use of the big new smelters in the imperial territories—Hagendingen, for example. The balance of our production of pig iron and crude steel began to swing more toward the southwest corner of Germany.

Of the production of iron ore within the district covered by the tariff union in 1913, which amounted to almost 36,000,000 tons, 21,100,000 came from Lorraine and 7,300,000 from Luxemburg. Therefore the minette district alone produces 80 per cent. of our domestic output of iron ore. It is true that we exported 2,610,000 tons of iron ore in 1913, nearly all of which went to Belgium and France, but we imported 3,800,000 tons (principally minette) from there in exchange, especially because the mixing of French with German minette makes a better smelting combination. Furthermore, we received 4,550,000 tons of iron ore from Sweden and 3,630,000 tons from Spain, besides smaller quantities from Russia, Algeria, Tunis, Norway, &c.

In the main, however, these ores, which are generally richer and consequently cost more to extract, go to a few of the big smelters of the Lower Rhine and Westphalia that assured themselves of favorable conditions through long-term contracts, as with Sweden, for instance. Of the 34,000,000 tons of iron ore worked up in German smelters and foundries in 1913 some 23,250,000 tons came from the interior of the empire, and as of that only about 7,000,000 tons were produced outside of Alsace-Lorraine, a simple calculation shows that already in 1913 some 70 per cent. of the German iron ore used came from Lorraine.

German War Losses the Greatest in History

GENERAL JACOB EUGENE DURYEE, a veteran of the American civil war, has prepared a study which shows that the German casualties in the present war exceed the war losses in Europe and America for the entire eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

His study shows that in the battles of the eighteenth century there was a total of 1,865,700 men engaged, of whom 316,450 were killed or wounded; in the battles of the nineteenth century there were 7,315,912 men engaged and 1,088,641 killed or wounded, making a total for both centuries of 9,181,612 men, with casualties of 1,405,091. He quotes the British official estimate of German losses, published in THE NEW YORK TIMES of May 11, showing casualties of 2,822,079, concluding that in the twenty-one months since August, 1914, the Germans have lost 1,084,000 more men than were lost by all the nations of Europe and America in the battles of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In none of the battles General Duryee takes into consideration were there less than 75,000 men engaged, the lowest on the list being the battle of Orthez, in 1814, with 77,000 men engaged. The greatest number in any battle, exclusive of the present war, was at Leipsic in 1813, when 440,000 men fought. In the four great battles of the nineteenth century—Leipsic, Wagram, Borodino, and Bantzen—there were all together 1,373,000 men engaged. In the eighteenth century there was only one battle fought in which there were as many as 200,000 fighters, the battle of Malplaquet, in 1709.

In comparison with the many battles in the present war, in which many hundreds of thousands face each other, General Duryee shows that of the fifteen great battles of the civil war in none were as many as 200,000 engaged. The battle of Fredericksburg in 1862 with 190,000 men and the battle of Chancellorsville with 192,000 in 1863 were the largest in the number of men engaged. The losses in these battles, however, were smaller than in others in which fewer men were engaged, notably Gettysburg, Chickamauga, Spottsylvania, and the Wilderness. The bloodiest battle fought in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was Leipsic, when 92,000 were killed or wounded of the 440,000 engaged. The greatest battle on this continent was Gettysburg, where 37,000 were killed and wounded of 163,000 engaged. The bloodiest battle was Chickamauga, where 35,100 of the 128,000 engaged were killed or wounded.

General Duryee gives a list of the sixteen great battles of the eighteenth century, as follows:

Name and Date.	Men Engaged.	Killed and Wounded.
Blenheim, 1704	116,000	31,000
Ramilies, 1706	122,000	11,600
Oudenard, 1708	170,000	20,000
Malplaquet, 1709	200,000	34,000
Dettingen, 1743	97,000	9,350
Fontenoy, 1745	90,000	13,000
Prague, 1757	124,000	22,000
Kollin, 1757	87,000	19,000
Leuthen, 1757	111,000	16,000
Breslau, 1757	110,000	11,700
Zorndorf, 1758	84,700	32,000
Hochkirch, 1758	132,000	14,000
Zullchau, 1759	113,000	31,000
Torgau, 1760	106,000	24,000
Castiglione, 1796	90,000	17,000
Total	1,752,700	305,650

General Duryee lists the following as the great battles of the nineteenth century, many of which seem skirmishes when compared with the great struggles now going on in Europe:

Name and Date.	Men Engaged.	Killed and Wounded.
Hohenlinden, 1800	106,000	14,500
Austerlitz, 1805	148,000	25,000
Jena, 1806	98,000	17,000
Eylau, 1807	133,500	42,000
Heilsburg, 1807	169,000	22,000
Friedland, 1807	142,000	34,000
Eckmeihl, 1809	145,000	15,000
Aspern, 1809	170,000	45,000

Name and Date.	Men Engaged.	Killed and Wounded.
Wagram, 1809	370,000	44,000
Talavera, 1809	109,000	15,500
Salamanca, 1812	91,000	15,000
Borodino, 1812	263,000	75,000
Baptzen, 1813	300,000	24,000
Vittoria, 1813	143,000	10,000
Leipsic, 1813	440,000	92,000
Orthez, 1814	77,000	6,050
Le Rothiere, 1814	120,000	12,500
Laon, 1814	112,000	9,000
Ligny, 1815	159,000	24,000
Toulouse, 1814	90,000	10,550
Waterloo, 1815	170,000	42,000
Alma, 1854	86,000	9,100
Inkerman, 1854	83,700	13,787
Magenta, 1859	108,000	11,000
Solferino, 1859	295,000	31,500
Shiloh, 1862	98,000	21,000
Seven Pines, 1862	90,000	11,165
Gaines Mills, 1862	90,000	13,000
Malvern Hill, 1862	150,000	8,300
Second Manassas, 1862	127,000	22,000
Antietam, 1862	128,000	23,582
Fredericksburg, 1862	190,000	16,971
Chickamauga, 1863	128,000	35,100
Chancellorsville, 1863	192,000	24,000
Gettysburg, 1863	163,000	37,000
Chattanooga, 1863	99,000	8,500
Stone River, 1863	80,712	18,500
Spottsylvania, 1864	150,000	25,000
Cold Harbor, 1864	168,000	11,700
Wilderness, 1864	179,000	26,000
Koenigratz, 1866	417,000	26,894
Worth, 1870	135,000	18,642
Vionville, 1870	168,000	32,800
Gravelotte, 1870	320,000	30,000
Plevna, 1877	115,000	19,000
Total	7,315,912	1,088,641

General Duryee gives the following list of German casualties as taken from official British compilations reported in THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Losses of German Empire up to May 1, 1915: Killed or died of wounds, 664,552; missing, 197,094; severely wounded, 385,515; wounded, 254,627; slightly wounded, 1,023,212; total, 2,525,000. This does not include prisoners, those who died of sickness, or those wounded who remained with units, the grand total being 2,822,079.

LATER BRITISH ESTIMATE

According to a British official tabulation of the German casualty lists, Germany had lost 2,924,586 soldiers up to the end of May, of which 734,412 were killed. This does not include losses in naval engagements or in the colonies. The German figures for the month of May alone, as compiled by the British authorities, were 22,471 dead, 72,075 wounded, and 7,961 prisoners and missing, making a total of 102,507. The ing, making a total of 102,507.

The grand totals as indicated above are:

Dead	734,412
Wounded	1,851,652
Prisoners and missing	338,522
Total	2,924,586

A Comparison That Shows the Huge Cost of the War

Edmond Thery, a French economist, has compiled statistics showing that the present belligerents have already spent more than twice as much as the total cost of all the preceding wars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He says in substance:

The fifteen years of war waged by Napoleon increased the public debt of France by 588,000,000 francs, while the Crimean war alone cost the republic 1,660,000,000. Great Britain spent 1,550,000,000 in the Crimean, while that war cost Austria 343,000,000, and Turkey and Sardinia together 642,000,000 francs. France spent 650,000,000 francs on the Mexican war, and 853,000,000 in the conflict against Austria for the liberation of Italy.

Prussia in her wars against Denmark and Austria spent about 2,000,000,000 francs, while the German States and France together spent about 15,000,000,000 on the war of 1870, including 5,000,000,000 francs indemnity paid by France to Germany. The war of 1877-78 against Turkey cost Russia about 2,700,000,000 francs, while she spent 6,300,000,000 in the war with Japan, as against 4,500,000,000 spent by Japan.

The total from the beginning of 1801 up to August, 1914, amounts to about 65,000,000,000 francs, or less than one-half of what the belligerent powers have already expended on the present conflict.

Creating the British Army

Story of Lord Kitchener's Archievements Leading Up to Military Compulsion

[Condensed for CURRENT HISTORY from an article by J. B. Firth in The London Telegraph, published a short time before Kitchener's death]

THE Military Service bill will mark the definite commencement of a new era for the British Army. Military necessity has driven Great Britain to conform to the Continental model, because she was required to raise armies on a Continental scale. Having raised them, she must maintain them. Voluntaryism sufficed for the former; after a gallant effort it has proved unequal to the latter duty.

Lord Kitchener is to be congratulated most heartily upon a wonderful achievement. These armies are of his raising. He must have passed through some very anxious months during the several phases of the recruiting problem. But he has always presented to the public a calm and imperturbable front. From the outset Lord Kitchener showed a sound prescience of the magnitude and duration of the struggle, and the best monument of his tenure of the Secretaryship of State for War is the size and quality of the British Army of today.

When the news came of the definite failure of the original French offensive, which necessitated the perilous retreat of the British Army from Mons, all idea must have vanished of limiting the British military contribution to the maintenance of 160,000 men in France. Great Britain had to throw all in that she possibly could, and to do so she must raise armies as never before in her long history. There was only one man who could do it. There was only one man whom the country would have trusted to do it. That was Lord Kitchener. The nation called him to the War Office. He went there on Aug. 6, and the very next day Parliament sanctioned the addition of 500,000 men to the regular establishment, and Lord Kitchener issued his first appeal for 100,000 recruits. There was a magic in the name of Lord Kitchener all through that wonderful Autumn of 1914. He had the complete confidence of the Government and the unquestioning obedience of the entire people. If at any moment down to the battle of the Marne, when the tide of retreat was stayed and the Germans were thrown back to the Aisne, Lord Kitchener had appealed to the country to accept compulsory service, there are those who think that it would have been accepted without serious demur.

Lord Kitchener made his first statement on the army in the House of Lords on Aug. 25, 1914, saying incidentally:

> While India, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are all sending us powerful contingents, the territorials are replying with loyalty to the stern call of duty which has come to them with such exceptional force. Sixty-nine battalions have, with fine patriotism, already volunteered for service abroad, and when trained and organized in the larger formations will be able to take their places in the line. The 100,000 recruits for which, in the first place, it has been thought necessary to call have already been practically secured. * * * The empires with which we are at war have called to their colors almost their entire male population. The principle we on our part shall observe is this, that while their maximum force undergoes a constant diminution, the reinforcements we prepare shall steadily and increasingly flow out until we have an army in the field which in numbers, not less than in quality, will not be unworthy of the power and responsibilities of the British Empire.

It would be much too long a story to describe in detail the ebbs and flows of the tide of recruiting:

> Aug. 28.—Another 100,000 called for. The age limit raised to 35.
>
> Sept. 10.—The Prime Minister asked the House of Commons to sanction the raising of a second half million, and said that 439,000 had already joined, not counting territorials. On one day alone, Sept. 3, no fewer than 33,204 recruits came in.
>
> Sept. 11.—The response was still so good that the height was raised to 5 feet 6 inches.

Sept. 15.—It was announced that 501,580 recruits had been obtained—from England, 396,751; from Scotland, 64,444; from Ireland, 20,419, and from Wales, 19,966.

A most unfortunate impression was created that the military authorities were getting not only more men than they could at once equip—that was obvious—but more than they actually required. The result was a sharp drop, and at the end of October it was necessary to reduce the minimum height to 5 feet 4 inches and raise the age to 38. All through the Winter the situation remained much the same. Officially, satisfaction was expressed; privately it became known that Ministers were growing rather anxious. People began to discuss seriously whether compulsion would not be found necessary. A bombardment of an east coast watering place, a Zeppelin raid, a heavy casualty list, a particularly frightful example of German frightfulness might cause the tide to flow with greater vigor for a time, but the great wave of enthusiasm which, in a marvelously short time, had raised one service battalion after another for all the more famous regiments had largely spent itself. When on May 18, 1915, Lord Kitchener appealed for yet another 300,000, the age limit was raised to 40, and the minimum height reduced to 5 feet 2 inches.

By this time the nation had begun to realize the serious economic results which flowed from the heroic efforts made to repair our military unpreparedness. Money had been poured out like water. For the equipment of the new armies—or Kitchener's army, as it was popularly called—everything was lacking, and everything had to be found in a hurry. Manufacturers, not merely in this country, but in all parts of the world—especially the United States—were deluged with orders for supplies of every conceivable sort. And as the manufacturing districts of France were also largely in the hands of the enemy, our ally, too, required to be provided with vast quantities of raw material. So, too, with Russia, Serbia, and later on with Italy. The British fleet kept the seas open, and Great Britain became more and more the workshop of the Allies at the very moment when her main industries were crying out for labor to replace the men who had left their trades to join the colors. Voluntaryism is a magnificent ideal, and it was voluntaryism which filled the ranks of Kitchener's army and replenished the territorial battalions. Probably there was not a single expert at the War Office who had ever supposed before the war that pure voluntaryism could raise, say, two million men, or that without a measure of direct general compulsion nearly four million men would answer the call. But that a very heavy price had to be paid for the recruitment of thousands of skilled men, who could best have served their country by remaining at work, only began to be realized in the Spring of 1915.

It began to be whispered that the army was short of ammunition. Then rumor took more definite shape, and the shortage was declared to be most serious in high-explosive shells. But this may be said, that even at that time the whole of the available resources had been laid under contribution, and gigantic orders had been given. It was the deliveries which were woefully behindhand. The Liberal Government fell; the Coalition was formed, and its first act, after the establishment of a new Ministry of Munitions under Mr. Lloyd George, was to introduce and pass a National Registration bill, with its pink forms for men of military age, which was regarded as the first tentative—but unavowed—commitment in the direction of compulsion. "Steps will be taken," said Lord Kitchener, "to approach with a view to enlistment all possible candidates for the army, unmarried men to be preferred before married men, as far as may be." The recruiting problem had become very serious, though even as late as July 28 Mr. Asquith said that "recruiting was highly satisfactory," and in August the Government appointed a committee, presided over by Lord Lansdowne, to consider the best means of making use of the National Register. Its utility had been somewhat compromised by the large number of trades which had been placed on the starred list. On Sept. 15 it was stated that the total number of men who were serving or had served in

CANADIANS IN THE FIERCE FIGHT AT YPRES

From a Painting by W. B. Wollen Which Attracted Much Attention in the Recent Exhibit of the Royal Academy at London

(Photo by Henry Dixon & Son.)

THE SPIRIT OF INDOMITABLE FRANCE AT VERDUN

In This Remarkable War Painting, Entitled "The Fight for the Ravine," the French Artist, M. Simont, Has Depicted a Desperate Struggle to Hold Le Mort Homme

the army and navy was "not far short of three millions," and Mr. Asquith spoke of recruiting having been at a fairly steady figure for thirteen months. But on the same day Lord Kitchener in the House of Lords acknowledged that the Government's "anxious thought had been accentuated and rendered more pressing by the recent falling off in numbers." This was the first clear official intimation that the state of recruiting was bad. A series of recruiting rallies throughout the country was attempted, but with most disappointing results, and the appointment of Lord Derby as Director General of Recruiting on Oct. 6 was in itself a confession that the old methods had yielded their full results, and could yield no more.

The shadow of compulsion was by this time plainly visible. It was no secret that the question had been raised in the Cabinet or that Ministers were sharply divided. Mr. Lloyd George had openly proclaimed himself a convert to compulsion. The Labor Recruiting Committee, while still resolutely opposed to compulsion, issued a striking manifesto declaring their conviction that 30,000 recruits a week were required to maintain at full strength the armies in the field, and calling on trade unionists to rally to and save the voluntary system. Their effort, however, was soon merged in the scheme put forward by Lord Derby, to which compulsionists and anti-compulsionists alike agreed to give a fair and honest trial. The two main features of the scheme were (1) the differentiation between single and married, and (2) the classification of recruits in groups according to their age. After a fairly promising opening the campaign suddenly fell flat. It was only saved from utter failure by the now famous pledge of the Prime Minister that the attested married men should not be called up if any considerable number of single men refrained from offering themselves, until other means had been taken to bring these single men into service. Even so, it was not until the last few days before the time appointed for closing the lists that the great rush came, when in four days—Dec. 10 to 13—no fewer than 1,070,478 presented themselves for attestation. The following results are taken from Lord Derby's report:

Grand total of men of military age..	5,011,441
Attested, enlisted, and rejected.....	2,829,263
Total remaining.....	2,182,178
Single men attested.....	840,000
Of these were starred.....	312,067
Unstarred attested	527,933
Reduced by deductions to.....	343,386
Married men attested.....	1,344,979
Of these were starred.....	449,808
Unstarred attested	895,171
Reduced by deductions to.....	487,676
Unstarred single men unaccounted for	651,160
Immediate enlistments.....	275,031
Attestations, total	2,246,630
Grand total	2,521,661

It was admitted that the figure of 651,160 unstarred single men unaccounted for could not be declared a negligible figure, and the Prime Minister's pledge, therefore, became operative, and called for a measure of compulsion to bring in the unattested single men. In order to emphasize the need of men to repair the wastage of war, the following table of British losses, sustained down to Dec. 9, 1915, was published about this time:

FLANDERS AND FRANCE

	Killed.	W'nd'd.	Miss.	Total.
Officers	4,829	9,943	1,699	16,471
N.C.O.'s & men..	77,473	241,359	52,685	371,571
Total				387,988

DARDANELLES

Officers	1,667	3,028	350	5,045
N.C.O.'s & men..	24,535	72,781	12,194	109,510
Total				114,555

OTHER THEATRES OF WAR

Officers	871	694	100	1,665
N.C.O.'s & men..	10,548	10,953	2,518	24,019
Total				25,684
Total 119,923	338,758	69,546		528,227

The passing of the Military Service bill provoked a serious crisis in the Parliamentary Labor Party, and also in the labor world outside. The small Independent Labor Party was stubbornly opposed to compulsion, and received the support of a number of other labor members. Special labor congresses were called to discuss the whole position as created by

the new bill, and at each there was a large adverse majority against the measure. But in the last critical division the conference determined by a narrow majority not to carry its protest to the point of actual resistance, and the upshot of the matter was that the three Labor Ministers remained in the Coalition Government. The January measure of compulsion was expressly limited to the fulfillment of the Prime Minister's pledge. It only applied to the unattested single men of military age. Meanwhile, the groups of the attested single men were yielding such exceedingly meagre results that one proclamation speedily followed another, till all the single groups had been warned of their approaching call. And then, to the extreme surprise of the attested married men, a proclamation was issued warning the early groups of the date on which they would be required. This was before the process of compulsion had actually been applied to the unattested single men, and a strong agitation at once sprang up among those who complained that the pledge had not been kept in the spirit. Undoubtedly they had a genuine grievance to the extent that they were called up considerably earlier than they had been led to expect, but this was due, as Lord Kitchener frankly admitted, to military necessity, and also to the too generous classifications of reserved occupations.

Meanwhile the shortage in the battalions at the front threatened to grow more serious. The military authorities again began to press upon the Government the urgent necessity of making immediate provision for the near future. Thereupon the old divisions of opinion manifested themselves anew, and after some weeks of delay Mr. Asquith startled the House of Commons just before the Easter adjournment by announcing that, if the differences could not be adjusted, there was a danger of a break-up of the Cabinet, which all agreed would be a "national disaster." But at their very next meeting the Cabinet agreed upon a compromise, and it was arranged that Parliament should sit in secret session, at which the confidential memoranda and figures which the Cabinet had been considering should be laid before the two houses. This was done, and with eminently satisfactory results, for it reconciled the vast majority of the House of Commons to the necessity of accepting a scheme of immediate and general compulsion. All males between the ages of 18 and 41 are now subject to military service. All distinction between married and single is swept away, and the special financial obligations of the married recruits are to be met, as far as possible, by reasonable and adequate grants from the public purse.

The new Military Service act is designed to make sure that in the supreme crisis of this war there shall be no lack of men. It is said that a single fresh division thrown in at the end of the first battle of Ypres on either side would have won a decisive victory. All through this war Great Britain has been handicapped by an insufficient number of trained divisions. It is the purpose of the Government and of the War Office to make sure that there shall at least be enough at the close.

Much might have been said of the million-sided activities which have accompanied the growth of the British Army—of the wonderful recruiting fervor of the Autumn of 1914; of the incredible labors required to equip such masses of men; of the establishment of the new arsenals; of the conversion of practically the whole engineering capacity of the country to the task of producing guns and munitions of war; of the magnificently loyal part which labor on the whole has played; of the courage and devotion shown by the women of Great Britain in the hour of need. All have contributed their essential aid toward building up the new British Army.

It is a great achievement. If there is one man more than another who has kept cool and collected through all these anxious months, and in spite of all difficulties has gone on building up the splendid fabric whose foundations he laid with such foresight, it is Lord Kitchener. He has wrought wonders.

German Idealism

WRITTEN FOR CURRENT HISTORY

By Benjamin Meade Bolton

HERETOFORE when nations have been aroused as the Germans are today they have usually followed the leadership of some dominant personality who appeared to them to be the embodiment of their hopes and ambitions. The great wars of the past are even called by the names of the great Generals who led them. But the present conflict will scarcely go down in history as the war of any one man, for every one is now convinced that this is no Kaiser's war, as was sometimes claimed in the beginning of the conflict, but a people's war as far as the German Nation is concerned. Whether the war has been fomented by the Kaiser, the junkers, and the munition manufacturers or no, there can be no doubt but it now is an expression of the martial spirit of the folk.

The Germans believe, at any rate, that the war is for an ideal, and this ideal has not been exemplified to them by any one individual. It has developed and crystallized out of the teachings of many minds, past and present. This idealism has become a dominant passion; it has needed no one great teacher to spread it as the different cults have been spread. It has acted as an all-pervading ether, infusing itself throughout the whole people.

The Germans also believe that this idealism has placed Germany today in the front rank of civilization, and that to it is due all her wonderful progress and development, intellectual and material. It has led them with one accord to enter upon a conflict with the rest of mankind to force upon an unwilling world their conception of what is best for the destiny of the race. They have come to believe that they represent, as a nation, the highest attainment in intellect, in morals, and in material and artistic things to which man has ever reached, and some even believe that, unretarded, this idealism will lead to man's domination of heaven itself, as is shown by a quotation from Schelling given below.

The leaders of German thought have long been teaching man's superiority to his environment. That, although he is a product of nature, he is, nevertheless, capable of becoming immeasurably higher than his origin, and that by his devotion to duty and by the full exercise of his energies he has it in his power to shape the progress of the world.

This idealism, which has been fraught with such tremendous consequences, has been recently stated by Professor Francke as "Unconditional submission to duty, salvation through ceaseless striving of will, the moral mission of aesthetic culture." To these Professor John Dewey adds, "an Ideal, a Mission, a Destiny." Professor Dewey also makes the comment that they aspire to combine "with supreme discipline in the outer world of action supreme freedom in the inner world of thought." Professor Francke says: "The State is the manifestation of the divine on earth, an organism uniting in itself all spiritual and moral aspirations."

In Westermann's Monatsheften for February, 1916, Professor Budde has published an illuminating article on German idealism. He says: "It is the fundamental thought in the contemplation of the world (Weltanschauung) which is called idealism that man, although he has sprung from nature, is nevertheless something more than a mere being of nature. On the contrary, in him is a new revelation of truth, with him appears a new world which lends him a

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NOTE.—*Dr. Benjamin Meade Bolton is a native of Virginia. He attended the University of Heidelberg, 1883-4; Gottingen, 1884-6; Berlin, 1886. He has held professorships in Johns Hopkins and other American colleges, and is well known in scientific circles as a biologist and bacteriologist. He has given close study to philosophical subjects and has been interested in cognate questions relating to Germany.*

peculiar dignity and greatness, and presents high aims to his activities. In this way man is liberated from the consequences of nature's happenings, and is lifted up into the realm of freedom in which it is possible for him to shape his life in untrammeled spontaneity, and thus also to wrest from the world of experience an inner personal independence and to act upon it in an elevating and ennobling manner. * * * Especially characteristic of German idealism is precisely this action out of the realm of freedom upon the world of experience filled with its manifold contradictions."

This freedom of which Professor Budde writes is not the freedom of lawlessness. Not the freedom of the pioneer in the wild forest. Not the privilege of escape from duty. It is a subjective freedom, but man attains to its highest exercise only by contact with the world upon which he impresses his will and from which he must extort all that is possible. He must force from her by his "will to power" all that he can. He must exert his energies continuously and strenuously. He must surmount one difficulty only to attack another. Striving is an end in itself. Stress and strain bring development.

German idealism is thus in striking contrast to the Hindu idealism, which aims at a suppression of striving after the things of the world. To the Hindu the world is merely a dreadful figment of man's imagination, and the highest goal is the attainment of a state in which man's soul is unaffected by this nightmare. In order not to add to the horrors of the dream, man should do nothing to cause pain or suffering to any living being, man or animal; but while he sorrows with others in their pain, he must regard his own sufferings with indifference. He must attain to Nirvāna, a placid indifference to his own individual pleasures or pain.

But to the German idealism the world is not "a tent where takes his one-day's rest a Sultan to the realm of death address." On the contrary, the world is a busy workshop. Not a pottery where man molds soft clay, but a sculptor's workroom where man hews with hard blows of the chisel the image from the resisting stone. Life is no phantom caravan coming from nowhere, proceeding no whither. Life is constant striving and seeking with definite aims and purposes. Man is not a ball cast down upon the field rolling "left or right as strikes the player." Man himself is the player, he strikes the ball. Man comes upon earth not to sit and watch an idle passing show, he is here to dominate the world and to shape its destinies. He must let nothing interfere with his progress, but if need be he must ruthlessly trample upon all opposition. In comparison with this ideal, Professor Dewey says: "That the French and the English should have *specific* objects in view, particular advantages to gain and disadvantages to avoid, seems to many highly instructed Germans * * * something peculiarly base."

German idealism is also in strong contrast to Greek idealism. According to the Greek philosophy the world is a beautiful and perfect work of art, and man's aim is to cultivate himself to an appreciation of this truth. The world itself needs no improvement, is incapable of improvement, only man's capacity for appreciation of the world is limited, and needs to be developed. Man cannot change the world, which moves in ever-repeating cycles according to immutable laws. A cycle ends in a cataclysm in which all is destroyed, or rather all disappears as in a mist. A new cycle begins by the reassembling of the dissociated elements. The same course is pursued as in the former cycle. The same objects as before appear, and after ages and ages the same cataclysm overtakes the world, and then there is a renewal of the cycle. This was at least one Greek conception. Man in this case is merely one of the elements of the cosmos. He can not by taking thought add to nor subtract from the inevitable repetition of history. As a clock runs its course, and finally runs down and has to be wound up and started over, so the world passes through its phases, stops, and is started all over again.

The difference between the Hindu idealism and the Greek idealism on the

one hand, and the German idealism on the other, is stated by Professor Budde as follows:

"In the idealism of India, which proclaims the whole world with its restless, senseless activities to be a world of visions upon which the human heart may not depend, there is no interaction with the world. It declares all attempt to conquer the world through intelligence as futile, it is vain to try to elevate humanity by any appeal to the lessons taught by the world's history. In Greek idealism the world is a wonderful work of art, a masterly cosmos whose contemplation promises the purest happiness. It is true that here also the individual must climb to the height of this contemplation, but 'the world as a whole needs no alteration. With unerring rhythm of rising and falling, the life of the whole runs here from eternity to eternity.' Here also no history results, no universal historic work. In German idealism, on the contrary, appears a world of freedom and of deeds, a world of independent subjectivity, founded upon itself and having no relation to outside help. Man can develop this to its full extent only when he comes into relation with the world around him as he finds it, and absorbs from it as much as he can. This involves a mighty struggle. Thus German idealism is not only an idealism of thought, but an idealism of deed."

Perhaps the two most definite conceptions in German idealism are duty and freedom, duty consisting in continuous, strenuous activity, freedom, but not irresponsibility in a subjective world. This subjective world is above and vastly superior to the objective upon which it impresses itself, and which it modifies and molds and remolds according to a deliberate plan and system. There have been many weighty exponents of the ideal of duty and freedom in this sense. Emanuel Kant was its chief exponent. Professor Budde quotes Euchen as saying: "He (Kant) above all others created the spiritual atmosphere in which German idealism gained its peculiar shape and its overpowering strength. Kant is for us Germans the teacher and prophet of duty. * * * But Kant is also at the same time the teacher and prophet of freedom. But freedom is to him not the casting aside of restraint, nor the shaping of one's life according to one's individual choice; but consists in the selection of rational aims and thus an unconstrained union with a self-selected law.

"Schiller was heart and soul in harmony with Kant's doctrine of freedom. He also proclaimed the superiority of man to all the mechanism of nature, and demands of the human being an awakening of a proud self-consciousness, representing as he does in himself the essential factors in freedom's realm."

From this conception of duty it follows that there must be performance. So that German idealism is not only an idealism of thought, but it is also an idealism of deed. Fichte is the chief exponent of the idealism of deed. He taught that action is greater than thought. That it seizes upon thought and tears it violently with itself. It converts thought itself into action, "an appropriation, a metamorphosis, a mastery of circumstances."

Praises of German idealism have been very loudly sung by its many standard bearers. Two examples quoted from Schelling and from Schleirmacher by Professor Budde will serve to show the admiration, almost idolatry, with which it is regarded. Schelling calls the Germans: "This folk from whom proceeded the revolution in Middle European thought, whose mental energies have brought forth the greatest discoveries, who have given laws to heaven itself, and delved more deeply than all others into the secrets of the world. The folk to whom nature has given an unerring perception of truth, and implanted a thirst for the knowledge of first causes more deeply than in any other race." Schleirmacher wrote at the time when Germany lay bleeding and crushed after the catastrophe of Jena: "Never can I come to the point of doubting the Fatherland, I believe in it too firmly for that; for I know full well that it is a chosen tool and folk of God. It is possible that for a while all our efforts will be vain, and that for us will come a hard and oppres-

sive period. But the Fatherland will certainly soon rise up triumphant."

Never in its history has the German folk been so profoundly aroused as at the present, and they are actuated by an idealism which "seeks to convert all life into a continuous deed, and to demonstrate their convictions."

Professor Euchen, in a book addressed to the soldiers at the front, says in closing: "If idealism of thought and idealism of deed have been fused together in a solid union with us, then there lies before our folk a glorious future, and all the burden of the present war becomes lightened if it brings us to the portal of such a future."

They may be deceived. It may be that the war has been fomented by the Kaiser and the junkers for selfish ends, that the munition manufacturers have led the people by the nose. But there can be no doubt that the war now is an expression of the martial spirit of the folk.

"Belgians Under the German Eagle"

THE most comprehensive statement that has yet been made of what Belgium has suffered under German rule and of the attitude of the people toward it is offered in Jean Massart's "Belgians Under the German Eagle," (E. P. Dutton & Co.,) which has been translated by Bernard Miall. The author is one of the Vice Directors of the Royal Academy of Belgium. His method has been to take indisputable German documents and from these to show what the Germans did, and then, by massing, analyzing, and comparing them, "to derive a few indications as to our enemies' manner of thinking."

In this introduction he tells with considerable detail how their conquerors have endeavored to keep from the Belgians all news of happenings in Belgium or elsewhere, except such as could be found in German newspapers. He tells with evident zest the means the Belgians have taken to outwit these many prohibitions by the smuggling in of newspapers and the secret circulation of typewritten extracts and articles from foreign journals. The German hand is heavy upon those caught making or circulating these extracts. Nevertheless, M. Massart says, "there are in Brussels alone fifteen of these secret sheets, each of which has its public of subscribers. From time to time our oppressors scent out one of these typewriting establishments, but some other devoted person immediately continues the business."

The two chapters devoted to the international aspect of the Belgian invasion make a thoroughgoing exhibit of the evidence. These chapters are illuminated with many incidents, by means of which the author endeavors to prove the German purpose and to show that their actions were not the outcome of temporary necessity. The chapter on "Violations of The Hague Convention" takes up extensively the variety and results of those infractions still existing in the occupation of Belgium as well as those committed during its invasion. "The German Mind Self-Depicted," which fills half the book, offers many pages of quotations, extracts, incidents, all going to paint the blackest kind of a picture of German intellect and morals. "Treachery and untruthfulness," M. Massart comments in one place, "are the chief weapons employed by our enemies." The German attempt to organize industry in Belgium, which he describes at length, moves him to many sarcasms. After pages of the plainest speaking and most specific accounts that have yet been given of cruel and bestial behavior on the part of German troops, both men and officers, he remarks: "A man amuses himself as he can—or, to put it more plainly, according to his mentality." The book is written in a spirit of defiant contempt toward the invaders.

The Theory of Nationalities

By Dr. Conrad Bornhak

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[Adapted for CURRENT HISTORY from a recent article by Dr. Bornhak in Die Grenzboten, a Berlin magazine, ridiculing the Allies' political theory of nationalities]

WHEN, a century ago, the great rearrangements of the map of Europe were made by the last council of the States of the Holy Roman Empire, by Napoleon, and by the Congress of Vienna, no attention whatever was paid to the so-called principle of nationalities. Countries and nations were juggled without any consideration for historical, lingual, or national unities. For more than a decade, up to the Congress of Vienna, the inhabitants of some countries had changed masters every few years as it pleased the arbitrary will of the great Corsican. It was the main task of the diplomats who assembled at Vienna to attempt to bring about a condition of permanency, although few believed that the end could be achieved and that the new arrangement would endure for any length of time. The claims of many small States received but scant attention from the congress, and dissatisfaction was general. Revolution succeeded revolution until the steadily weakening police power of the Holy Alliance collapsed with the revolutions of July, 1830. The liberation from Napoleon's yoke had not brought with it the desired relief.

The reason was simple. National aspirations were nowhere adequately recognized by the Congress of Vienna. Italy, for instance, even yearned for a return of the Napoleonic conditions. The Congress had merely re-established the old traditional dynastic régimes. Against these the revolutionaries asserted the new principle of nationalities as the only relief from conditions they found intolerable. The old dynastic principle was to be thrown overboard and new States were to be built up on the principle of racial, lingual, and historical unity. The various divisions of such units, hitherto split up into different States or subject to foreign rule, were to be bound together into self-governing nations.

Singularly enough, the proponents of this theory ascribed its origin as a political doctrine to the great Corsican, despite the fact that he had tossed countries and nations about according to his imperious will. That the theory of nationalities never entered his mind is obvious. France itself never appeared as an ethnic unity or a national State to him, but only as the nucleus for a universal empire, all the component parts of which, no matter what their history or language, were to be subject to the autocratic rule of his own dynasty. But for all that, the principle of nationalities had its source and origin in none other than Napoleon — contradictory as the statement may seem. The Emperor's tyrannous rule reacted on the oppressed and suffering people. The sense of national identity awakened in them and that dream of cosmopolitanism that had swayed and vitiated the eighteenth century faded away. The petty rivaling States learned the necessity of co-operation, of combining interests and forces, to gain a national existence. Napoleon created the national sense by his very efforts to crush it.

Against this growing national consciousness the dynastic régimes set up by the Vienna Congress were pitted. The task of preserving the Holy Alliance, although he was not the author of it, fell upon Metternich.

The basic purpose of all that subtle statesman's complicated policy was the safeguarding of the Austrian Empire, child of the Vienna Congress, and created altogether with a view to the most advantageous natural boundaries. The State was a conglomeration of races and languages, and its preservation depended upon the avoidance of clash between the

various nationalities. So Metternich sought to block and hinder the national constitutional movements in Germany and Italy, lest the contagion affect Austria and cause the divergent nations of the empire to assert their individuality and try to set up independent Governments. The conditions in the empire sprawling along the Danube forced Metternich to oppose the principle of nationalities and fight against constitutionalism.

But again, as with Napoleon, these were strengthened by opposition. An even greater result was now achieved. For these two principles, at first opposed, now united to meet the common enemies of conservatism and absolutism. In both Germany and Italy the Liberals saw clearly the necessity for national unity in order to muster their full strength against their enemies. In Italy, for instance, up to 1820 the constitutional movements in Sicily, Naples, and Piedmont had been distinctly local affairs and in no wise related. But Austria's efforts to suppress these movements showed the leaders that they could achieve their ends only by joining forces and interests.

The same thing was happening in Germany. When the Vienna Congress set up the Rhenish Confederacy the various States were created arbitrarily, and the spirit of petty local antagonism, of provincial individualism, was encouraged. Metternich, as leader of the Bundestag, fostered these jealousies and bickerings. The liberals of South Germany fought against this, and took up as their battle cry: "Through unity to liberty!"

But this ideal was not realized. Even as late as 1848 the principle of jealous nationality governed the various revolutionary movements in Germany as well as in Italy, and the leaders evinced no desire to merge the various small States into large united groups. When the representatives of the various German States assembled in St. Paul's at Frankfort-on-the-Main, the spirit of separatism swayed their action. The strongest and most firmly established State, Prussia, afforded a nucleus about which the other States might have grouped themselves in a united German Nation. Unfortunately this consolidation was impossible. The spirit of separatism was too strong for the evolution of a broad national policy. In Italy, although the expulsion of Austria from Lombard-Venetia and the union of the latter territory with Sardinia was regarded as the elementary condition of liberty, liberal constitutionalism on the basis of non-union was the ruling doctrine. The nearest approach to a united Italy conceived of was a loose confederacy of the Italian States under a Papal Presidency. The development of the constitutional State based upon the union of small districts having a broad national unity, although each distinguished by local characteristics, was hindered by the regard paid to such petty differences.

In the conditions in Italy Napoleon III. found a potent weapon for his diplomatic conflict with Austria. The new French Emperor was the first sovereign who consciously based his foreign policy on the theory of nationalities, although Thiers warned him that Italian unity would inevitably bring about German unity, a result as undesirable for his purposes as Italian unity was necessary. His motives were not altogether unselfish. To Napoleon III. the principle of nationalities was merely the means of uprooting the rule of Austria in Italy and planting in its place the rule of France supported my Lombardian and Sardinian vassal States. Napoleon never thought of a complete Italian union, and as soon as this tendency manifested itself strongly he devoted the remaining years of his reign to efforts to save the remnants of the Papal States. The support of the French clericals was indispensable to the maintenance of his throne and the dissolution of the Papal States would have alienated the clericals.

On the other hand, the encouragement he had given the spirit of nationalism in Italy tied his hands in dealing with Germany. Thiers's prediction was justified by events. The tendency to unity was growing beyond the Rhine. Napoleon even gave unwitting aid to this. In the peace of Prague he insisted, in accordance with the ethnological principle, on

the restoration (subject to a future plebiscite) of the predominantly Danish portions of Northern Schleswig to Denmark. Viewed with the knowledge of the swelling tide of the movement for German unity, that was but a petty political trick. Indeed, the Emperor's foreign policy was driven on the rocks by the very spirits he had conjured to guide it. It met with least approval from the French themselves and brought in its train consequences that proved most distasteful to them.

To the three rulers who evoked, opposed, and favored it, the spirit of nationalism proved an enemy. Its realization, although imperfect, in Germany and Italy had direful consequences for Napoleon III.

Almost coincident with this development in Western Europe, nationalism began to play a rôle in Eastern Europe, in the Balkan provinces of the crumbling Turkish Empire. Hellenes, Rumanians, and Slavs were called upon in the name of their history or of their lingual and national associations, to liberate themselves from the rule of the Porte. But here, again, the slogan of ethnology was simply a handy device for the foreign policy of another great European power, Russia. A strange paradox! The power which had annihilated Poland and stripped her of every vestige of independence, the power that regarded the Ukrainians as merely a part of the Russian people, now felt called upon to free the various nationalities in the Balkan portions of the Turkish Empire!

The real purpose of the Czar's policy, the acquisition of Constantinople and the Dardanelles, (where no Russians or Slavs dwelt!) was a downright mockery of nationalism. Not a whit disturbed by this inconsistency, Russia calmly set up the stalking horses of Pan-Slavism and the necessity for the political unity of all communicants of the Orthodox Church. They were, to an extent, necessary, and in all respects convenient. Pan-Slavism justifies the incorporation of the Ukrainians and the Poles into Russia, and makes the Czar lord protector of the Balkan States. Of course, Pan-Slavism would hardly justify the assimilation of Greeks and Rumanians, but in regard to them the holy Orthodox Church would indeed cover a multitude of sins!

The Balkan countries, inspired by preachments of nationalism and with the sanction of Russia, waged the first Balkan war for freedom from the Ottoman yoke. Russia had merely reserved for herself the right to pluck the choicest fruit—Constantinople. That the development of nationalities was not the real object was plain to be seen. And Russia, like Napoleon III., found nationalism a two-edged tool, and was soon forced to discard it. Bulgaria, as a powerful Slav State right at the gates of Constantinople, would have been Turkey's best bulwark against Russia. So Bulgaria had to be enfeebled, in the face of encouragements given the principle of nationalities. That was the purpose of the second Balkan war, waged by her former confederates against Bulgaria. In the racial Babel of the Balkans separation based on ethnic or lingual boundaries is absolutely impossible. But even so, there is no other excuse for the handing over of the great bulk of the Macedonian Bulgars to Serbia but that the latter was the more servile vassal of Russia.

In the first Balkan war against Turkey the Balkan League had only to prove its fitness. Its main task, which was to come later, was, in alliance with Russia, and again in the name of the ethnological principle, to crush Austria, that loosely thrown together State of all sorts of nationalities. It was a pity that, owing to the second Balkan war against Bulgaria, the tool was broken before it could be used for the main object, and that all attempts to mend it were frustrated by Serbo-Bulgarian enmity. Russia was forced to content herself with the Serbs and Montenegrins, and to rely on other powerful allies.

The world war began with protestations from belligerent after belligerent of firm belief in the principle of nationalities—the principle of liberating the small oppressed nations.

It would have been simpler to begin at home; no war was necessary to apply this principle. England had ample opportunity in Ireland, India, and with the

Boers in South Africa; Russia might have taken this principle as her guide in dealing with the Finns, the Poles, and the Ukrainians; Serbia with the Macedonians. However, "upright men think of themselves but last."

Russia purposed to assert the principle of nationalities only against the Central Powers. In order to attain that end, she contemplated the restoration of Poland under the Muscovite hegemony. According to that, she could claim Western Galicia and the semi-Polish portions of Prussia, while Eastern Galicia, since it was inhabited by the Ruthenes, was obviously naturally and irresistibly Russian. Pan-Slavism justified all the elements in this plan that could not be justified by nationalism. The Ukrainians, therefore, were to be considered as Russians and the Poles as Slavs. On the other hand, since nationalism and Pan-Slavism would not fit the case, the fact that millions of Germans were settled in the Baltic provinces was totally ignored.

Dismemberment of Austria in the south was to take place in the interests of the liberation of nations. The area inhabited by Serbs, Croats, and even Slovenes was intended for Greater Serbia under "Peter the Mighty." Serbs and Croats are of the same nationality, it is true, but both religion and alphabet separate them and have been the cause of bitter enmity for years.* This enmity has been mitigated—and that only slightly—by their common hatred of the Magyars. But the Roman Catholic Croats have a profound contempt for the Greek Church Serbs, and would never have submitted to the domination of the latter. The Slovenes are of a totally different nationality, without any racial or lingual ties with the Serbo-Croats.

But the emptiness of the shibboleth is shown most strikingly in the rewards promised other Balkan States. If Rumania entered the war on the side of Russia, euphemistically described as "showing good-will," she was to be awarded Transylvania; this district, although the majority of its inhabitants are Rumanian, yet had many Saxons and Magyars among its population. The Russians claimed Bukowina, and the Serbs the Banate, although both territories were regarded as unsettled problems as long as negotiations concerning an alliance were pending. On the other hand, in exchange for Transylvania Rumania would have been forced to cede Moldavia up to the Sereth (with the capital of Jassy) and the Dobrudja to the Russians, who had already arrived at an understanding with England on this point. The result would have been to cut Rumania off from the sea altogether. And the territories claimed by Russia are inhabited by a motley crowd of all sorts of nationalities—except Russians!

Last of all Italy came forward in the name of holy egotism, and in the name of the principle of nationalities called upon Austria to cede the Irredenta, that land still unredeemed that was necessary for the consummation of Italy's national unity. For Italy to demand this of Austria was somewhat one-sided. The work of redemption might well have begun at Nice, Corsica, or Malta. But Italy's demands on Austria far exceeded the principle of nationalities. Not to speak of the Al Brennero border, the Italian Ministry had the assurance during the official negotiations preceding the declaration of war to demand that the boundary lines of the Italian domain in Tyrol should be those laid down by Napoleon I. in 1811, and should include the town of Bozen, which is German to the core. Austria even agreed to an Italian occupation of the "Dodekan" in the Greek Archipelago, and of the Albanian port of Valona, and was also willing to declare her disinterestedness in Albania.

The Italian demands began with the liberation of districts which were claimed as actually Italian in the terms of the principle of nationalities, but very soon it became evident that her Ministers had an eye for the natural frontiers which they considered to lie in the north near the Brenner. That decision, from a geographical point of view, is comprehensible. But how the demands made of Albania and the Greek Archipelago were

*The Croats are Roman Catholics and use the Latin script; the Serbs belong to the Eastern Orthodox Church and use the Cyrillic alphabet.

to be justified passes comprehension. In fact, if the demands made by Italy in the name of nationalities had been satisfied, the most monstrous outrage would have been committed on alien nationalities, on Germans, Serbs, Albanians, and Greeks.

Of course, Alsace-Lorraine was to be returned to France as a prize of victory, again by token of the ethnological principle. The assertion was that the two provinces really belonged to France; that the peace of Frankfort had torn them from her, and that that peace was null and void. So Joffre, sans façon, proclaimed outside the Mulhouse schoolhouse the reunion of Alsace-Lorraine with France. Not even a plebiscite—to which France on other occasions had attached so much importance—was to be taken. No one saw fit to mention the fact that only 10 per cent. of the inhabitants of the province, most of them along the Lorraine border, are a French-speaking people. The other 90 per cent. number about one and one-half millions, and speak German. They are Alemans and Franks. To them the union of Alsace-Lorraine with France for the sake of a few thousand Frenchmen would mean a monstrous violation of the principle of nationalities.

And lest a humorous and satirical aspect be wanting to that solemn ethnic principle, the future conditions of peace were to include the neutralization of the Kiel Canal; the area north of it was to be handed back to Denmark. Probably the idea was that all Schleswig and the northern part of Dithmarshen were inhabited by Danes.

Last of all, England declared war for the protection of Belgium, or, generalizing, as became the fashion later, in defense of all the smaller nationalities. Here, too, the ethnic principle is raised. The ethnologists seem to forget that from their own point of view a Belgian Nation never existed, nay, that the creation of the Belgian Nation, from first to last, was a contradiction in itself.

No other war, except the first Balkan war, has ever yet been started so consciously on all sides in the name of ethnology. The reason was simple. To assert the principle of nationalities meant to threaten the dismemberment of Austria as a State of varied nationalities, and Austria was one of the two great powers against which the war was waged from the outset. That the principle of nationalities was everywhere but a pretext is equally obvious. To carry out the objects of the war, as Russia, England, France, Italy, and their smaller allies had in mind, would everywhere mean an outrage to alien nationalities. But thereby the ethnic principle seems to have surpassed the summit of its historical mission.

It is the nature of every ideal that it cannot be fully realized in this world of realities, but is at all times beset with difficulties, has its wings clipped, and in the end is forced to make a compromise with the practical world. Thus, in modern history, there has never been a State that fully realized the ethnic ideal—a State which united the whole nation in a racial or linguistic sense, and united only that particular nation or ethnic unity in a national existence. Some States have approached this ideal somewhat closely, others have been far from it. Very remote were such States as Austria, Switzerland, and Belgium, and the ethnic conditions of the United States and the great colonial empires are chaotic.

Nevertheless, when modern States at the beginning of modern history were just beginning to emerge, the principle of nationalities proved to be a powerful State-shaping force. The Italian and German movement for political union and the liberation of the Balkans testify to that. But the very power of the force had in it the potentialities for abuse at the hand of an ambitious foreign policy. Napoleon III. speculated heavily in the ethnic principle and lost. The Quadruple Entente is doing the same today and losing. It was an abuse to assert the ethnic principle merely as a pretext for conquest. A victory of the four confederates would mean an abuse of that very principle in whose name the war is waged.

Germany's peace terms will probably not be guided by the principle of nationalities. They will not rest on illusion or delusion.

Austria and Turkey, the two great race

mixtures among the nations, stand firmer than ever today, thanks to the war. Their dismemberment would be an unpromising undertaking indeed.

The German purpose in the war is alone a guarantee for the future.

"We must obtain and fight for all possible guaranties and safeguards so that none of our enemies, either single or allied, will again venture on a passage of arms," the German Imperial Chancellor declared in a speech which he made on May 28, 1915. If that object is supported by the ethnic principle in the Balkans, Flanders, or elsewhere, well and good. But Germany's only object in this war is security for the future.

However, experience proves that ideas which have fallen in disuse in Europe are taken up beyond the seas. May be that this war will spread the ethnic idea outside of Europe. There is a mighty stir among the nationalities in India, Egypt, Algeria, Tunis, Morocco, and among the Mohammedan tribes that are subject to the Czar. All those national movements are just like Russian Pan-Slavism, supported by an underlying idea which outgrows the ethnic principle in the political interest of the State. "Asia for the Asiatics" is a slogan with which the Japanese world-power (that invoked England's aid for the conquest of Kiao-Chau) menaces Eastern Siberia, the British and French possessions in Further India. The Allies have only to wait to see who will be the first to be victimized by the Far Eastern bird of prey.

Spirits are easily conjured up, but exorcised with difficulty.

Prussian Scorn of Nationalities

By Hilaire Belloc

As an interesting pendant to the foregoing article by Dr. Bornhak we present Mr. Belloc's strongly British view of the same subject, as expressed in Land and Water:

ONE might summarize the whole thing by saying that the old European tradition of national rights stood out clearly at the beginning of the war as a main issue between the combatants, but that developments taking place in the course of the war confused it until it became, in the month of May, 1916, entirely obscured.

Now I would suggest that the future of the war, particularly as the Central Empires begin to feel the material and obvious effects upon the map and in their pockets and their resources and their armies of that defeat which they have already potentially suffered, will revive this matter of nationality and will perhaps end by leaving it as clear as it was in the beginning.

This accident we shall largely owe to the stupidity of the enemy. Let us consider how he has dealt with the matter to his hand.

Belgium, he might claim, was but a very modern artificial State divided into a Flemish-speaking and a Teutonic-speaking population, and further divided on the question of religion, and yet again divided by the great quarrel between the proletariat and the capitalist. The enemy has done nothing to take advantage of any of these points in his favor. He has impartially destroyed the monuments of the one portion of Belgium as of the other. The violation, the tortures, and the burnings have proceeded from a general desire to feel great at the expense quite as much of those who speak Flemish as of the Walloons. He has further, which is especially foolish of him, shown an utter lack of thoroughness in this as in his other experiments in terror.

When he has found that his actions adversely affected neutral opinion, especially American opinion, he has apologized for them and restricted the

activity of his agents, then foolishly allowed their activity to break out again. The whole thing here has been on the same model as the incredibly stupid bombardment of the Cathedral of Rheims. There was no conceivable reason for that outrage at its beginning save to show to the French that Prussia was perfectly ruthless, and therefore to be feared. To prove this, Prussian gunners were ordered to destroy the national monuments to which the French were chiefly attached. They dropped shell in conformity with their orders upon the Cathedral of Rheims, which was at the moment being used as a hospital, and was flying, I believe, a huge Red Cross flag. When they had ruined the glass and burned the roof and destroyed a certain number of statues attached to the building they ceased their efforts, apparently in surprise at the way in which they had been received by the civilized world. But the enemy did not cease them altogether. From time to time he would launch a shell in the direction of the cathedral in order to do a little more damage. He did himself the maximum of moral harm with the minimum of effect. And he is still at it. The Cathedral of Rheims is a target at a range of a little over 6,000 yards from the foremost of his guns. It is larger than Westminster Abbey and is not concealed by tall surrounding buildings of any sort. He cannot plead error. It is sheer fatuousness. It is the alternative emotion that men pass through when they do not quite know on what platform they stand—and so it has been in Belgium and in Eastern France. There is no guarantee that the long period of repose through which some districts have passed may not at any moment be followed by another outburst of violence.

In Poland there has been another history. Poland was occupied in connection with the great advance against the Russian armies. The military object of that advance was clear—it was the destruction of the Russian armies by envelopment. It failed altogether. Its attempt was only possible through the lack of munitionment from which the Russians suffered, but, on the other hand, the Austro-Germans were correspondingly tied by their heavy artillery, and on six successive occasions six successive plans for the envelopment of a great portion of the Russian forces failed. When the effort was exhausted, Poland as a whole was occupied by the enemy's armies and evacuated by the Russian armies. The race and the people had suffered enormously. They had already been divided between three powers—the Prussians, the Russians, and the Austrians—of whom they hated the Prussians by far the most. With the Russians they had a long hereditary quarrel, only somewhat softened in modern times. Their situation under Austrian rule was by far the best.

One might have thought that Austro-German armies appearing in the country with such a historical foundation for their rule would have taken immediate advantage of what was but an accidental result of their failure to destroy the Russian forces. One might have imagined that they would have consolidated this moral opportunity by some sort of statecraft, however clumsy, as they did the material opportunity by the establishment of their trenches. Nothing of the sort. There has been a perpetual change of plan in their dealings with the Polish and Jewish population, so far as the Prussians were concerned; and the Prussians were more and more the masters. They seemed unable to decide whether they would consolidate or whether they would merely bully the miserable remains of the population. Whatever be the situation of the Polish peasants now subject to Austrian rule alone, it is certain by every account we receive that the Polish and Lithuanian population under Prussian rule has suffered from the unstable policy of the Prussian commanders as no other district in Europe has suffered. It continues to suffer even in the simple matter of victualing. Prussia cannot make up its mind whether it is better to leave memories of starvation among these people or to see them fed.

What is happening in the Balkans exactly we do not know. Accounts are confused. But so much is certain that

the wise playing of the Serbians against the Bulgarians has not been attempted. There has been nothing but the crude overrunning of the Serbian districts, accompanied with every form of torture and barbarity. It has been a sort of revenge taken against a thing which proved at last much weaker than the power which was exasperated by its former resistance. There has been no trace of statesmanship in the matter. Only of hatred.

Now the sum total of these blunders would seem to be this: So long as the Central Empires can maintain their extended lines and can govern by merely military rule the populations within those lines the national questions remain obscure. But the moment a shifting of the lines begins, the moment the military grasp ceases to be sufficiently firm to maintain so vast an extent of territory, there will be no moral result left in support of the Austro-German cause.

Bohemia wished to be Slav, but never wished to be attached to any Slav group.

Catholic Southern Slavs in Croatia had their difference with the Orthodox Serbians of the same race. The Rumanian population subject to Magyar rule was largely Uniate and garrisoned, geographically, as it were, by German settlers and Magyar colonies.

Of all these opportunities no advantage has been taken.

With the first shaking of the line now covering the Austro-Hungarian monarchy every one of those national riddles will again present itself for solution.

In the case of the Germans the matter is differently but much more intensely true. When the Russians reappear in Lithuania and in Poland the age-long quarrel between them and the Western Slav will exist, no doubt, but it will be accentuated in no way by a new feeling produced in the course of the war in favor of the Germans. It will almost certainly be the other way. And there is no conceivable standing ground now—as there might so well have been a few months ago—for divided opinion in Belgium at the moment of a general retirement. That retirement will produce nothing at all but a sensation of relief.

In the mere mechanics of the war this factor of national feeling will have very little effect. The nations are too highly mobilized, their manhood too completely employed, for civilian opinion to count in the field as it counted in the old wars of professional armies. But it remains true that the settlement of Europe after the war will be adverse to the Central Powers in a fashion that it might not have been if they had used the few months of their unexpected territorial expansion (as much unexpected by them as by us, and as little connected with their victory as their defeat) wisely and upon a consistent plan.

They were unable to show such wisdom. They were unable to follow a sustained plan because they entered the campaign, and particularly Prussia entered the campaign, with a deliberate scorn for the sanctity of a nation. Immorality on that scale is stupid, and stupidity is the main agent of defeat in war.

War's Effect on National Character

Following is a typical extract from an article by May Bateman, a well-known English writer:

By that strangest of all paradoxes, war, itself crude, almost carnally material, has aimed a death blow at the materialism which was sapping national life. Hour upon hour we were becoming more smug, more self-complacent, more willfully blind to the eternal things. We worshipped our own image under a prettier name; we denied the existence of Pain, and now we have had to kill Self, and Pain has leaped upon us and stared us in the eyes and said, "Dare to deny me now—you little clods, who do not even guess my name spells Love!" We are more real now, most of us, than we have been for many a long year. We have been driven out of the city of pleasure into the open immense field of life.

Trade Problems Confronting the Allies

By Luigi Luzzatti

Italian Statesman and Publicist

The following article on the complicated task facing the world of commerce and industry after the war was translated from the Corriere della Sera of Milan for CURRENT HISTORY.

WHILE discussing with the great Gladstone the artificial rebates by means of which Germany, Austria, and some minor nations were introducing their sugar into England, he answered me, with his fine smile: "All that remains for us to do is to open our mouths nicely and take it." This answer epitomized the tendency of an economic epoch.

In 1913, shortly before the outbreak of the cruel conflict, a syndicate of fourteen German, Austrian, Dutch, and Belgian refineries offered to sell their sweet merchandise to the wholesale dealers in sugar of the United Kingdom at a heavy discount if they would merely agree not to buy sugar of any one else. Gladstone would not only have opened but would have distended the mouth from which issued words sweeter than honey. The Englishmen of 1913 refused the offer, thus indicating the tendencies of a new economic era.

It has been written and has been asserted orally that we are entering upon a period in which political alliances may facilitate tariff unions. We may aspire to this, but an examination of the facts in the case does not allow us to hope for its immediate realization. Germany and Austria-Hungary have been thinking over and studying this question since the beginning of the war, just as they did before hostilities began. Recently meetings of expert delegates were held in Vienna, in Budapest, and in Berlin, but, although military enthusiasm urges them to reach an understanding, they have not yet been able to arrive at an agreement, and the desired league will not be worked out. Dr. Robatsch of Vienna, in a genial essay, advocated an Austro-German tariff union, but Deputy Gothein of Breslau advises the abandonment of this "economic dream," as insisting upon it might even weaken the political alliance. By means of weighty arguments, Gothein tries to show that today a tariff union requires a common parliament to make customs laws and a common executive power to enforce them, because today, in contradistinction to the past, (the German Zollverein,) the taxes collected at the border are interrelated with all the rest of the financial and economic life of a nation.

The political and constitutional inconveniences of the Zollverein formed one of the factors that promoted the political unity of the German Empire. Renunciation of autonomy in tariff matters weakens political sovereignty. This is observed by the Germans, and especially by the Austro-Hungarians, who are weaker than the former industrially. And it is even noticed by the free and patriotic colonies of Great Britain, which are glad to give a "preferential tariff" to the mother country. But how can you plan out a customs union without a parliamentary union? And here is where all the economic schemes go astray and dissolve into thin air. Belgium and Holland, when they were governed by great men, Frere Orban and Torbeke, tried to arrange a customs union, and the one who is writing these lines was present at those intimate discussions. The patriotic design of these great men was about to succeed when it went to pieces before the difficulty of common legislation on sugar and on alcohol! If the customs union had succeeded it would have paved the way for a military alliance, and perhaps Belgium would have been unscathed today!

But it is useless to try to force the times by means of sighs. The present tendency is to increase duties, and through these to continue the war, transforming the military conflict, when it

may be ended, into an economic one. Something quite different from idealistic hopes for universal peace! Therefore, France, England, Russia, and Italy should prepare themselves, not to dream, (and they do not seem disposed to do this,) but to take some necessary action. The first thing is to improve all their mutual economic relations, principally and especially those pertaining to the tariff. This is also something much easier to say than to do, because of the vast inequalities in the material conditions of these countries.

What a large amount of French capital, for instance, has been sent to Russia in order to found industries there that are highly protected! What would happen in case the Russians should lower the duties or abolish them, in the face of competition by English industries? For the sake of brevity, we shall limit ourselves to this example, but such cases could be multiplied so as to show clearly how difficult an analysis proves the problem to be. Yet a synthesis must be found and formulated. As a defense against the Germanic-Austro-Hungarian "bloc" it is first necessary to arrange the agreement among the Quadruple Entente, and this pact will be less troublesome in proportion, as it is not expected to work miracles.

And we may be allowed another example. It is wished, and rightly so, to create in the territory of the Allies some industries that have been monopolized by the Germans. Among these is the manufacture of coal-tar dyes, that astonishing invention by English and French chemists which has been applied no less astonishingly by the German chemists and industrialists, who have practically forced their output upon the whole world by means of the perfection of their products and the moderation of their prices. If all the States of the Quadruple Entente start to make these dyes, as they now have the intention of doing—and Japan is preparing to follow suit—they will not be able to export them, because of the lack of an extensive market. If every one works on his own account and protects himself with high tariffs, not only against Germany, but also against friendly and allied States, it will signify the continuous restriction of an industry which in order to flourish and to branch out into its marvelous divisions of labor, needs to serve the entire world. Hence, the first thing for the Allies to do in order really to conquer Germany is to agree among themselves, organizing, for instance, a common financial society which may apportion production according to natural and technical aptitudes. And if this plan is not accepted it is necessary to think out another, as otherwise we are preparing delusions and industrial defeats worse than the criminal inertia of the past.

This example also, to which we shall limit ourselves for the present, might be multiplied many times, and each case would bring out the sharp points of unexpected difficulties. It is easier to write in the form of a soliloquy, unhampered by the contradictions of diverse and conflicting interests, than to take part in a friendly dispute among experts. And if we add to the experts the politicians, (and how are you going to keep them out?) who have the habit and even the necessity of looking after the interests, even the most minor ones, of their own countries, in every discussion, it is clear that every one of these cases will constitute a new fact to be considered in the customs arrangement. Therefore, even in obtaining results much smaller than the presumptuous hopes which frequently deceive thoughtless enthusiasts, discussions and negotiations, even among Allies and friends, or, rather, specially among Allies and friends, will strew the road leading toward agreement with tribulations and obstacles never seen in the negotiations of the past, no matter how hard and complicated they may have been.

And if the Allies neither wish nor are able to renounce the liberty of making commercial treaties with countries outside the Alliance, they must promise each other the benefit of the most favored nation clause, in case their agreements have not already included all possible favors, and border on a preferential tariff, which could never be granted to friends who are not allies. Already the

HOW THE DEFENDERS OF VERDUN LIVE DESPITE SHELL FIRE

French Soldiers at Mouth of Dugout Near Bois d'Avoncourt Getting a Breath of Fresh Air During a Lull in the German Bombardment

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood

AN ENGLISH ARTIST'S CONCEPTION OF MOURNING BELGIUM

Frank Brangwyn's Noteworthy Painting, "Mater Dolorosa Belgica," a Feature of the Recent Royal Academy Exhibit in London

mere announcement of this hypothesis causes the appearance of puzzles, twists, and renunciations of a new character. The present writer knows something about these things, as he has negotiated with Canada, which, as has been noted, is ready to establish tariffs of various grades, ranging from the preferential rate accorded to England to the extremes of the general tariff against economic adversaries. You may imagine what would happen if the economic adversaries were also enemies on the political field!

But, turning to the kernel of our argument, how are you going to prevent the persons to whom are refused equitable tariffs, who receive no special favors, &c., from emigrating to the favored States with their capital and their technical experts and temporarily assuming, according to their custom, a national appearance? If the inhibition intended to exclude them is not put into effect by wise and powerful methods, you will have the dreaded enemy in your own house, where he might, after a longer or shorter period, become nationalized, but where he might also resist in secret.

These problems appear to us to be of a kind worthy of free, calm discussion, both at home and outside of our kingdom. For after our wars shall have ended gloriously and happily, there will be damages found among the gains, and the nations that might not be able to sell their goods to their former customers, and might not find themselves welcomed by new ones, would complain about this and would suffer from it. Complaints and suffering would injure the solidarity of the friendships that we all wish to preserve intact as a guard against vigilant enemies not disposed to disarm and to forget.

Britain's Trials to Come

By Dr. Arthur Shadwell

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Dr. Shadwell takes a very serious view of the labor troubles which are likely to follow the war, especially if the British Nation cannot be aroused to the necessity of completely defeating the Central Powers and discrediting the Kaiser's Government in the eyes of the German people. He says in part:

AS to industrial conditions at home, I confess that I regard the prospect with the greatest apprehension; it is full of menace and I can see no way out. Every one in a position to judge with whom I have discussed the subject is of the same opinion.

In the first place, the whole question of industrial relations in Great Britain has a sinister background which seems to be unknown to the cheery optimists who shout for an economic war. It is a background of interrupted strife of the most determined character, which is only waiting the conclusion of the war to be resumed with undiminished ardor. If the war had not occurred we should before this have witnessed an industrial conflict certainly on a larger scale and probably more violent than any known before. The elements not only remain in full force, but they have been reinforced by circumstances attending the war. The trade unions have been asked to suspend their rules and customs, and to a very considerable extent, though not to the extent commonly believed—they have done so. It is a great sacrifice on their part and it deserves full recognition. One union has been particularly affected, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. A very large proportion of the war work, and especially the new work, falls within its province, and it has been invaded by hosts of unskilled workers, male and female. The engineers have acquiesced wth extreme reluctance, in so far as they have acquiesced; and their reluctance is based on definite grounds.

Their society was the first of the great

craft unions to be formed more than half a century ago, and it has always been a hight caste, exclusive body, very jealous of its status. It has maintained the art and mystery (*art et métier*) of the trade as something requiring a long and special initiation which raised those who had passed it above other workmen. And for the thoroughly skilled mechanic the claim holds good today. The all-around British engineer is the best man of his class that there is. He is better than the German or the French, and in the United States he is the best Amercan workman. But time and change have so altered the conditions of work that the superiority of the engineer has become fictitious in many departments. It has been artificially maintained, and now the war has exposed the fiction. Many operations once jealously confined to the skilled man have been thrown open, and it has been proved on a large scale that anybody can perform them with a few days' and even a few hours' teaching. It began with turning and other machine processes, and now it has gone on to hand tools and the high mysteries of fitting. The thorough mechanic is still absolutely indispensable—more perhaps than ever—but he has seen whole fields, once his own, captured by amateurs; and this has at the same time revealed the extent to which limitation of output has been regularly practiced.

All this has been a great trial, and it has been accentuated by a glaring inequality. Some of the most highly skilled work cannot be priced because it is too varied and irregular. It is paid by the day, and the men doing it have not shared the enormous increase in earnings made on piecework. Thus the thorough mechanic has been getting his 43 shillings 6 pence a week, and has seen the amateur from the grocer's counter, the office stool, and the cowshed taking twice and three times as much. This is the result of the prices fixed for new war work during the scramble for labor.

The unprecedented earnings in some trades will themselves be another cause of trouble peculiar to this country. They have set a new standard of living which will not be readily relinquished.

It will be impossible to go back altogether to the old conditions. Some industries have been revolutionized and the whole outlook is changed. The readjustment really requires a corresponding revision of ideas on the part both of employer and employed. * * * But what both sides are contemplating is the old rut and a battle royal.

We shall go into peace with this prospect of unprecedented industrial turmoil and strife before us; and on the top of that will be all the political strife—home rule and the rest of it. In other words, the prospect is civil war, and that without any reference to the real war. But the termination and result of the latter will make all the difference. If the war ends with a changed and chastened Germany, less convinced of her superiority, less aggressive, less ambitious, more preoccupied with setting her own house in order than with plans for dominating her neighbors, we may get through our troubles. But if the war ends in a stalemate, and leaves Germany with the military régime intact, animated with the same aims and ambitions, bent on the eventual control of the sea and the downfall of the British Empire, we shall surely go down unless we altogether change our ways. We shall be in no position to meet the commercial competition with which she will immediately proceed to undermine our strength by means of carefully prepared and methodical plans. That is what the Germans intend, and they are eager for peace in order to begin. Other competitors, more formidable than ever, will also have the advantage of us. Our industrial system will be in chaos through the mad conflict between employers and employed, and when we emerge it will be too late. The persons who talk about the economic war and promise themselves the crushing of German commerce and industry are like children playing over a rattlesnake's hole and anticipating the pleasure of pulling it out by the tail.

I think the war will end in an industrial revolution here. The only chance for us is to see that it also ends in a moral and political revolution in Germany.

The German Peril After the War

By Archibald Hurd

[*By arrangement with The Fortnightly Review*]

AFTER the war has closed, Germany will remain in all fundamentals the Germany which existed before the war. She will have lost many thousands of her best manhood, but the population of Germany increases at the rate of 800,000 a year. She will be burdened by a great debt, but the Germans are a frugal people and will bend themselves to the task of adjusting the balance. Germany will be suffering from commercial and industrial congestion, owing to our blockade, but the remedy for the disease will be a policy of "dumping." Germany, it may be, will be badly defeated, but the 60,000,000 or 70,000,000 people will remain a menace to all democracies. They have been revealed as the most exclusive, selfish, and inhumane people on the face of the globe. They form part of a soulless machine.

Is it imagined that Germany, when this war is over, will abandon the economic war upon which her business men had determined when, owing to causes beyond their control, the Emperor and his political and military advisers, in complete confidence that the result would be as in 1864, 1866, and 1870, determined to put to the supreme test the vast German army and the new German fleet? The foundations for the economic struggle which had been laid before the present hostilities broke out are, we need not doubt, even now being strengthened. This war with gun, cannon, and bayonet will leave the German Nation essentially the same in characteristics that it was in the early Summer of 1914, but with its heart blackened and its passions roused—the cruel, soulless, unmoral race which this struggle has revealed. Germany will apply to commerce the same ruthless, creedless principles which have been exhibited on land and on sea during the war—copying in cheap forms other people's designs, imitating other people's trade marks, "spying" in Foreign Offices and factories, "dumping" in distant countries in order to ruin home industries, strangling decent trade as a preliminary to extortion. Germany is organized, from end to end, for this new war. It is the most highly organized empire which has ever existed.

On the other hand, the British Empire, as Sir Robert Borden has said, "is in some respects a mere disorganization." It has no economic coherence; its industries are unrelated to each other.

On the success or failure attending the attempt to solve the economic problem which confronts the British people will depend the future of the British Empire. As "a mere disorganization," it cannot fight successfully a highly organized German Empire with its railways, its canals, its ships, its syndicates, its diplomatists, and its tariff all combined in one effort.

Where, then, do we stand as we confront the future? On moral grounds Germany—the land of the Huns tomorrow as it is today—must be ostracized, otherwise the precedents of this war—the murders by submarines, by Zeppelins and poison gas, and the inhumanities practiced on prisoners—will become established. Punishment must follow such acts—punishment which will be felt in the remotest corners of the German Empire, otherwise the whole human family will be reduced to Germany's level and civilization submerged in barbarism. The German Empire is a house of sickness; we must not permit the infection to reach the British Empire. A period of isolation must be enforced on the enemy. On economic grounds also Germany must be ostracized. We cannot again expose ourselves to the dangers of "peaceful penetration" by an unmoral people, which were so dramatically exposed when war broke out. If we are to save our soul, we must preserve our body.

We have come to the parting of the

ways. As it has been apparent for twenty months past that the existing organization of imperial defense is defective, so it will become increasingly apparent that the present economic disorganization of the empire threatens its very existence. This war concluded we must be prepared to wage successfully the economic war—reforming our system of education, co-ordinating science and industry, reorganizing our trades, readjusting the tariffs of the empire, protecting our merchant navy from unscrupulous competition, and regularizing and developing our arrangements for defense by land as by sea. The opportunity offering when the present struggle is at an end will never recur. Our moral sense demands that Germany, having placed herself without the pale, shall be kept there until she has expiated her crimes and regained her sanity. That interval will enable us to complete the task which lies before us of converting the British Empire into a benign civilizing and economic unit.

Helfferich on Post-Bellum Trade

By Franz Hugo Krebs

Mr. Krebs, an American business man, took occasion, during a recent visit to Berlin, to submit to Dr. Karl Helfferich, then Imperial Secretary of the Treasury, certain questions which had been suggested by American financiers and members of leading bond houses. The result is the series of interesting answers given below.

THE first question that Dr. Helfferich took up was the following:

"What does the opening of the way through the Balkans to Constantinople mean to Germany and to Austria-Hungary, and what does it mean to Bulgaria and Turkey?" When a member of the Managing Board of the Deutsche Bank, Dr. Helfferich devoted his activities especially to Turkish financing, so this question probably made an unusual appeal to him. He said:

"Apart from military value, which every one understands, it brings together the West and the Near East. First, it restores direct communication down the Danube to the Black Sea; that is, from Germany to Bulgaria and Turkey, with no enemy State interfering with the traffic. The cost of carriage by water being cheap, facilities are afforded for German and Austro-Hungarian exports to Bulgaria and Turkey, and, vice versa, from Bulgaria and Turkey to Austria-Hungary and Germany.

"Of course, for Germany it is economically of great importance to get raw material, such as grain and fodder, from Bulgaria, and cotton, fruit, copper, tobacco, and wool from Turkey. Incidentally, the menace of Serbia to traffic on the Danube has now been removed.

"All markets concerned have been brought closer together; also, political relations at a time like this have more or less effect on trade. In many ways Germany will give Turkey the benefit of the most up-to-date advice that scientific research enables us to offer; particularly will this be done regarding agricultural methods. Already Bulgarian and Turkish exports to Austria-Hungary and Germany have increased enormously. The railway carries through Bulgaria high-class goods, but in peace times the sea route would be the cheaper for bulky goods going to Turkey. As for the effect on Bulgaria and Turkey, by increasing their trade and economic strength these countries will also increase their financial strength."

The next question that Dr. Helfferich answered was:

"What is the condition of German savings banks?" He said:

"The deposits in German savings banks are now as large as they were before the last war loan was paid for and issued. They had a greater number of deposits in 1915 than in 1914. Of course, this condition is wholly due to the patriotic spirit of the German people."

Another question attracted Dr. Helf-

ferich's attention—"Why is Germany coining iron money for its subsidiary coinage?"

"German currency is being used in all the territory that is now occupied by the German troops," he replied, "and this makes a sudden and tremendous demand that it is hard to fill, and, as nickel is used for military purposes, iron has been decided on as a convenient substitute."

Then came the questions, "Why has the price of the mark in the neutral countries fallen? Is it due to inflation?"

"No, it is not due to inflation," said Dr. Helfferich. "Cut off from exporting, we have been obliged to settle almost everything by cash payments. We have preferred to increase, as far as possible, our gold reserves, and have made certain sacrifices in order to maintain the strength of our financial position."

Dr. Helfferich read with apparent interest the following, contained in a letter sent me by a gentleman connected with the largest distributing bond house in the United States:

"It would be of great interest to know the feeling of the German multitude as contrasted with the Prussian aristocrats"; also this question, propounded by the partner of a large Boston bond house:

"Are the masses of the Socialists prepared to support a war of conquest?" He said very earnestly:

"There is no conflicting ambition here, no wide divergence in thought. This war was forced upon us. We have, up to now, as you Americans say, 'made good.' There is no doubt of our ability to continue along the same lines.

"We desired, before the war, to be allowed to develop along our own lines without being menaced by neighbors who are neither willing to try to understand us nor to emulate our thrift and devotion to our work. In the Reichstag, early in the war, the Emperor said he recognized 'no parties, only Germans,' and every German, regardless of previous political affiliations, has cheerfully forgotten all differences in his loyal desire to serve best the general weal.

"The commercial relations of Germany and the United States have been very close in the past, and will doubtless be even closer after the war is over. Then Germany will be in the market for many things that will at least make us one of your country's best customers, as we always have been.

"Then, no doubt, our relations will be more direct than ever before, since up to now a large part of the business transacted between the United States and Germany was negotiated through Great Britain. Great Britain has lost—certainly with the Central Powers, and, I venture to say, more or less with the whole world—its standing as the world's commercial agent. Who in the future, unless compelled to do so, will intrust goods and securities to Great Britain, which, in violation of international law, began by confiscating privately owned goods and securities? Also, what happened to private individuals of German nationality in Great Britain during this war may be inflicted on the citizens of any other nation in some future war.

"Great Britain itself has done away with the words 'Safe as the Bank of England.' After the war the direct transaction of business between the United States and Germany will, no doubt, be greatly facilitated by the recent American bank reform, built up on the most excellent principles, which will enable your country to finance the world's commerce in a manner worthy of the United States."

The British Protectionists

By Arnold Bennett

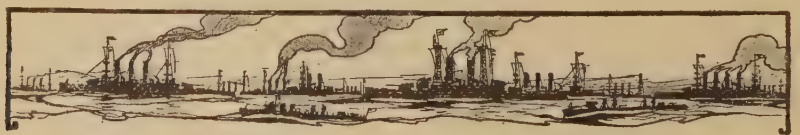
Famous English Novelist

NOTHING can be clearer than that before the war Germany was beating us in trade. And she was beating us more and more. And she was beating us, not by reason of any inherent advantages, but by reason of a closer application, a fiercer industry, a keener interest in and appreciation of the commercial value of education—and technical education in particular. We shall, unless sentimentalism gets quite rampant, certainly defeat Germany in war, and the cry naturally and properly came that we must capture Germany's trade. It is true that at present, while instead of capturing foreign trade we are steadily losing our own, such a cry had an odd, wistful sound; but it was a good cry, a cry which rightly appealed to all of us.

Our course, if we had learned the supreme lesson of the war, was evidently to bestir ourselves about education, and especially about technical education, to preach application and close industry and organization and thrift to ourselves. Have we done it? Have we begun to do it? Not at all. On the contrary, we are so far from "realizing" the war (in the deepest sense) that the reactionary and stupid wing of the oligarchy has knocked the other wing all to bits. Education is being starved, and universities which specialized in technical education and organization, instead of being honored and aggrandized, are fighting for their lives while as little money as might keep the war going for twelve hours would suffice to render them the most potent creators of strength for the future. The fact is that we are not only clinging to luxury and relaxation, but doing much to emphasize the profound defects in ourselves which the war has revealed.

The sentimentalist-protectionists assert that we shall not want to have any relations, even commercial relations, with Germany after the war. There is something in this idea. It calls forth sympathy from every one of us. It is not business, but, after all, business is not the highest good.

And yet I wonder whether, after the war, the instinct not to soil themselves by any contact with Germany will be powerful enough to prevent our sentimentalist-protectionists from endeavoring to sell British goods to Germany in exchange for German goods! I wonder! And I wonder whether, anyhow, the fact of war increases the wisdom of the dodge of cutting off your nose to spite your face. I do not wonder whether protection, instituted on the plea of patriotism, will enrich the few rich at the expense of the multitudinous poor. I know positively that it will. And I know that protection will foster instead of stamping out inefficiency. And I know, too, that to attempt to settle international relations in the midst of a war, when passion necessarily blinds reason, and when the future cannot be accurately envisaged, is an extreme kind of folly. But the attempt is being made. The campaign is afoot. Much money is being spent on it. Many dinners are being eaten about it. Hope is high in the bosoms of those astute sentimentalists who see great profit in the too facile exploitation of the baser and more blithering forms of jingoism and chauvinism. For among our sentimentalists are some who know on which side their bread is buttered. The rest do not.



"If I Were Wilson"

Listen, Mankind, to the Message of a Man

By Maximilian Harden

German Publicist, Editor of Die Zukunft, Berlin

The remarkable article, all of whose more significant passages are here translated in full, occupied the entire April 22 issue of Die Zukunft. In spite of its criticisms of German policy, it was allowed to appear at the moment when the submarine controversy with the United States was most acute.

[PRESIDENT WILSON IS SUPPOSED TO BE SPEAKING TO THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT]

WE Americans, who in spite of, or because of, our relationship are always on the lookout against English arrogance—we find England's idea of an "effective blockade" unsatisfactory. But we have much more to complain of than England's action. That she cuts off our trade with Europe and asserts her right of search and seizure is an offense we might have punished long ago if Germany had not been doing us a wrong, for almost a year, that affects us far more deeply—by the murder of American citizens. The sorrow of the widowed, of the orphaned, of mourning parents cries more loudly to heaven than the loss of merchantmen. And yet the manner in which England uses her blockading power is irreconcilable with international law.

MAXIMILIAN HARDEN

This law is not a feeble concatenation of letters, it was not intended for the time when the nations were living at peace among themselves, and it is not invalidated by the discovery of new means of warfare. "In the time of war the laws are silent, but only those of trade and those which might be followed in peace by foreign courts of justice; not the eternal laws, valid for every age. The possibility of suffering outrage never gives a State the right to use outrage itself." These sentences of the Dutchman, Hugo Grotius, are pillars on which our conviction rests firm.

THE LAW OF NATIONS

We share no guilt for the outbreak of the war, and we can get nothing out of it. We put up with the fact that under its reign of terror our exports and imports are shrinking; we cannot endure that they should be altogether arrested, that our cotton market should be laid desolate, our agriculture deprived of potash, and our textile manufactures arbitrarily deprived of coal-tar dyes. Still less that deadly peril should be prepared by act of men for our citizens on roads which they have a right to use. Such roads are the great waterways between continents. To cut off principal portions of such roads by a bare one-sided proclamation, and call them "war areas," and to rob and kill any one who ventures in them, is not permitted any one either by the letter or by the spirit

of any international law. It is a legal fiction, a legal pretension, to which we will not bow. And which we may the less expect, in that we have generously given up hitherto to European hands our whole trade with Europe, which supports in opulence a dozen merchant fleets and gives life to tens of thousands of employes, contractors, and actionaries.

Because England is not to receive corn, meat, textile fabrics, copper, steel, explosives, petroleum, and fat, and England's enemy has no means allowed by international law, no means by which she is able to give a warning recognizable at a distance, of cutting off the importation of these goods, because of this fact, is it permitted to a crawler along the bottom of the sea to destroy every ship suspected of carrying such goods, together with crew and its passengers? It would be just as incoherent a law which would allow it to be announced to our world tomorrow that Spain was to be considered as a war area, because France was able to get goods from her, or that Sweden was to be considered such because Russia could get goods from her, and permitted German airships to throw bombs on every railway train which they could see in these countries; because every one is under suspicion of supplying essential materials for French and Russian economic, or even military, needs.

The submarine war does not violate any of the sovereign rights of any State; but day by day it violates the rights of men and nations. It cannot but violate them if it is not confined to warships. For since a usage, unfortunately still valid, allows the carrying of false flags, every ship sailing under a neutral flag may possibly be the property of the enemy; whether a merchantman has two or three guns cannot be recognized from a submarine; and the mines which these boats strew in the sea do not ask whether it is an enemy or a neutral ship which they blow to atoms; for this reason the promise of protecting neutral and unarmed ships, of warning them, or calling to them, or saving crew and passengers before firing into them, is one which with the best will in the world cannot be kept.

CRUX OF THE DISPUTE

Nevertheless, since the horrible end of the Lusitania—the anniversary of which is just approaching—the German-American dispute has turned round this question. It has been doubly envenomed. Many factories of our States have provided the British, French, and the Russians with guns, shells, and war material of every kind. They had a right to do this; and it was not their fault that Germany, whose custom would have been equally welcome to them, was unable to buy anything from them on account of the blockade.

In all wars of modern times German industry, in spite of the empire's neutrality, has supplied one party, often both parties, with arms and munitions; if she had not done this—so said the Berlin Government—her industrial capabilities must have shown a swift decline. What was allowed to her to an unlimited extent cannot be prohibited to the industry of America. The statistics as to material delivered have been enormously exaggerated, and everything produced in South America and in the English colony of Canada has been reckoned to us as well. The entirely private contracting business, the extent of which is scarcely worth talking about, could only have been prevented by the State by means of an export prohibition. I have declined to demand this from Congress; and not merely because I was certain that Congress would refuse it. We do not desire that any State should be compelled to accumulate arms in the time of peace; for this very accumulation is a temptation to settle any dispute by war. We do not desire that a power armed to the teeth should be in a position to impose its will on a badly armed one to which neutral countries close their sources of supply; for we earnestly hope to see an extension of arbitration and an organized peace, not industriously and artificially organized force.

We do not desire a condition of law which, should we be compelled to go to war, must prevent us from buying weapons from neutral countries—weapons which we peaceful farmers, traders, professors, and artists lack. For a hundred

years England has not been prepared for a land war of European dimensions; to have left her without arms in the difficult opening stages of a struggle which had no increase of territory for its aim would have gone, we felt, against the nature of free, peaceful America, nay, against the spirit of modern humanity as well. The merchants, manufacturers, and administrators of the United States acted within their sure and incontestable rights. But their doing so drew upon them the bitter anger of the Germans, even of those who had been admitted as friends into our free States.

MUNITION PLOTS

From their error arose the second element of poison. Many of them believed it their duty to avenge on their new home a wrong committed on their Fatherland, and to tear our States asunder. The proofs of such punishable behavior, or of its encouragement, lie in our archives. We had done no wrong to the German Empire, and we demand from each immigrant that he shall carefully respect the laws of the States. Why did he come here? Why, because at some time in his life the laws and the business prospects of our country seemed more favorable than his own. If he wished to remain in every fibre of his being a German or an Irishman, to plunge under all conditions into activities for his native land, he should have stayed at home and endured unfavorable conditions of life and cooperated for the improvement of the political and social system. To pick and choose all the tasty morsels from our country, and at the first storm to behave as a raging German or furious Irishman —that would be an intolerable piece of presumption. To give examples of what has happened would only stir up the flames which I would gladly see die down. For this reason I will only ask, Would Germany, during the Manchurian war, have allowed Japanese agents to work upon the Prussian Poles, to intimidate the German Empire into alienation from Russia by stirring up disturbances, by canvassing, by fiery speeches, by imperiling munition factories? And I would ask, too, Has not our legal contention been all through as good as the Germans'?

TO GERMAN-AMERICANS

I understand that to a nation fighting in peril of its life such cool reflection on real values is difficult, that under pressure of necessity it forgets how often it has itself supplied the enemies of its friends with arms and munitions. Yet I must demand from Germany that she shall break loose from any common action with injudicious patriots, however strongly her sympathies with them may be—for patriots who, as guests, or as admitted citizens of the United States, misuse the law of hospitality to undermine the civil peace; by which action they do not benefit the German Empire, they only greatly injure it.

No serious man blames them for wishing Germany to gain the victory, for helping it by works of charity. But no man favorable to his Fatherland can allow them to hoist their three-colored flag over our Star-Spangled Banner, to make our domestic political institutions an instrument in their campaign for Germanism and to append to their vote, which their second home has given them, the condition that the elected candidate shall pledge himself to help forward their German cause.

I am bound, secondly, to demand from Germany that she shall without circumlocution declare how she proposes henceforward to respect our national law and to protect the life and property of the American citizens. How she can protect; for the question whether there is to be friendship or hostility between two great nations certain of their future can no longer depend upon the eyelashes and nerves of a young submarine commander anxious to serve his Fatherland and cut his name in the German oak, and in whose ear conscience speaks only one command: Sink everything in sight!

U-BOATS AS CORSAIRS

Every one must admire the bold cunning of such men. Their boats, however, have no surer position in international law than the corsair frigates which in the twenty years of the Anglo-French war, especially during the Continental blockade against England, used to creep out

secretly from the small harbors of Flanders, Normandy, and Brittany and rob the Britons of 500 merchant ships every year. Today, 100 years after the Napoleon frigate war, in spite of the conferences at The Hague (1907) and in London, (1909,) we have no valid international maritime law under the protection of an arbitrating authority with executive power. Yet the dictates of recognized morality, which, for example, does not give the right of sacrificing the lives of ten strangers to save one's own child, and the experiences gained hitherto in submarine warfare show the way to an understanding which would leave elbow room for both States.

Compromise would signify weakness on neither side; it would merely give expression to the honest wish to safeguard friendly intercourse between two nations which are not forced into hostility by any insurmountable reason. The hope to frighten by threats a nation so brave and so strong as the German would be absurd and vain. Moreover, it is generally known in Germany, and it is also known to those responsible for her government, what would be the consequences of a rupture. Our whole continent, north and south, would become hostile to Germany, and that not merely for the period of the war. Germany would lose all her ships lying in American ports, and would have to reckon them a considerable addition to enemy tonnage.

From the day of the rupture Germany would have to provision Belgium, which we are now supplying with foodstuffs. Holland and Scandinavia could hardly hope any longer for imports from overseas; for this reason they could not export any more goods, cattle, or grain, since by doing so they would be in danger of suffering scarcity themselves. It is for Germany only to examine, on the basis of what the Napoleonic blockade achieved and what the power of a league may be which America would join with her capital and economic resources, whether it would be wise to pay so high a price for the weakening of England through scarcity of food and tonnage.

It is certain that the conclusion of the war would then be put far out of sight, because, even if badly weakened, the enemies of Germany could wait until our help made itself felt. And, further, from that moment we, too, should present at home an absolutely united front. The different extractions, German, Irish, Austrian, or Hungarian, would be at once forgotten, and every American would be wedded to the Stars and Stripes; and he who was yesterday disloyal at heart would tomorrow become a zealous, glowing patriot.

We have not let our tongues run furiously about Belgium, because our purse had to secure her food, and this was possible only by an understanding with the German authorities. We have not taken exception to the procrastination in the dispute pending between Germany and ourselves, because in almost all cases facts could not be ascertained beyond dispute; further, because we were restrained by the wish to spare the world the horrors of an unrestrained submarine warfare and spare the neutral States of Western Europe the pain and misery which would be the effects of such a war; because the Berlin Government gave us the clear proofs of an honest will to reach an understanding, and did not hesitate to remove a vigorous statesman, highly esteemed by many, in order that in future only one tendency expressive of will should rule its policy; because we understand the enormous difficulty of her responsible action and could not expect the second Winter of war to give birth to the decision which is to be the goal of the Spring of peace, viz., to put diplomacy above strategy and to establish firmly the higher authority of the council of statesmen over every irruption or interference of those brought up for the work of war.

CONCERNING PEACE

If this higher authority was already secured, we would not have today a war which is the horror, and, in spite of all the virtues which it brings forth every day, the disgrace of the white race. Is it any good to dig for its roots once more in the soil washed by seas of blood and riddled by the worms feeding on corpses? All are guilty; the difference is only in

the weight and time of their sins. This fact is not discerned by him whose eyes are darkened by his own guilt. It is hidden also from him who sees only what gave the last push and judges hastily, without following up or weighing the long chain of causes: "Germany abruptly refused the arbitration which was recommended by all the powers for the settlement of the Austro-Serbian dispute and which was finally accepted by Austria-Hungary itself; she began the war, which, according to the undisputed testimony of San Giuliano and Giolitti, she had wanted as early as 1913; she wantonly violated the neutrality of Belgium, which originally she herself had demanded, carried through, and guaranteed, and, after a rapid and devastating invasion, seized a powerful pledge in the shape of the industrial districts of France. She has, therefore, to be declared guilty without admission of any extenuating circumstances. This is the conclusion formed from a comparison of all the official documents."

FRENCH AND GERMAN AIMS

That this is the conclusion indeed has been proved a thousand times in all languages, even by the men of science with tempers of ice. Only they forgot to turn over the leaves of the book of the history which came before the month of July, 1914. France could not get over the loss of Sedan, Metz, and Strassburg; she did not set the loss to the account of the accursed empire, nor did she decide on a new war, but she irritated by continuous, sometimes noisy, threats of "revanche" the conqueror of 1870, who did not wish to take from her a single straw or a single stone more, and gladly allowed her to acquire the second biggest colonial empire, and she offered her alliance to any one with the help of whose word she could hope to reconquer Alsace and German Lorraine. The wire which unites France to the Russian Empire would have been made fast much earlier if Bismarck had not, even as an old man, climbed again and again untiringly the pole and broken the strands.

After thirty years of grace, Germany is no longer served by an unselfish genius, but she has acquired, through the unsurpassed and unsurpassable efficiency of her people, undreamed wealth, and has secured for herself an enormous share in the trade of the world. In all zones Germans make themselves snug and work diligently, more diligently than any of their competitors, for the capital and flag of their Fatherland. Germany does not, unfortunately, remember that she can only win forgiveness for so rapid a rise, for so unexampled and flourishing success in every branch of activity, by a dignified and modest self-suppression; and she does not remember that the enemies at whose expense she has grown great are still alive, and some of them are still full of fight. She rattles the sword, and in shining armor she frequently allows to transpire the intention of enlarging her dominion. * * *

OFFENSIVE DEFENSE

A preventive war, then? The classical case. Two groups of powers which do not trust each other across the street. France fears that she may be attacked and treated as a hostage, Russia that she may be cut off from an ice-free sea for another hundred years. England has bound herself to take no share in any aggressive war against Germany, but has not, as was desired in Berlin, promised her neutrality in any war "forced upon" the German Empire; for it could not but apprehend that any war provoked by aggressiveness would appear to be "forced upon" those suffering by it. Germany did not want to be boxed in, nor to give the right of arbitration to a hostile majority, nor to allow herself to be weakened by the dismemberment, attempted from three quarters, of Austria.

It is a libel upon Germany to say that it chose war not as a necessary measure of defense, (Nothwehr,) but as a means of conquest. Only a madman could desire such a war, of issues impossible to forecast, and from which no gain could be garnered in the long run. It is just as false, indeed, to assume that England, France, and Russia, which were not armed at all, or at best only half ready, (and needed a year to obtain the most necessary things,) started with the deliberate intent to attack. They desired a diplomatic, not a military, struggle, and

strained every nerve to avoid immediate war. The outbreak, however, was not to be prevented; because, at the decisive moment, the will of the military chiefs was more powerful than that of the statesmen. To the military authorities Bismarck's advice, "In preparation for war always remain one step behind your adversary," was counted mere talk, with which a cunning drafter of notes wished to thrust his clumsy hand into the rough work of warriors. When Mars rules, think they, only their expert opinion is of consequence, and only they can judge when this crimson régime is to begin. * * *

HOW MILITARISM GROWS

The state of affairs which gives precedence to such thoughts in every higher circle of communal life is called in modern speech "militarism." It does not only press for ever more powerful armaments, but it also accustoms citizens, scholars, merchants, and artists to the idea that for a struggle between peoples the only adequate weapon is armed conflict, and that everything else is unworthy and useless. In this way it permeates every root and every branch and twig of the nation. Militarism is a state of mind and a form of civilization. That without its existence heroism and the warlike virtues can thrive, a single glance at England and France, at the two Serbian States, at Hungary, at Austria, at Australia and Canada, shows. That militarism alone can guarantee constant readiness of every limb of the body politic for the rapid transition to war is proved by Germany's achievement, which is unequaled in the history of the world. That is, in the material sphere; as a spiritual achievement many will place higher the voluntary enlistment of three million island and colonial Englishmen, the heroic endurance and self-sacrifice of the Serbians and the French, fighting in the very face of the enemy. Twenty million heroes are fighting between Antwerp and Trebizond, and the majority grew up in unmilitary countries—yes, in some which seemed to have succumbed to the plague of luxury.

NO ARMED TRUCE

Because militarism facilitates readiness for and temptation to war, and because it can only spread further and further unless weeded out root and branch, the war must endure until it is destroyed. This slogan is proclaimed aloud by all the enemies of the German Empire, and is whispered by all neutrals. How long only by them? After the inconceivably horrible slaughter of which today at least five million corpses and ten million cripples are evidence, the cry for the sure establishing of peace will, even between Hamburg and Bagdad, drown every other.

Is the uprooting of militarism possible? To my mind, yes; an inevitable certainty. Its approach has been merely retarded by the foolish attempt to cut from the body of a State a portion which is indispensable to its vital functions or for its self-respect. From the first day of peace onward this State would be compelled to make every sacrifice in blood and money to attain the re-establishment of its constitution and its prestige. Think, Grey, Briand, Sazonoff, through what thunderclouds and what pressure of misery you would have to pine if this mutilated power were immortal Germany, compelled to gather together all the energies of mind and economic strength for the bursting of the barrier erected before its house, and for the chastisement of impious excess! But, Bethmann and Burian, do not forget that those who pine are more sensitive than giants, and that Serbia itself has once already risen from the moldy tombs in which it seemed to be inclosed!

A peace which, like a war, left crippled peoples behind it, would only mean a truce. And we do not desire a peace that is a truce, but a truce which will give rise to a firm and noble peace, to Europe's Easter. We wish it today because today it is possible and therefore necessary. We: all who are not blinded by irrational rage, whose numbers grow every day in multitude and with whom in both camps, man for man, the dead agree.

NOT LIKE OTHER WARS

Those only stand far off who imagine that this war is essentially like other wars, and might—indeed must, like other wars—end in victory and defeat, treaty and indemnity. Those upon whom

the realization has not yet dawned that this war's most certain consequence—its only certain consequence—will be the most gigantic revolution of all times, a revolution that penetrates the whole of Europe with its flame, that plows up the whole continent, beside which the revolutions of 1789 and 1793 might seem petty child's play, and that every man of goodwill and natural piety must exert himself fervently to keep this revolution clear of blood guilt and confine it to the world of the spirit.

No State, no people, no class, neither man nor woman, will after this war, this cataclysm, be as they were before. Constitutions and laws, prejudices and scruples, will lie prone before the whirlwind, like reeds in a pool. Let us take care that, from the altar of the new league—the league of humanity with divinely inspired nature—a grateful odor shall be wafted heavenward, as from Noah's thank-offering when his second dove had brought him the olive branch in its bill, while the message of "Peace on earth!" was written shimmering across the sky.

FOR AN ARMISTICE

An armistice is possible. Nothing indispensable remains to be conquered; nothing that would sufficiently reward the effort involved. The aim and result of that effort can only be the ventilation, cleansing, disinfecting, the hallowing without priest or dogma, of the Continent; the transformation of swampy, moldy, hate-befogged, envy-poisoned ground into the luminous abode of free men, working on the basis of their own right, and consequently respecting that of others—men who, just because they are strong and proud of their reason, cannot but affirm their will to select in peaceful ways the fittest, whether among individuals or peoples. The wolf will not graze beside the lamb, nor the lion run with the hare. But the form of war and other horrors will be radically altered, as after the first deluge when the curse and condemnation of all living things was lifted from the earth, and the rainbow bridged over the chasm between godhood and beasthood.

This hope does not appeal to you? You want vengeance, retribution, the chastisement, the annihilation of the enemy? Woe to you if it should be left to the wrath of the people to drive their rulers and governors out of the thorny entanglements of such illusions! Only at the cost of its own enervation can one group so crush the other to earth. And behind the melancholy monument of such a universally destructive victory militarism would rear itself more menacingly aloft. Now it may be rooted out from the field on which honor has been maintained and power demonstrated, but the decisive battle has not been fought. Now the power which received it as an heirloom from the soldier-King Frederick (the Great) then let it rust and only polished it up again under the lash of Bonaparte, that power can now, without inward or outward improverishment, lay it to rest.

DAWN OF A NEW DAY

The dawn of rejuvenated humanity! It breathes afresh. Let reason at last get in a word again, and shame spread a thick veil over self-deification and enemy bedevilment. Who would bet that, if any of the buds of hope failed of maturity, were nipped of frost, humanity would not again resolve to pass from armistice into a state of war? What profit could war bring? To the French, Alsace-Lorraine and the Cameroons; to the Germans, Courland and Polish and Lithuanian territory; to the Austro-Hungarians, Serbia, Montenegro, Northern Albania! That would mean, instead of establishing peace, sowing the seeds of new wars; to say nothing of disruptive domestic dissensions. To what European State, during the last century, has the incorporation of foreign populations brought any appreciable gain? To Russia, Austria, Prussia, the Netherlands, the German Empire? To none of them! The Savoyards and the people of the Maritime Alps were already half French, and, like most of those living by work for the foreigners, remote from the storms of national feeling. Annexation has long been recognized by the far-sighted as a form of the extension of power not to be reconciled with European custom. Nothing is easier than to proclaim an-

nexation; but if the morsel, once swallowed, proves indigestible, and the swallower would willingly spit it out, yet honor commands him to retain it, and, even at the risk of his life, to protect it against greedy enemies.

LEAGUE FOR PEACE

The eye of my spirit looks forward to the time when States shall league themselves in a community of interests, pass from pooling to fusion, and, to save expenses, merge two official staffs into one. For the present that is only to be thought of as between different sections of one national organism. But the more sterile, in the days of electric trunk lines and international legality, the idea of frontiers becomes, and the more solid the unity of Europe, will it not hold good, too, as between Holland, Belgium, and Luxemburg, between Spain and Portugal, between the Scandinavian kingdoms, between the Baltic provinces from Riga to Finnish Tornea, between two or three Balkan States? The new form of annexation, which opens to the stronger State the channel of influence, and spares the feelings of the weaker, will certainly be in process of casting tomorrow. And, as (since the war has broken down all dams the flood of democracy is unrestrainable) the hour cannot be very distant in which even great powers shall unite in defensive associations, and, after amalgamating their steamship lines, both for freight and passenger traffic, shall maintain only a fleet of cruisers, a submarine squadron, and a standing army. Why not, since even today they cannot take from each other any possession of enduring worth, and the day after tomorrow, at latest, the unmuzzled populace will forbid them even to wish to do so? Hearken to the voice of the fleeting hours! At their bidding, if madness no longer howls them down, greater miracles than this will come to birth.

COUNTING THE COST

Twenty-one months of war have cost from 100,000,000,000 to 120,000,000,000 marks; to that are to be added the costs of restoration and the burden of maintaining disabled soldiers and their dependents. A bare indemnity, which in respect to such sums would look like not more than the mushroom at the foot of the giant beech tree, even the victor in the height of his triumph cannot hope to obtain. And tribute wrung out by a military occupation protracted beyond the lustrum, the decade, was a possibility in the time of Rome's glory and fall, but today is as little a possibility as that forcible deportation of whole tribes and peoples of which many dream. No State that has been involved in the deluge can look for any other indemnification but that which it creates by its own economics.

Any great power which abridges its annual expenditure on land and sea defenses by 1,000,000,000 marks may hope after a generation to see again the first dawn of financial regularity. And what will become of debts and liabilities? Because what is gained by saving suffices at the most to cover to a tolerable extent the new needs which are the legacy of the war. Taxes and customs duties, which brought in were it only an equivalent of the interest of the tenth billion of debt, would cripple industry and commerce in the competition with our continent, with Australia and the yellow world, would break up the idea of property, and drive the moderately well to do, from the fear of confiscations, into neutral States of sound financial constituation, and stamp out the courage for far-reaching enterprises as a horse crushes a rose leaf. Money does not grow like grass. What, then, is to happen ?

ATONEMENT BY DEBT

What has never happened before anywhere on earth. Nothing save new thoughts, no sere and yellowing ones, opens the drain vent of the abyss. After the first deluge Noah kept himself by the cultivation of the vine. Just as his son Ham, because he despised the uncovered shame of the drunken vintager and told his brothers, was laid under the curse of being the servant of all servants, so the old continent would come under the curse of servitude to the younger continent if its humanity did not speedily succeed in covering the exposed shame of their racial breeds with the mantle of brotherhood. Let Europe's war debt become a fund of atonement. Let the loan coupons in all the European States which have

participated in the war (and in those ready to recognize the principle of arbitration) be valid money, guaranteed by all the debtors, not a currency which can be rendered worthless by dissoluteness and fraud like the assignats of the Jacobin Convention and the French Directorate. Money which in every country subject to the authority of the court of arbitration must be taken at every counter by every creditor at its full face value. For how long? Till those weakened by the war can redeem the international currency with national metal or paper. In forty years at the earliest, in sixty years at the longest, after the conclusion of peace. The International Court of Justice administers the fund and sets aside in equal portions from the contributions of all the States what it needs for itself and its militia. It has to punish the party disobedient to its verdict by the infliction of a money penalty, and invalidate, call in, destroy, all the current loan coupons of any State which, without being threatened in life and limb, breaks the peace.

Are Americans Fair to Germany?

By Gottlieb von Jagow

German Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

[A protest made through a Berlin correspondent of The New York Times]

EVERY American newspaper representative tells us how anxious the American public is to get the news, the real truth about the war, and yet when the Imperial Government offered to let American newspaper men use the cable in the event of its being reopened, and also to allow the news sent to the American press to go out uncensored, as long as it was not prejudicial to the German military plan of campaign, it hardly made a ripple among your news-loving people.

The Imperial Government offered to pay the entire cost of repairing the cable and putting it into commission, and was willing that President Wilson should appoint censors at the American end of the cable in order to supervise all messages transmitted.

When our Zeppelins attack London, which is a fortified city defended with cannon, full of soldiers and prepared as far as it can be to resist attack by land or air, the American papers teem with the most vitriolic articles about the "Huns." When the airmen of the Allies attack absolutely unprotected German towns and villages without one cannon or one soldier in them and kill old men, women, and children, your papers are either silent or else they give a carefully expurgated account, without bitter criticism therein, and, much more significant, the letters which appear in the American newspapers, signed by readers of the papers, exhibit (in the main) only horror at our legitimate aerial warfare and none at the entirely unjustifiable conduct of our opponents.

Also by prohibiting absolutely the importation of fodder necessary to enable our cows to furnish milk of a good quality Great Britain is warring on the little children of Germany, and when philanthropic people in the United States, who wish to help the children, desire to ship milk for their use, Great Britain interposes its sea veto. Our children are fully as dear to us as the children of Americans are to them. What do the press and the people of the United States really think of a warfare directed against little children?

Further, what do Americans think of the British practically forcing the Dutch steamers going to and coming from America to make Falmouth a "port of call" and then claiming the right to rifle the first-class mail on the ground that a British port is made a port of call?

We are not unmindful of our good

friends in the United States, millions of whom are not of German descent, neither are we ungrateful for the fair play publicity accorded Germany by certain papers in America, which, however, are unfortunately exceptions to the prevailing tone of your press. All Germany wants is fair play. Let the American papers give the people all the news; let Americans pass judgment with all facts in their possession, that is all Germany asks, but please try to accord us what you must surely admit we deserve, and that is simple justice.

How About British Militarism?

By Dr. Alfred F. M. Zimmermann

German Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs

[From a statement made to a Berlin correspondent of The Chicago Daily News]

EVER since the beginning of the war our enemies have been shouting about Prussian militarism. Now the reign of terror in Ireland has shown the finest flower of British militarism. England has established conscription, which it professed to hate so bitterly as a German institution, but it did not take conscription to show to what lengths British militarism can go. Sir Edward Grey has dared to repeat again that England wishes to confer the blessings of freedom upon Europe. The bloodstained soil of Ireland shows just what this freedom means. The same British militarism has ground beneath its iron heels the helpless people of India.

The same British militarism has wielded its cruel sway in Egypt and the same militarism killed the helpless women and children of the Boers in South Africa.

That is what British freedom means. For British militarism has not changed. It is the same today as it was a century and a half ago, when it hired the Indians in America to massacre England's helpless colonists because they tried to throw off the yoke.

Balfour also revives the old British tale that German victory will imperil the Monroe Doctrine. He knows that is not so. We have said again and again, and I repeat now, that neither the German Government nor the German people have any intention of infringing upon the Monroe Doctrine. We look upon the Monroe Doctrine as a policy which reserves to the American nations their complete self-sovereignty and the right to shape their own destinies. Please remember that it is England and not we who have colonial possessions in America.

But these British statesmen, as well as President Poincaré of France, are now talking because they wish to hide the fact that upon them rests the responsibility for their hopeless continuation of this war. How hollow the British pretension to humanity and civilization. These men realize that British violations of American sea rights, the illegal blockade of American commerce and the piracy of American mails are resented by Americans and they fear the reckoning which they know must come.

Germany twice has solemnly announced a willingness to consider peace proposals on a reasonable basis. We, too, want peace in Europe. We want a real and lasting peace—one that will guarantee us and all of Europe against another war. We, too, want the freedom of Europe, but we want real freedom for Europe. Or is Greece Sir Edward's idea of a free nation under the British ideal of freedom?

I do not want you to misunderstand me. A victorious Germany does not need to beg for peace. When I say now that Germany is willing to consider peace proposals it is a sign of our strength. For the people of Germany whose sacrifices and heroic devotion to the Fatherland have, with the blessing of God, preserved us so far against a world of enemies will carry us in triumph to the end.

A Hero Tale of the Red Cross

By G. S. Petroff

War Correspondent of the Russkoye Slovo, Moscow

The following incident is narrated in M. Petroff's account of a battle on the eastern front.

ONE of our soldiers brought with him a German officer, who could hardly stand on his feet. His leg had been pierced by a bayonet, his shoulder was bleeding from a bullet, and his arm had been bruised by the butt end of a rifle. He was losing consciousness from pain and loss of blood. As soon as the soldier led him to our place he dropped with his whole weight to the ground. The doctor bandaged him, exclaiming: "What luck! Three wounds, and in spite of all of them he will be well soon. The wound in the leg is only a flesh wound, his arm is badly bruised but not broken, and only his collarbone at his shoulder is broken. In a month he will be all right again. Just look! what a handsome fellow, and what expensive underwear!"

The bandaged officer came to himself, looked around the yard, and, seeing the farmhouse in the background on fire, he sharply seated himself.

"Now be quiet, calm yourself," said the doctor, speaking in German and taking the man gently by the shoulders.

"My wife, my wife!" cried the German, tearing himself forward.

"Where is the wife?"

"There, in the house, in the fire!" He made an effort to get off the stretcher from under the doctor's hands.

"Is he delirious or what?" muttered the doctor in Russian. "There is no one in the house," he added soothingly in German. "Your German wounded were there, but they were saved in time."

"But my wife? My wife!" cried the captive in terror.

"What wife? How did she come here?"

"She is a nurse. She was here with the wounded. We loved each other, we married only a year ago. She became a nurse. Our regiment happened to be near their hospital. Your offensive was unexpected. There was no time to remove the hospital. The other nurses left, but she would not leave when I was so near. Where is she? My wife!"

"Did any one see a German nurse in the house or yard?" asked the doctor, turning to the Russian soldiers and telling them briefly what the prisoner had said:

"There was no woman," came the response. "The house was empty. Look at the fire within. Even mice would have run out by now."

At this moment something metallic shrilled through the air above our heads. A heavy German shell flew over us.

"Scoundrels!" cursed the doctor. "They are firing on us—and their own wounded! We must get out of this. Two or three more shells and they will begin dropping in the yard. Carry our wounded first, then theirs. Hurry, or we shall remain here for eternity!"

The captive officer, apparently powerless, could not rise from the stretcher, where he was lying with one of his soldiers who had been wounded before him. He gazed devouringly at the blazing house. Suddenly he shouted savagely: "There, at the window, under the roof! Look, she is breaking the window—where the smoke is pouring out!"

We looked at the roof of the blazing house, and, in truth, there was a woman's figure in white, with a red cross on her breast. The doctor shouted: "Eh, fellows, it is true! A woman was left in the house—a nurse—his wife!"

"What can be done?" asked the stunned soldiers. "The whole house is on fire, and she is not strong enough to break through the window frame. She must be weak from fright. But why did she go up? Why not down?"

"There's no use guessing!" shouted a bearded fellow, evidently from the reserves, throwing off his overcoat.

"Where are you going?" cried the soldiers.

But he was already out of reach of their voices. He rushed into the house. All were stupefied, fearing to breathe. A minute passed, another, a third. Then at the window appeared the bearded face of the Russian soldier. There came the sound of broken glass and wood. Above our heads something was shrilling, but no one paid attention to the German shells. The soldier broke the window, dragged the woman into the open air. She was unconscious.

"Catch!" rang from above, and a big white parcel came down. The soldiers caught it successfully on the hero's outspread overcoat. Only one of them was hurt in the eye by the heel of her shoe.

"How will our chap get back to us now?" asked the soldiers of one another. "It is hell inside."

"Oh, he will get out, all right," said some one. "It is easier to get out than to get in. He knows the way. And if he burns some of his beard, no harm; he has a large one."

"Carry her to her husband!" ordered the doctor, "and get out from here immediately. The Germans are shelling us. Take away the rest, and don't forget the couple," remarked jokingly the doctor, happy over the incident. "I will wait for our hero. He may be burned."

The soldiers caught the remaining stretchers, and nearly ran out of the yard. At that moment a big German shell struck the burning house. A deafening explosion shook the air. The walls trembled, shook, and fell. The heroic soldier had not had time to get out. He remained buried under the ruins.

When the woman recovered consciousness near her wounded husband she did not understand where she was. She murmured in perplexity: "Dream, death? Otto, is that you? Are we together in Heaven?"

"On earth and both alive," calmed the doctor.

"How did you get to the upper story?" asked the husband.

"I saw Russian soldiers run into the house. I feared violence, so I ran upstairs. I thought I would run down later, but then came the fire. * * * A soldier appeared behind me and I was terrified to death."

"But that soldier saved you!" sighed the doctor.

"How? Where is he?"

"In heaven, if there is such a place for heroes." The doctor then told them all. The German officer and his wife both cried.

"But how was it that your guns were firing at a farm which you were occupying?" suddenly asked the prisoner.

"Our guns?" exclaimed the doctor, who was already bandaging a new victim. "It was your guns that were shelling a house over which flew a German Red Cross flag. Our soldiers were saving the lives of your wounded, and your guns were firing at both ours and yours. They killed the man who saved you. That's the way the Kaiser makes war."

2,500 War Dogs Helping to Save Wounded Germans

Dr. Max Osborn recently devoted an article in the Vossische Zeitung to the work of the 2,500 "Sanitätshunde" that are helping the German Hospital Corps to pick up wounded men. A "dress parade" of these dogs was given for his benefit in the Verdun district. There were sheep dogs, Airedale terriers, retrievers, and pointers, each about 2 years old, German sheep dogs being in the majority. They had learned to obey commands, given by word of mouth and pistol shots, "like Prussian infantrymen." The drill consisted of distinguishing the prostrate living from figures representing dead men, passing by men still able to stand by themselves, and indicating not only where men were lying down but leaning in a state of semi-collapse or sitting up. "And, best of all," concludes Dr. Osborn, "they are serving the Fatherland unselfishly, without hopes of either promotion or decorations." France, however, which also is using a few dogs in this way, recently decorated with gold collars fifteen that had seen service at the front.

Magazinists of the World on the War

Condensed From Leading Reviews

In the excerpts printed in this department of CURRENT HISTORY will be found examples of current thought in all the warring countries, as represented by their leading writers and more influential periodicals.

"We Are Not Winning This War"

By Dr. E. J. Dillon

Chief Correspondent of The London Telegraph

[By arrangement with The Fortnightly Review]

THERE is probably no people in Europe more easily deluded than the British, nor any that contents itself more readily with flimsy excuses for the blunders of its chosen leaders. The bulk of the British people are still patient, trustful, and of good cheer. Notwithstanding the most sinister deterrents they still seem willing to go on "playing the game," and follow their leader even though he prove a pied piper hurrying them to the abyss.

The story of Warsaw may be repeated at Verdun. "Already," the Germans tell us, "we have attained one momentous result; we have broken up the Allies' boasted offensive in the Spring. We have dealt a stunning blow to the French from which they are not likely soon to recover. France is too weak to hold her present line, abridged though it has been by the increased share taken by the British. It is the English whose turn has now come to bear the brunt of the war and supply men as well as money. In words their pitch is high and strenuous, but in deeds it is fitful and low. We have obtained these advantages far more cheaply than the French or British have the courage to avow. Our losses are, as nearly as possible, half the total alleged by our enemy, whereas theirs are not less than ours."

The war is still being waged on our allies' territory. The Central Empires (Germany and Austria) are immune from the hardships of foreign invasion. The discomforts which the blockade is inflicting on them are as nothing compared with these. Belgium is German. The richest departments of France are German. Serbia and Montenegro are German. The mineral wealth, the great metallurgical works and factories and artisans of all these countries have been lost to the Allies, and this loss has been doubled by their employment against us. And as we have not contrived to keep, so we have failed to recover them. Nay we are still losing ground.

This war will not be terminated by speeches about victory, but by strong blows on the battlefields. And it is for the purpose of having them dealt from the plenitude of the empire's power that a war-waging Ministry should take the place of the well-meaning masters of logical fence who have led the nation to the verge of ruin.

The Germans are still strong, much stronger than is commonly assumed. The story of the melting away of their reserves to 700,000 is a puerile fabrication. They claim that they and their Austrian ally are turning out more high explosives a week than the Allies and the United States combined. For they have no strikers, no slackers, no conscientious objectors, but only selfless patriots and a Government which compels the few unwilling to do their duty.

It is these qualities and the perfect organization based upon them that enable the Central Empires to turn out 460,000 shells a day. The total of our output is wisely kept secret.

We are not winnnig this war. To convey any other impression to the public

would be cruel and unpatriotic. What is more, we can not and shall not win it unless we change our system and its champions and alter our course at once. The crucial question is whether, before it is too late, the nation will displace the leaders who are wasting instead of utilizing its resources in men, munitions, and money.

It is a mischievous fallacy that time is on our side. The Germans still have between 7,000,000 and 8,000,000 men to draw from, and their quality will be approximately equal to that of the Allies. I go further, and assert that they dispose of nearly 2,000,000 of their best troops, whom they have kept back for the coup de grace. The attempt to exhaust them by attrition appears futile.

On the water we are more fortunate. None the less, even there conditions have changed to our detriment. * * *

An acquaintance of mine sets down the loss of commercial shipping since the beginning of this struggle at over 3,000,000 tons. Our losses continue, with a tendency to increase rather than diminish. Our commercial fleet is being whittled at both ends—by the enemy on the one side and by ourselves and our allies on the other. It has now become possible to determine how long we can stand the strain of this process, which is intensified by the further trouble that the submarines are not only reducing our tonnage below our abnormal requirements, but are rendering it occasionally impossible for us to utilize even the transports available.

Is it right, then, to proclaim that time is on our side?

It is highly probable that after a while the consequences of this naval semi-paralysis will make themselves felt in this country and most acutely among the working classes.

The people of Great Britain, loath to admit that their heroic ally (France) has fared so badly, (as the Germans allege,) cling to the belief that the great Spring offensive will strike the Teuton with dismay and hearten ourselves and our friends. But Senator Humbert in his widely circulated press organ tells us France "has accomplished fully, and more than fully, her share in the common task. Has not the moment come to take this into account?"

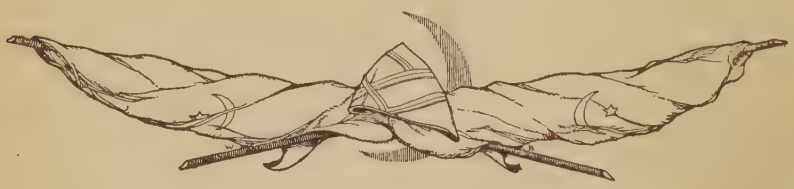
On the part of our Russian allies we can rely upon grandiose exploits of heroism, but miracles cannot be expected.

We do not stand a chance of winning if the war continue to be conducted some time longer by the men of routine. To these placid politicians the struggle is hardly yet a reality.

Can inefficiency hope to beat efficiency, chaos triumph over organization, the blind force of the angry bull match the intelligent manoeuvres of the matador? The corollary to the negative answers which these queries must evoke is the displacement of the Government responsible for the lack of plan, the disorganization of the nation's forces, and the dissipation of its substance.

The stereotyped answer to all demands for a change of Government is the impossibility of finding any successor to the Premier. Is that plea admissible? Will it be seriously maintained that there is no strong man in Great or Greater Britain who would not conduct the affairs of the country much more successfully than the men responsible for the Dardanelles fiasco, for the Mesopotamian expedition?

What is needed is not a political but a war Cabinet, not a little parliament of twenty-two theorists, but half a dozen live men. By such a committee the mistakes of the past might possibly be repaired.



The Spirit of German Culture

By Professor Ernst Troeltsch

University of Berlin

At the beginning of last October Germany had already published the amazing total of 6,393 books and pamphlets about the present war. In an article on "German War Literature" in the Contemporary Review Dr. Thomas F. A. Smith singles out as the most important volume "Deutschland und der Weltkrieg," ("Germany and the World War,") edited by Professors Hintze, Meinecke, Oncken, and Schumacher, with sixteen other well-known scholars as contributors. A portion of Professor Troeltsch's contribution to that volume, as translated by Dr. Smith, is given below.

THE German is by nature a metaphysician and hypercritic, who strives to understand the world and things, man and fate, from within, from the standpoint of the spiritual inwardness of the universe. It would be idle to attempt an explanation of the origin and spread of this prevailing trait. But it is the innermost life secret of the Germans, one which has caused much dispute among us, the motive inspiring immeasurable sacrifice and suffering, the force which has achieved greatly, and the problem of an ever new adjustment to the practical demands of life and its material demands.

In essentials the German spirit always occupies itself with fundamentals, expression, and motive; not with lines, form, symmetry, or finesse. The deeply-lying differences between the German and Latin peoples are based upon this profound antithesis. Among the latter, art stands in much closer relationship to the immediate forms and instincts of life. This finds ample expression in the culture war, and for many it forms the actual reason for the charge of barbarism, just as the French in the classical period declared the Renaissance poet, Shakespeare, to be a drunken barbarian, and the Italians looked upon Northern Gothic as barbaric art. From this source a mass of international verdicts has arisen and been stamped as axioms in the elegant phrases of French journalism. Above all, they have found welcome among the Anglo-Saxons, who have been altogether robbed of any exact artistic traditions by their business instincts and Puritanism. As regards this point further dispute is useless.

It is remarkable that foreigners are unable to recognize German idealism—which they brandmark as political immaturity, when the latter applies itself to social and political problems and treats them in a manner suitable to German history, instead of acting according to French or English suppositions, which to them appear to be natural laws. By the intimate connection between the State and culture, German social-philosophy cannot be what the French and English democracies wish it to be. In that respect it is purely idealistic. German philosophy and the potato-bread spirit of which Lloyd George speaks belong together, just as English philosophy and the miners' strike. * * *

France's idea of freedom is based upon the principle of equality, but in practice it does not prevent power from falling into the hands of plutocrats and lawyers. The English idea postulates the independence of the individual from the State. Without doubt both of them contain, and have indeed realized, mighty developments in social and political life. But the German idea of liberty is entirely different. Emerging from centuries of subjection, the German found freedom in education (*Bildung*) and in the intellectual or spiritual contents of his individual personality. German freedom will never be purely political; it will always be bound up with the idealistic concept of duty and the Romantic egoistic idea. Parliaments are necessary; but in our eyes they are not the essence of freedom.

The right to vote and the assistance of the people in matters of Government develop political maturity, but this is not freedom as we understand it.

The great national cultures all have

their advantages and disadvantages, but the world has room for them all. The longer the war of weapons has lasted, the bitterer has the culture war become. For our part we know that in the first place it is not a war of principles and ideas, but a fight for our existence. In the next place, we are fighting for the right to live; but our political existence as a great power means at the same time the spirit of unconquerable belief that the world-principle of liberty does not include English direction of the moral-political order of things in this world, nor that the seas should be under English domination.

High Cost of Living in Germany

By Viscount Georges d'Avenel

That France is standing shoulder to shoulder with Great Britain in the determination to tighten the blockade is clearly indicated in this article from La Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris.

"MANY Germans of the North," wrote Mr. Theodor Wollf recently in the Berliner Tageblatt, "will suffer no detriment from moderating their consumption of butter; for in this country persons whom indigence does not preserve from excess in eating are often afflicted with a monstrous obesity. There are peoples who know how to feed themselves, and who do not see the necessity for adding butter to cheese."

There are, beyond question, M. Wollf, and among these peoples figured the Germans of other days; since the German of 1914 ate twice as much as the German of 1870. Figures prove it beyond contest, and the politicians beyond the Rhine stated it, not without pride, before the war.

It is enough to say that, if the younger generations born in the lap of this recent abundance, if even the elder folk who have gradually accustomed themselves to this growing well-being, experience certain gripings of the stomach when they lose, in a few months, the satisfactions of the palate which they had gained in a half century, it is none the less true that the Germany of today could be weaned from a large part of its edibles without being "starved" or in danger of suffering hunger.

Besides, we all know that material interests no longer count in this war; Germany has sacrificed hers to the dreams of a morbid ambition, and we no longer pay heed to ours, now that the blood of our sons has been shed in flood. Neither economic difficulties nor the lack of money will put an end to this struggle; nor will it be the deficiency of weapons and of munitions, since on both sides they are being ceaselessly multiplied; but it will be some day the inequality of effectives in the belligerent armies, for men cannot be manufactured and renewed like machines. On that day Germany, which was the first to let loose "numbers" and to triumph through them, will be conquered by "numbers" in her turn.

Up to the present our blockade, which has raised the prices of many commodities among our enemies, only provokes a certain discomfort and arouses a very natural discontent among the German crowds, who cannot understand why the war continues so long, since the Allies, they have been told, have long been beaten.

This blockade, because of modifications in favor of neutrals, was at first ultra-benevolent; from August, 1914, to May, 1915, during the ten first months of the war, the exports of Germany to America had hardly fallen to a half of what they were in the ten corresponding months of 1913-14. But if we consider the month of May alone, it amounted to only 15,000,000 francs in 1915, against 75,000,000 in 1914. As for imports from the United States to Germany, if we heed only statistics, they fell to almost nothing; but cottons, wool, and grain

made a detour and entered by minor Scandinavian and Dutch ports. With a benignity which some members of her Cabinet called folly, England waited until the end of September before declaring that "the flag no longer covered merchandise."

The Germans, on their part, cried out long before they were hurt; the contradiction of the Berlin Government is even piquant; if it desires to protest against the blockade and demand the freedom of the seas, it affirms that the country is starving and lacks everything; but if it is a question of the duration of the war and the chances of victory, it announces that Germany lacks nothing and can hold out indefinitely.

In any case, if bread could be made by laws, Germany would have plenty of it to sell, for there has been no strike in the making of laws touching materials and merchandise in Germany since the outbreak of hostilities; nor has there been any failure of "associations," of "committees," of "offices," of "Kriegswirthschaftsgesellschaften," ("central war supply societies,") for these copious bureaus—perhaps there are over a hundred of them—in which shines what our neighbors complacently call their "genius for organization." These are composed in part of functionaries, in part of willing professionals, charged with making inventories, with buying, requisitioning, transforming, distributing, controlling, taxing, selling, and dividing into rations the bulk of the food supply and raw materials. * * *

The allies of Germany, poorer, less wel supplied, suffer more from the perturba tion brought by the war. Living i Austria-Hungary, in Turkey, even in Bul garia, whose indigenous products wer utilized while almost nothing was brough to her from without, is today dearer tha in Germany. The agents of Austria, un til the last few months, paid in Hollan for certain articles higher prices tha the Germans. The Germans had, becaus of this, much difficulty in closing thei bargains. To obviate this occurrence the Berlin Commission charged with th control of purchases abroad now central izes all merchandise entering the em pire.

From the time when this was don it has become impossible for Austria t buy supplies in Holland; she must g by way of Berlin and pay a commissio to her allies. * * *

It must not be believed that the block ade is ineffective; quite the contrary and, although the affirmation may seer paradoxical, its action will make itsel felt far more by what it keeps from go ing out than by what it keeps from com ing in; much more after peace than dur ing the war.

The result of this pressure upon Ger many, which will be more effica cious and durable the longer the strug gle lasts, will then appear far more dis tressing and onerous for the industr and commerce of Germany than the pass ing privations or dearness of certai commodities and certain materials o prime necessity.

French 75s: The Guns That Defend Verdun

By Stanley Washburn

War Correspondent of The London Times

So much has been written of the French 75s that it may seem superfluous even to mention them, but I think that no one who has seen these wonderful little guns in action can resist singing their praises. It is extraordinary that a piece of mechanism should play such an enormous part in world history as this has done, and it seems incongruous that an engine of destruction should b helping to save France and the civiliza tion of the West. Yet every officer wit whom I have talked tells me that it wa these little guns which saved the battl of the Marne, and the general opinio seems to be that Verdun, too, owes it salvation to the swarms of little stingin bees that stung the German columns t

death on the bloody slopes of that now famous battlefield.

When I asked the General to be shown a battery of 75s every face in the group of officers beamed. Winding through the woods was a tiny trail, and this we followed until we emerged into a little clearing. A look disclosed the hiding place of a battery. I was escorted by the young Captain in charge into the nest of one of these guns. Squatted complacently on its haunches, its alert little nose peered expectantly out of a curtain of brush. If there ever was a weapon which had a personality it is surely this gun. Other field guns seem to me to be cynical and sinister, but this gun, like the French themselves, has nothing malevolent or morose about it. It is serious, to be sure, but its whole atmosphere is one of cheerful readiness to serve. Its killing is a part of its impersonal duty, as indeed one feels to be the case with the clean, gentlemanly soldiers of France. They kill to save France, not because they have the lust of slaughter.

The Captain showed me the details of the wonderful mechanism and explained the system of the recoil, sights, and other features of the gun. Fortunately for me, it was the hour of the day when the battery was accustomed to have a little practice against the enemy, and I have never in war seen anything more inspiring from a military point of view than the working of this gun, with its sharp, defiant little barks.

With a speed of fire of thirty shells to the minute and with a well-trained crew serving it with clockwork regularity, it resembles a machine gun rather than a field piece in action. So exquisite is the adjustment of the recoil that a coin or even a glass of water can be placed on the wheel while in action without being jarred off.

In one of the Russian battles one of their batteries fired 525 rounds to the gun in a single day, which seemed to me at that time an extraordinary rate of fire. When I mentioned this to the Captain, he laughingly replied, "I have fired from this (four-gun) battery 3,100 rounds of shells in forty-five minutes." I listened to him in amazement. "How long do your guns last at that rate?" I asked him, for the theory before the war was that a field piece did not have a life exceeding 8,000 to 10,000 rounds of fire. The officer placed his hand affectionately on the gun that we were inspecting. "This is a brand-new gun which I have just received," he said. "The one whose place it has taken had fired more than 30,000 shells and still was not entirely finished." Then he added, "You are surprised at my speed of fire, but there have been 75s in this war that have fired 1,600 rounds in a single day." From the guns he took me to his magazine and showed me tier upon tier of brightly polished, high-explosive and shrapnel shells lying ready for use.

When the war is over there will no doubt be a great building of monuments to commemorate the dead who have fallen and the heroes who have played their part. There might perhaps also be erected in the capital city of every ally a shaft in honor and appreciation of the French 75, which is doing wonders to save Europe and the world.

Flemish Culture Is Not German

By L. Dumont-Wilden

Staff Contributor to Le Figaro, Paris

THE exhibition of Belgian artists at the Salon in the Rue de Sèze is the timeliest answer that could be made to certain propositions laid down by Herr von Bethmann Hollweg in the Reichstag, namely, that Flanders is a dependency of Germany and that its population, "Germanic by blood, speech, and culture," ought logically to re-enter the empire. How false and lying this assertion is these paintings show. If this profoundly original art owes anything to other schools, it is only to the French.

The great landscape painters of the

Fontainebleau school, the Impressionists and the Neo-Impressionists, have had disciples in Belgium, and particularly in Flanders, who have often been the equals of their masters. The whole history of Flemish painting shows that there was from the first a constant reciprocity between Flemish and French art. The magnificent Flemish school of the fifteenth century owes the first elements of a style, which nevertheless is its own, to the colorists of the Paris school. In return, the Flemings founded the Burgundian school of sculpture; and in the sixteenth century the Valois attracted to their Courts as many Flemish as Italian artists. Many Franco-Flemish painters it is impossible to assign to either school.

It is especially since the beginning of the nineteenth century that the relations between Belgian and French art have become intimate and the influence on one another constant. David had a studio in Brussels; Nicaise de Keyser, the Wappers, and the Gallaits were influenced by Delacroix and Delaroche. Finally Impressionism, which is purely French in origin, immediately exercised a decisive influence in Belgium, as can be seen in the work of Claus, Van Rysselberghe, and Ensor. It would scarcely be possible to find two or three contemporary Belgian painters, even among the less interesting artists, who owe anything to German taste.

In Belgian literature it is not only the Walloons who are French writers. It is sufficient to mention the names of Maeterlinck, Verhaeren, Georges Ekhoud, Albert Giraud, and Van Lerberghe—all of pure Flemish origin and all pure French as writers. Herr von Bethmann Hollweg can say what he likes about Flanders being a Germanic country, joined by its culture to "kultur," but in reply the French artists have only to show their pictures and the Flemish writers their books—written in French. Flanders, like Alsace, is a border province where formerly the blood of the Gallic tribes has been mingled with that of German invaders. In consequence, a German idiom has become the vernacular of the country, but both have been for centuries illumined by French enlightenment, and for centuries all the manifestations of the higher civilization are French.

In the face of these facts, German violence, intrigue, threats, and imposture are impotent. One only needs an exhibition of paintings or the publication of a poem by Verhaeren or an essay by Maeterlinck to upset—as far as Flanders is concerned—the whole of the Chancellor's arguments.

Within What Limits the Pope Can Be Admitted to the Peace Congress

By Eugenio Valli

Member of the Italian Senate

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY from the Nuova Antologia, Rome]

A SIMPLE and glib answer to the question of the Pope's participation in the Peace Congress can be given with certainty only by clerical doctrinists or by anti-clerical doctrinists. The latter must reply negatively, because they do not take account of the situations produced in a long historical development and want to regulate the social life of men in the State, and the life of States in humanity, without reference to religious ideas and institutions. If States are to ignore the existence of these manifestations, except as they may at some time act as a brake for the safeguarding of public order, it necessarily follows that it is impossible for men of these views to admit the representation of such institutions at a congress.

Vice versa, clerical doctrinists must answer such a question affirmatively and with no less certainty. Rather must their affirmation be the more exuberant as it is impossible, in the eyes of your clerical doctrinist, to pay any attention to the distant historical development that gave life to the international personality of the Church and to the more recent historical development that has modified it. The Catholic Church, while resisting rigidly in the field of principle, feels and is influenced by the surrounding atmosphere, and always ends by changing and accommodating itself to that atmosphere without loss of any of its great splendor.

Clerical doctrinism, which is to some extent a deformity marring the greatness of the Church, has made itself as rigid as a fossil in the results of mediaeval concessions. The Pope is not only in matters of religion the head of the Catholic Church and the Vicar of God on earth, he is also the head of the Society of the States. He is invested by immutable and Divine right with that suzerainty which, in the interests of the faith, exclusively protected by his prudent government, gave him the prerogative in the Middle Ages and at the beginning of modern times of absolving subjects of a heretical sovereign, or one rebellious to the Church, from their oath of allegiance, and to divide among two Catholic powers the sovereignty over discovered countries, or even those to be discovered eventually in the New World.

In conformity with this doctrine, which I recently heard defended with more courage than success, the Pope should not only participate in the congress—he should have the first right to initiate it, to preside over it, and to moderate it. His right and his capacity to protect international order should be considered superior to that of the single States.

* * *

It is apparent, then, that there is but one conclusion to be drawn from this—the answer of extreme clericalism and extreme anti-clericalism may be considered practically negative. Here is the simple reason: In the matter of participation at the congress by a representative of the Pontificate, under exactly the same title as that of the individual States, we see that such Papal representation is as incompatible with the negative solution of the one party as with the overaffirmative solution of the other—according to which the Pope should be seated as the overlord and arbiter among the representatives of the various States.

THE TEMPORAL POWER

But Papal representation at the congress may be, and is in fact, asked for now on the basis of another title, and is defended from different points of view and maintained by various arguments that should be examined one by one.

The Pope could be invited or admitted to the congress as the pretendent of the State of the Church, or a partial restoration of this State. It is under this title especially that full diplomatic rights are asked for the Pontificate by one of the most authoritative representatives of the uncompromising clerical school of public policy.*

The Pope could propose himself (a) to claim the rights of the States of the Church, (b) or that part of the States of the Church in regard to which he has not yet tacitly admitted the territorial condition created in Italy by popular vote; (c) or to ask, without any preventive rules beyond the recognition of his sovereign personal prerogatives which are universally admitted, a territorial sovereignty, to be conceded him under restrictions, at the will of the powers.

Evidently this demand—whatever be its extension or attenuation—is flagrantly at variance not only with our interests, but with public rights. This demand, whether for much or little, or even a speck of land, would bring into question the integrity of our territory. The demand or proposal would be gravely offensive to us, because Italian territory would be subjected, even if only in the abstract, to the revision or the limitation of the other powers. Italy must therefore exact the absolute exclusion of these discussions from the congress. The pres-

*De Luise, in "De iure publico seu diplomatico Ecclesiae Catholicae."

ence of a representative of the Pope, if these questions are left untouched, would not mean an offense to our rights and interests.

INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEE

Even independently of a claim or demand for temporal power, the Pope could aspire to admission to the congress as the highest religious authority of a universal character. Under this title, he could seek to obtain guarantees for the absolute security, as also for the independence and the continuity of his work.

This international guarantee could, as a sort of "garrison" of the Pontiff's authority and functions, form an equivalent —according to certain Catholics—to the territorial sovereignty lost in 1870. According to other Catholics, the independence of the Holy See would be, as a result, gravely menaced, because the Pontiff, instead of being personally a sovereign in the sight of Italy—which did not create but recognized his exceptional juridical condition as history developed a little at a time—instead of this he would find himself in a new legal position, one created by the powers and dependent on their collective guarantee. On this head we must again speak most clearly.

Our Government must exact the exclusion of this argument from the congress just as completely as the other one about territory. That is not enough. To exclude it, even in the form of subtle and astute presentation, the Italian Government must put forth if possible an even more unshakable tenacity. The absolute integrity of the territory of our State should be sacred to every Italian. Even more sacred, if I may so express myself, should be the absolute independence of the State and the fullness of its sovereignty. It would be interesting to see, to know, to read what all the other countries would think or do if they were in our position. They would do neither more nor less than what I am thinking and writing, and I say this in all modesty, but unchangeably. The creation of a Pontifical San Marino would be a break in the territorial integrity of Italy. * * * The most essential parts of our legislation would as a result be exposed to future interference, positive or negative, from the Pope and the powers from whom he had his guarantee. And as, in the course of time, the Italian Government should tend to get away from such interference, which is clearly intolerable, so for those even who in good faith had not foreseen this degree of pressure and suffering there would result finally the danger of a resurrection of temporal power. * * *

THE POPE'S REPRESENTATIVE

If an invitation were extended to the Pope to attend the congress as a sovereign, considered, so to speak, as the head of a first-class State, there would be no contradiction with the existing precedents of international law. The Pope is in fact considered a sovereign, and his representatives as diplomatic agents. Even now there is in operation a regulation as to grades and precedents among diplomatic agents which was signed at Vienna on March 19, 1815, and completed by the Protocol of Acquisgrana on Nov. 21, 1818.

According to that regulation, the first class is composed of Ambassadors, Legates, or Nunciates. Article IV. of the Regulation of Vienna establishes the rule that diplomatic agents should have their precedence in every class based on the data of the official notification of their arrival. Then it adds: "The present regulation shall not carry with it any innovation as to the representatives of the Pope." All the powers, then, implicitly recognized that precedence of the representative of the Pontiff outside of the question of seniority which was and is in effect in the Catholic capitals, and as an effect of which all the accredited diplomatic agents, at Vienna or at Madrid, e. g., recognize in the Papal Nunciate the head of the Diplomatic Corps.

The Trend of Events in Asia Minor

By Colonel K. Shumski

Russian Military Critic

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY from the Niva, Petrograd]

ONE of the most considerable events that closed the preparatory operations of the Winter was the capture, by our gallant Caucasus armies, of Trebizond, an important port and a valuable strategical and political centre. This new success of the Army of the Caucasus is the immediate result of two of our chief victories in the Caucasus war zone—the battle of Sarikamysh, in December, 1914, and the storming of Erzerum, on Feb. 16, 1916.

In this last contest was finally broken the power of resistance of the Turkish Third Army, and therefore after the fall of Erzerum it was logical to expect the gradual, almost automatic fall of a series of very important points in Armenia. The only question was, how far conditions of weather and locality would enable us to seize all these points more or less rapidly; but the fall of Mush, of Bitlis, of the Port of Rizeh, of the Port of Trebizond, was evidently predetermined.

Erzerum fell on Feb. 16, 1916, and we have more than once insisted upon the great and ever-growing importance of that event, as almost week by week our capture of one point after another was announced. At the same time, it might have been predicated that the conquest of Mush, Bitlis, and Port Rizeh should be explained by the disruption of the Turkish forces resulting immediately from the fall of Erzerum, but that, when the Turks had had time to draw breath, a more serious opposition might be expected from them.

For this reason, therefore, apart from all other considerations, the fall of Trebizond is important; because it shows that our armies were able to capture a series of points in Asia Minor, not because the Turks had been shaken by the loss of Erzerum, but because the Turks are in fact incapable of offering any serious resistance to the victorious advance of our armies. At Mush and Bitlis, it might have been argued that our armies were profiting directly by the results of a panic which took possession of the Turks after Erzerum. But when two months passed, and when Trebizond was taken, the Turks had had every opportunity to reorganize their resistance, in order to hold that important point; and, if they did not do this, then it was solely because it was beyond their power to do it; because the Turkish Army was broken, and, for the Turks on the Caucasus front, the war was irretrievably lost.

The one thing that has saved the Turks from a final catastrophe is the enormous expanse of the theatre of war in Armenia; spaces of many hundreds of miles leading, on the one hand, to Constantinople, and, on the other, to the Persian Gulf. All the calculations of Turkish strategy are based on the fact that a great deal of time and very extensive preparations will be needed to drive them back on Constantinople; and, while this time is passing, the Turks hope for German victories on the main fronts, in Europe.

Under these conditions it is perfectly idle to think that the Turks can ever win back any of the territory they have lost. It might be reasonable to think of this, if the Turks could expect any effective aid from Germany; but, as we know, the entire resources of the Germans are absorbed by their problems on the French and Russian fronts, and it is wholly beyond their power to detach any forces whatever to be sent to the aid of the weakening Turkish defensive. Without question the Germans knew that Trebizond must fall, since the Turks were under the necessity of defending three directions of operations at once—the line against Trebizond; the line against Erzinjian, (the direction of Constantinople,)

and the line against Mesopotamia—and a defensive on such an extended front is an insoluble problem, especially where there are no supply roads from the rear. So the Germans must have known that it would be necessary to sacrifice at least one of these lines, and Teuton-Turkish strategy had to decide on which line the largest forces should be concentrated, and which should be abandoned.

First, the Teuton-Turkish strategists unquestionably determined that all possible forces must be concentrated on the Erzinjian line, because this line leads to Constantinople, and, further, because the success of the Russian armies at this point would mean the smashing in of the whole front of the Turkish Third Army; and after such a smash, the sea coast division of the army would be wholly cut off, as would also be the southern, Mesopotamian, division. Through Erzinjian leads the important road to Sivas and Angora, from which reinforcements from Constantinople were expected, and through which the Bagdad railroad passes.

Further, of the two other directions, the Trebizond line and the Mesopotamia line, the enemy evidently considered the latter the more important; consequently the smaller forces were concentrated on the Trebizond line. This is probably to be explained by the fact that the Germans, for whom Mesopotamia and the Bagdad railway possess a more important interest, were able to coerce the Turks into giving up the serious defense of the Trebizond zone, for the purpose of concentrating their forces on the Mesopotamia line.

The Russians, attacking Trebizond from behind, were energetically supported by the Black Sea fleet, and Trebizond was quickly cleared of Turks, who fled to the southwest—that is, in the direction of Erzinjian, which is now the staff headquarters of the Turkish Third Army. It thus happens that the two termini of the road from Erzerum to Trebizond are in our hands, while Baiburt, the central point of the road, is still in the possession of the Turks, and is being obstinately defended.

This last circumstance has high importance, as the road to Erzinjian also leads through the Baiburt Pass, and the whole defensive power of the Turks is now evidently concentrated in the Baiburt-Erzinjian region. The mastery of the whole of the road between Trebizond and Erzerum is, therefore, of the greatest importance to us, because this is one of the best roads in Asia Minor; because it runs parallel to our front, and would unite our forces at Trebizond with our forces at Erzerum, and likewise with the southern group, which is operating in the region of Bitlis and Mush, in the direction of Kharput.

In the region of Baiburt, or, as it is called in our bulletins, "the region of the Upper Chorokh," the mountains are exceedingly chaotic in character, and the Turks are evidently counting on making a protracted defensive there. As at the same time the mastery of the Trebizond-Erzerum road is very important to us, it is natural to expect the development of a great battle on the road to Trebizond, and also on the road to Erzinjian.

England's Seizure of Mails

By H. Wittmaack

German Writer on International Law

Since the Washington Administration has put extra pressure on the British Government touching the question of mails in transit between neutral ports, the subjoined article is of interest in showing the German viewpoint.

THE English Government stops all neutral mail steamers in transit between neutral points, takes them into English ports, and, after searching, retains the parcels sent in the post. How can such a procedure be reconciled with the rights of nations?

Article 1 of The Hague agreement relative to certain limitations respecting seizures at sea during war reads: "Whether belonging to neutrals or belligerents, mail (correspondance postale) found on neutral or enemy ships, be this of an official or private character, must be held inviolable. In case of seizure, it is incumbent on those responsible for such seizures to forward the mail as quickly as possible." In case a blockade is in effect, this clause becomes inoperative where mail is coming from or going to blockaded ports.

In Article 2 it reads further: "The inviolability of the mails does not exempt neutral mail steamers from being subject to regulations and usages due to naval warfare; such as govern merchantmen in general. However, the search should be undertaken only in case of necessity, with all due care and the utmost dispatch." This agreement was ratified by all the nations concerned in the present discussion.

The Declaration of London, Article 30, decrees that even though carried in neutral ships between neutral ports, absolute contraband—that is, such articles as are for war purposes—is to be seized when the destination is an enemy country or such territory as may be in the possession of the enemy. For that reason it is rather difficult to make objection to the British Government's stopping mail steamers with a view of ascertaining whether they carry any absolute contraband in the parcel post destined for enemy territory. If subsequently it is necessary to take the steamer into an English port, the owners of the ship and of the parcels simply have to consent. That absolute contraband, assigned to the enemy country, is on board need not necessarily be suspected, and the circumstance that such contraband goes by the parcel post is insignificant by itself. As a matter of fact, such merchandise is exposed to the same fate as is contraband shipped in any other manner. But the so-called conditional contraband —that is, such materials as may be employed for both war and peace purposes —can, according to Article 35 of the Declaration of London, be subject to seizure only when the ship in question is bound to or from territory of the enemy. Neutral mail steamers plying between neutral ports do not come within these regulations.

The English Government never ratified this declaration, but accepted it in the present war with some modifications. Under this modification comes the decision that conditional contraband, even on neutral ships bound for neutral ports, can be seized when the party to whom it is actually assigned lives in enemy country. It is for this reason that the English Government takes to itself the right to examine conditional contraband found on neutral ships with a view to learning whether in fact the parcels are not ultimately to come into possession of some one in an enemy country. This goes quite contrary to the rights of nations, but the English Government acts according to its own convictions. However, in the matter of conditional contraband the principle was accepted even by England that the question of seizure can arise only when the goods are to be used by the opposing power.

Whatever regulations are in effect, they do not fully explain the procedure of the English Government. The attempt has been made to obtain permission for the importation of condensed milk from the United States into Germany in order to save German children from starvation. It is said that the French Government objected to this, and that in consequence no shipments were made. It is to be taken for granted that the French Government would not have taken this stand without making sure that the English Government would act likewise. It is presumed that the French were given the preference in entering objections so as to give the Democrats and Socialists now in control of affairs a chance to prove that even while some of them may proclaim the universal brotherhood on the whole, no less than the English Government, they are determined to conduct the battle for civilization, culture, and humanity by inhuman means.

We know by this time that whatever the contents of the mail which England seizes she keeps it for an indefinite period. Even if no enemy character attaches, examination has to be made to see whether or not it comes within the blockade regulations. In this way, securities sent from Holland on neutral ships and destined for America were seized by the English because they carried a German seal, and the incorrect conclusion was drawn that for this reason they were German property.

Since the Scandinavian countries were not signatories to the London Conference they would be justified in holding to the regulations of 1900, also agreed to by England, that goods in transit on neutral ships between neutral ports at no time can be considered contraband. Denmark and Norway, whose trade has been enormously increased during the war, rather inclined to fall in with England's wishes all around. Sweden, on the other hand, recalling its own glorious past, did not relish the manner in which the English are treating the rights of nations. Sweden took recourse to reprisals in that she held back the mail bags that crossed the country on their way to Russia. It is, however, doubtful whether this measure will be of any service. England is bent on crushing Germany, and if this cannot be accomplished on the battlefield she will use every means in her possession to starve us into submission. When once Germany is conquered, the argument runs, a short shrift can be made of the small nations.

According to The Hague agreement, only direct mail—"correspondance postale"—is held inviolable. All other articles besides letters, whether included with letters, or sent separately in envelopes, cannot claim exemption.

The question has arisen what is meant by the open sea. It is generally conceded that within a certain distance from shore the ocean comes under the jurisdiction of the adjoining country. For instance, in respect to fishing and the gathering of other products of the sea, such jurisdiction is commonly acknowledged. It is also the duty of such countries as border on the water to see to it that warring nations do not violate the neutrality of this zone in case it belongs to a neutral.

As for the width of this neutral zone, in times past there has been a deal of dispute. In the beginning of the eighteenth century the Dutch jurist, Bynkershoek, laid down the rule that the jurisdiction over the adjoining ocean reached just as far as a cannon shot would be effective. At that time a cannon ball carried about three sea miles. To this is due the fact that the coastal waters of a country have been marked off as covering three miles from shore, measuring from low-water mark. But as a matter of fact there has never been any exact agreement as to these territorial waters of any country. But there has been no diversity of opinion on the point that ships of all nations can pass through these waters, providing they do not do any damage to the territory; nor on this other point, that in case they do not make any stops while passing through, they do not come within the jurisdiction of the country bordering on the water.

In the year 1876, a collision took place within the three-mile limit from the English coast to Dover, between the Hamburg steamer Frankonia and the English ship Strathclyde. A passenger on the

latter ship lost his life. In England a criminal charge was lodged against the Captain of the Frankonia. But the courts decided that there was no precedent on which to rest the case. To remedy this shortcoming, a law was passed in 1878 whereby the English courts assumed jurisdiction in English coastal waters. This was the "Territorial Waters Jurisdiction act." As a consequence the British Government took to itself the right to proceed against any ship acting contrary to the law of the land, even though the act was committed aboard a foreign ship. While the matter was yet under discussion in Parliament the Lord Chancellor expressly declared that the passage through territorial waters of any foreign vessel was a concession on the part of England, and that, consequently, those taking advantage of the privilege were bound by what the coastal country decreed.

The Hague agreement, Article 1, declares clearly enough that it covers the high seas and that territorial waters are not considered in the premises. But the seizure of mail on neutral ships within English territorial waters is exactly what caused a discussion between the British and Dutch Governments. England takes the position that she can act toward ships passing through her territorial waters as if they were passing over her own soil. At the time of The Hague peace conference the English point of view was accepted in general in so far as it concerned the unimpeded passage of ships through territorial waters. As the issue stands today England has gone directly counter to the rights of nations.

"Too Proud to Fight"

President Wilson's celebrated words about being too proud to fight are so often quoted and misquoted that the facts about them should be a matter of record:

The phrase was used in an address delivered by the President in Convention Hall, Philadelphia, May 10, 1915, before 4,000 newly naturalized citizens. It was the President's first public address after the sinking of the Lusitania, May 7. He did not in the course of his speech directly mention the Lusitania or submarine warfare, but the address has been grouped with two others, delivered at about the same time, as setting forth "the principles on which he would meet the crises of the European war as they affect the United States." After speaking of the ideals of America, in special reference to the coming of aliens to be American citizens, the President said: "The example of America must be a special example. The example of America must be the example not merely of peace because it will not fight, but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world, and strife is not. There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight. There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not need to convince others by force that it is right."

A REALITY THAT RIVALS THE ROMANCES OF JULES VERNE

"In the Night of April 15-16," Says a Bulletin of the French War Office, "One of Our Armed Aeroplanes, Flying Over the North Sea at an Altitude of 300 Feet, Fired at an Enemy Warship Sixteen Shells, Most of Which Struck It."

(From a Painting by Messrs. Leven and Lemonier.)

A HISTORIC EVENT OF THE WAR IN FRANCE

Passage of the First Battalion of Russian Troops in Front of the Arc de Triomphe in Marseilles, After Their Long Voyage From Vladivostok

Freedom of the Seas

By Arthur James Balfour

First Lord of the British Admiralty

This important official utterance was given to the American public about the middle of May through Edward Marshall and The Saturday Evening Post. Mr. Balfour's lifelong friendliness toward the United States enhances its interest. The full text of his statement follows.

THE phrase "freedom of the seas" is naturally attractive to British and American ears. For the extension of freedom into all departments of life and over the whole world has been one of the chief aspirations of the English-speaking peoples, and efforts toward that end have formed no small part of their contribution to civilization. But freedom is a word of many meanings, and we shall do well to consider in what meaning the Germans use it when they ask for it, not (it may be safely said) because they love freedom but because they hate Britain.

About the "freedom of the seas," in one sense, we are all agreed. England and Holland fought for it in times gone by. To their success the United States may be said to owe its very existence.

For if, three hundred years ago, the maritime claims of Spain and Portugal had been admitted, whatever else North America might have been, it would not have been English-speaking. It neither would have employed the language, nor obeyed the laws, nor enjoyed the institutions, which, in the last analysis, are of British origin.

But the "freedom of the seas" desired by the modern German is a very different thing from the freedom for which our forefathers fought in days of old. How, indeed, can it be otherwise? The most simple-minded must feel suspicious when they find that these missionaries of maritime freedom are the very same persons who preach and who practice upon the land the extremest doctrines of military absolutism.

GERMANY'S AMBITIONS

Ever since the genius of Bismarck created the German Empire by Prussian rifles, welding the German people into a great unity by military means, on a military basis, German ambitions have been a cause of unrest to the entire world. Commercial and political domination, depending upon a gigantic army autocratically governed, has been and is the German ideal.

If, then, Germany wants what she calls the freedom of the seas, it is solely as a means whereby this ideal may receive worldwide extension. The power of Napoleon never extended beyond the coast line of Europe. Further progress was barred by the British fleets and by them alone. Germany is determined to endure no such limitations; and if she cannot defeat her enemies at sea, at least she will paralyze their sea power.

There is a characteristic simplicity in the methods by which she sets about attaining this object. She poses as a reformer of international law, though international law has never bound her for an hour. She objects to "economic pressure" when it is exercised by a fleet, though she sets no limit to the brutal completeness with which economic pressure may be imposed by an army. She sighs over the suffering which war imposes upon peaceful commerce, though her own methods of dealing with peaceful commerce would have wrung the conscience of Captain Kidd. She denounces the maritime methods of the Allies, though in her efforts to defeat them she is deterred neither by the rules of war, the appeal of humanity, nor the rights of neutrals.

It must be admitted, therefore, that it is not the cause of peace, of progress, or of liberty which preoccupies her when, in the name of freedom, she urges fundamental changes in maritime practice. Her manifest object is to shatter an ob-

stacle which now stands in her way, as more than a hundred years ago it stood in the way of the masterful genius who was her oppressor and is her model.

Not along this path are peace and liberty to be obtained. To paralyze naval power and leave military power uncontrolled is surely the worst injury which international law can inflict upon mankind.

A FORGOTTEN ASPECT

Let me confirm this truth by dwelling for a moment on an aspect of it which is, I think, too often forgotten. It should be observed that even if the German proposal were carried out in its entirety it would do nothing to relieve the world from the burden of armaments.

Fleets would still be indispensable. But their relative value would suffer change. They could no longer be used to exercise pressure upon an enemy except in conjunction with an army. The gainers by the change would therefore be the nations who possessed armies—the military monarchies. Interference with trade would be stopped, but oversea invasion would be permitted. The proposed change would therefore not merely diminish the importance of sea power, but it would diminish it most in the case of nonmilitary States, like America and Britain.

Suppose, for example, that Germany, in her desire to appropriate some Germanized portions of South America, came into conflict with the United States over the Monroe Doctrine. The United States, bound by the doctrine of "freedom of the seas," could aim no blow at her enemy until she herself had created a large army and become for the time being a military community. Her sea power would be useless, or nearly so. Her land power would not exist.

IF GERMANY RULED THE SEA

But more than this might happen. Let us suppose the desired change had been effected. Let us suppose that the maritime nations, accepting the new situation, thought themselves relieved from all necessity of protecting their sea-borne commerce and arranged their program of naval shipbuilding accordingly. For some time it would probably proceed on legal lines. Commerce, even hostile commerce, would be unhampered. But a change might happen. Some unforeseen circumstance might make the German General Staff think it to be to the interest of its nation to cast to the winds the "freedom of the seas" and, in defiance of the new law, to destroy the trade of its enemies.

Could anybody suggest after our experience in this war, after reading German histories and German theories of politics, that Germany would be prevented from taking such a step by the mere fact that it was a breach of international treaties to which she was a party? She would never hesitate—and the only result of the cession by the pacific powers of their maritime rights would be that the military powers would seize the weapon for their own purpose and turn it against those who had too hastily abandoned it.

Thus we are forced to the sorrowful recognition of the weakness of international law so long as it is unsupported by international authority.

While this state of things is permitted to endure, drastic changes in international law well may do more harm than good; for if the new rules should involve serious limitations of belligerent powers, they would be broken as soon as it suited the interests of the aggressor; and his victim would be helpless. Nothing could be more disastrous. It is bad that law should be defied. It is far worse that it should injure the well-disposed. Yet this is what would inevitably happen, since law unsupported by authority will hamper everybody but the criminal.

THE ULTIMATE PROBLEM

Here we come face to face with the great problem which lies behind all the changing aspects of this tremendous war. When it is brought to an end, how is civilized mankind so to reorganize itself that similar catastrophes shall not be permitted to recur?

The problem is insistent, though its full solution may be beyond our powers at this stage of our development.

But, surely, even now, it is fairly clear that if substantial progress is to be made toward securing the peace of the world and a free development of its constituent

nations, the United States of America and the British Empire should explicitly recognize, what all instinctively know, that on these great subjects they share a common ideal.

I am well aware that in even hinting at the possibility of co-operation between these two countries I am treading on delicate ground. The fact that American independence was wrested by force from Great Britain colors the whole view which some Americans take of the "natural" relations between the two countries. Others are impatient of anything which they regard as a sentimental appeal to community of race; holding that in respect of important sections of the American people this community of race does not in fact exist. Others, again, think that any argument based on a similarity of laws and institutions belittles the greatness of America's contribution to the political development of the modern world.

IDEALS IN COMMON

Rightly understood, however, what I have to say is quite independent of individual views on any of these subjects. It is based on the unquestioned fact that the growth of British laws, British forms of government, British literature and modes of thought was the slow work of centuries; that among the co-heirs of these agelong labors were the great men who founded the United States; and that the two branches of the English-speaking peoples, after the political separation, developed along parallel lines. So it has come about that, whether they be friendly or quarrelsome, whether they rejoice in their agreements or cultivate their differences, they can no more get rid of a certain fundamental similarity of outlook than children born of the same parents and brought up in the same home. Whether, therefore, you study political thought in Great Britain or America, in Canada or in Australia, you will find it presents the sharpest and most irreconcilable contrast to political thought in the Prussian Kingdom, or in that German Empire into which, with no modification of aims or spirit, the Prussian Kingdom has developed. Holding, as I do, that this war is essentially a struggle between these two ideals of ancient growth I cannot doubt that in the result of that struggle America is no less concerned than the British Empire.

PRACTICAL CONCLUSIONS

Now, if this statement, which represents the most unchanging element in my political creed, has in it any element of truth, how does it bear upon the narrower issues upon which I dwelt in the earlier portions of this interview?

My own conclusions are these: If in our time any substantial effort is to be made toward insuring the permanent triumph of the Anglo-Saxon ideal, the great communities which accept it must work together. And in working together they must bear in mind that law is not enough. Behind law there must be power. It is good that arbitration should be encouraged. It is good that the accepted practices of warfare should become ever more humane. It is good that before peace is broken the would-be belligerents should be compelled to discuss their differences in some congress of the nations. It is good that the security of the smaller States should be fenced round with peculiar care. But all the precautions are mere scraps of paper unless they can be enforced. We delude ourselves if we think we are doing God service merely by passing good resolutions. What is needed now, and will be needed so long as militarism is unconquered, is the machinery for enforcing them, and the contrivance of such a machinery will tax to its utmost the world's statesmanship.

I have no contribution to make to the solution of the problem. Yet this much seems clear. If there is to be any effective sanction behind the desire of the English-speaking peoples to preserve the world's peace and the free development of the nations, that sanction must consist largely in the potential use of sea power. For two generations and more after the last great war Britain was without a rival on the sea. During this period Belgium became a State, Greece secured her independence, the unity of Italy was achieved, the South American republics were established, the Monroe Doctrine

came into being. To me it seems that the lesson to be drawn from history by those who love peace, freedom, and security is not that Britain and America should be deprived, or should deprive themselves, of the maritime powers they now possess, but that, if possible, those powers should be organized in the interests of an ideal common to the two States, an ideal upon whose realization the happiness and peace of the world must largely depend.

Text of American Note to Great Britain on Seizures of Mail

[Delivered in duplicate to the Governments of Great Britain and France]

Department of State,
Washington, May 24, 1916.

Excellency:

I HAVE the honor to acknowledge receipt of your Excellency's note of April 3 last, transmitting a memorandum dated Feb. 15, 1916, and communicated in substance to the American Ambassador in London on Feb. 28, in which are stated the contentions of the British and French Governments in regard to the right to detain and examine parcel and letter mails en route by sea between the United States and Europe.

After a discussion of the use of the mails for the transmission of parcels and of the limitations to be placed on "inviolable mail," the joint memorandum of Feb. 15 closes with the following assertions:

"1. That from the standpoint of their right of visitation and eventual arrest and seizure, merchandise shipped in post parcels need not and shall not be treated otherwise than merchandise shipped in any other manner.

"2. That the inviolability of postal correspondence stipulated by the eleventh convention of The Hague of 1907 does not in any way affect the right of the allied Governments to visit and, if occasion arise, arrest and seize merchandise hidden in the wrappers, envelopes, or letters contained in the mail bags.

"3. That true to their engagements and respectful of genuine 'correspondence' the allied Governments will continue, for the present, to refrain on the high seas from seizing and confiscating such correspondence, letters, or dispatches, and will insure their speediest possible transmission as soon as the sincerity of their character shall have been ascertained."

In reply the Government of the United States desires to state that it does not consider that the Postal Union Convention of 1906 necessarily applies to the interferences by the British and French Governments with the oversea transportation of mails of which the Government of the United States complains. Furthermore, the allied powers appear to have overlooked the admission of the Government of the United States that post parcels may be treated as merchandise subject to the exercise of belligerent rights as recognized by international law. But the Government of the United States does not admit that such parcels are subject to the "exercise of the rights of police supervision, visitation, and eventual seizure which belongs to belligerents as to all cargoes on the high seas," as asserted in the joint note under acknowledgment.

It is noted with satisfaction that the British and French Governments do not claim, and, in the opinion of this Government, properly do not claim, that their so-called "blockade" measures are sufficient grounds upon which to base a right to interfere with all classes of mail matter in transit to or from the Central Powers. On the contrary, their contention appears to be that, as "genuine correspondence" is under conventional stipulation "inviolable," mail matter of other classes is subject to detention and examination. While the Government of the United States agrees that "genuine correspondence" mail is inviolable, it does not admit that belligerents may search other private sea-borne mails for any other purpose than to discover whether they contain articles of enemy ownership carried on belligerent vessels or articles of contraband transmitted under sealed covers as letter mail, though they may intercept at sea all mails coming out of and going into ports of the enemy's coasts which are effectively blockaded. The Governments of the United States, Great Britain, and France, however, appear to be in substantial agreement as to principle. The method of applying the principle is the chief cause of difference.

Though giving assurances that they consider "genuine correspondence" to be "inviolable," and that they will, "true to their engagements," refrain "on the high seas" from seizing and confiscating such correspondence, the allied Governments proceed to deprive neutral Governments of the benefits of these assurances by seizing and confiscating mail from vessels in port instead of at sea. They compel neutral ships without just cause to enter their own ports, or they induce shipping lines, through some form of

duress, to send their mail ships via British ports, or they detain all vessels merely calling at British ports, thus acquiring by force or unjustifiable means an illegal jurisdiction. Acting upon this enforced jurisdiction, the authorities remove all mail, genuine correspondence as well as post parcels, take them to London, where every piece, even though of neutral origin and destination, is opened and critically examined to determine the "sincerity of their character," in accordance with the interpretation given that undefined phrase by the British and French censors. Finally the expurgated remainder is forwarded, frequently after irreparable delay, to its destination. Ships are detained en route to or from the United States or to and from other neutral countries, and mails are held and delayed for several days, and, in some cases, for weeks and even months, even though not routed to ports of North Europe via British ports. This has been the procedure which has been practiced since the announcement of Feb. 15, 1916. To some extent the same practice was followed before that date, calling forth the protest of this Government on Jan. 4, 1916. But to that protest the memorandum under acknowledgment makes no reference and is entirely unresponsive.

The Government of the United States must again insist with emphasis that the British and French Governments do not obtain rightful jurisdiction of ships by forcing or inducing them to visit their ports for the purpose of seizing their mails, or thereby obtain greater belligerent rights as to such ships than they could exercise on the high seas, for there is, in the opinion of the Government of the United States, no legal distinction between the seizure of mails at sea, which is announced as abandoned, and their seizure from vessels voluntarily or involuntarily in port.

The British and French practice amounts to an unwarranted limitation on the use by neutrals of the world's highway for the transmission of correspondence. The practice actually followed by the allied powers must be said to justify the conclusion, therefore, that the announcement of Feb. 15 was merely notice that one illegal practice had been abandoned to make place for the development of another more onerous and vexatious in character.

The present practice is a violation not only of the spirit of the announcement of Feb. 15 but of the rule of The Hague Convention upon which it is concededly based. Aside from this it is a violation of the prior practice of nations which Great Britain and her allies have in the past insisted to establish and maintain, notwithstanding the statement in the memorandum "that as late as 1907 the letters and dispatches themselves could be seized and confiscated."

During the war between the United States and Mexico the United States forces allowed British steamers to enter and depart from the port of Vera Cruz without molesting the mails intended for inland points. During the American civil war Lord Russell endeavored to induce the United States to concede that "her Majesty's mails on board a private vessel should be exempted from visitation or detention." This exemption of mails was urged in October, 1862, in the case of British mails on board the Adela. On Oct. 31 Secretary Seward announced that "public mails of any friendly or neutral power duly certified or authenticated as such shall not be searched or opened, but be put as speedily as may be convenient on the way to their designated destination." In accordance with this announcement the Government of the United States in the case of the British steamship Peterhoff, which had been seized with her mails against the protest of her Majesty's Government, had her mails forwarded to destination unopened.

The same rule was followed by France, as I am advised, in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870; by the United States in the Spanish-American war of 1898; by Great Britain in the South African war, in the case of the German mail steamers Bundesrath and General; by Japan, and substantially by Russia, in the Russo-Japanese war of 1914. And even in the present war, as the memorandum of Great Britain and France states, their enemy, Germany, has desisted from the practice of interfering with neutral mails, even on board belligerent steamers. This is illustrated by the case of the French steamer Floride, captured by the auxiliary cruiser Prinz Eitel Friedrich, cited by the British and French Governments in support of their argument regarding parcel mails. In this case the letter mails of the Floride, amounting to 144 sacks, were forwarded to their destination by the commander at the first opportunity upon arriving in the United States. It would seem, therefore, to be conclusively established that the interferences with mails of which this Government justly complains are wrong in principle and in practice.

The arbitrary methods employed by the British and French Governments have resulted most disastrously to citizens of the United States. Important papers which can never be duplicated, or can be duplicated only with great difficulty, such as United States patents for inventions, rare documents, legal papers relating to the settlement of estates, powers of attorney, fire insurance claims, income tax returns, and similar matters, have been lost.

Delays in receiving shipping documents have caused great loss and inconvenience by preventing prompt delivery of goods.

In the case of the Macniff Horticultural Company of New York large shipments of plants and bulbs from Holland were, I am informed, frozen on the wharves because possession could not be obtained in the absence of documents relating to them which

had been removed from the Nieuw Amsterdam, Costerdyk, and Rotterdam.

Business opportunities are lost by failure to transmit promptly bids, specifications, and contracts.

The Standard Underground Cable Company of Pittsburgh, for example, sent by mail a tender and specifications for certain proposed electrical works to be constructed in Christiania; after several weeks of waiting the papers have failed to arrive. The American company was told that the bids could not be longer held open and the contract was awarded to a British competitor.

Checks, drafts, money orders, securities, and similar property are lost or detained for weeks and months.

Business correspondence relating to legitimate and bona fide trade between neutral countries, correspondence of a personal nature, and also certain official correspondence, such as money order lists and other matter forwarded by Government departments, are detained, lost, or possibly destroyed. For instance, the Postmaster General informs me that certain international money order lists from the United States to Germany, Greece, and other countries, and from Germany to the United States, sent through the mails, have not reached their destination, though dispatched several months ago. It was necessary to have some of these lists duplicated and again dispatched by the steamship Frederick VIII., which sailed from New York on April 19, and from which all the mails intended for Germany have been taken and held in British jurisdiction.

As a further example of the delay and loss consequent upon the British practice, the Postmaster General also sends me a copy of a letter from the British Postal Administration admitting that the mails were removed from the steamer Medan in the Downs on Jan. 30 last and not forwarded until some time "between the 2d of February and the 2d of March," and that 182 bags of these mails "were lost during transmission to Holland on the 26th day of February by the Dutch steamship Mecklenburg." The Medan arrived safely at Rotterdam a day or two after she left the Downs.

Numerous complaints similar to the foregoing have been received by this Government, the details of which are available, but I believe I have cited sufficient facts to show the unprecedented and vexatious nature of the interference with mails persisted in by British and French authorities.

Not only are American commercial interests injured but rights of property are violated, and the rules of international law and custom are palpably disregarded. I can only add that this continuing offense has led to such losses to American citizens and to a possible responsibility of the United States to repair them that this Government will be compelled in the near future to press claims for full reclamation upon the attention of his Majesty's Government and that of the French Republic.

The principle being plain and definite, and the present practice of the Governments of Great Britain and France being clearly in contravention of the principle, I will state more in detail the position of the Government of the United States in regard to the treatment of certain classes of sealed mails under a strict application of the principle upon which our Governments seem to be in general accord.

The Government of the United States is inclined to the opinion that the class of mail matter which includes stocks, bonds, coupons, and similar securities is to be regarded as of the same nature as merchandise or other articles of property and subject to the same exercise of belligerent rights. Money orders, checks, drafts, notes, and other negotiable instruments which may pass as the equivalent of money are, it is considered, also to be classed as merchandise. Correspondence, including shipping documents, money order lists, and papers of that character, even though relating to "enemy supplies or exports," unless carried on the same ship as the property referred to, are, in the opinion of this Government, to be regarded as "genuine correspondence," and entitled to unmolested passage.

The Government of the United States, in view of the improper methods employed by the British and French authorities in interrupting mails passing between the United States and other neutral countries and between the United States and the enemies of Great Britain, can no longer tolerate the wrongs which citizens of the United States have suffered and continue to suffer through these methods. To submit to a lawless practice of this character would open the door to repeated violations of international law by the belligerent powers on the ground of military necessity of which the violator would be the sole judge. Manifestly a neutral nation cannot permit its rights on the high seas to be determined by belligerents or the exercise of those rights to be permitted or denied arbitrarily by the Government of a warring nation. The rights of neutrals are as sacred as the rights of belligerents and must be as strictly observed.

The Government of the United States, confident in the regard for international law and the rights of neutrals which the British and French Governments have so often proclaimed, and the disregard of which they have urged so vigorously against their enemies in the present war, expects the present practice of the British and French authorities in the treatment of mails from or to the United States to cease, and belligerent rights, as exercised, to conform to the principle governing the passage of mail matter and to the recognized practice of nations. Only a radical change in the present British and French policy, restoring to the United States its full rights as a neutral power, will satisfy this Government.

ROBERT LANSING.

Cabinet Ministers on Peace Terms

Official Views on Both Sides

CURRENT HISTORY published last month an important statement by Sir Edward Grey on the causes of the war and the Allies' terms of peace. This has elicited a direct reply from the German Chancellor, which is presented herewith, along with a symposium of similar utterances. The second one from the German Chancellor, delivered after the naval battle in the North Sea, reflects the result of that battle in its more defiant tone. In general it will be seen that Germany desires peace on the basis of "the war map" as it stands, and lays upon the Allies the blame for continuing hostilities.

Sir Edward Grey, on the other hand, told the House of Commons on May 24 that all peace talk was idle because the German people were being "fed with lies." In substance he said: "The Allies are not going to be beaten. The first step toward peace will come when the German Government begins to recognize that fact." Premier Briand of France, like President Poincare, says that lasting peace can come only through Entente victory. Mr. Lloyd George, stating the case in a different way, says that a crushing military defeat of Germany alone can insure lasting peace.

President Wilson's tentative proffer of American mediation, made in his address before the League to Enforce Peace, attracted far more attention abroad than it did at home. The speech was printed in full throughout Europe, and called forth a storm of comment, both favorable and unfavorable. Strong objections to the United States as a medium for peace negotiations came alike from British and from German leaders—an indication that this country has succeeded fairly well in being neutral in its official acts. The whole exhibit is an interesting proof of the degree to which the American press is becoming a forum for peace discussions between the belligerents.

Peace on a Basis of the Real Facts

By Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg

German Imperial Chancellor

[A statement made to the Berlin representative of The New York World, May 22, and republished in CURRENT HISTORY by special permission. Copyrighted, 1916]

AFTER twenty-two months of terrible war, after sacrifices of millions of men, dead, wounded, or disabled for life, after forcing a heavy debt in blood and treasure that places a mortgage upon the brow and shoulders of the present and future generations, it is beginning to dawn upon England that the German people are not to be crushed, that the German Nation cannot be destroyed.

Having learned also the terrible cost to Europe and the world, Sir Edward Grey now declares that British statesmen never did want to crush and destroy Germany, notwithstanding the utterances of his confrères in the British Cabinet and the English press to the contrary, and in face of the inducement held out to the French people by President Poincairé in his speech of a few days ago that if they only will endure to the end England and France will "dictate peace to Germany."

Sir Edward Grey speaks of the future, of peace, but adds that Prussian militarism must first be crushed. I must say that I am astonished and wonder how a statesman like Sir Edward Grey can still talk of any distinction and difference between Prussia and the rest of Germany. I am well aware of the ignorance about Germany and German conditions that prevailed before the war in England as well as in France, and that the English and French war parties had speculated heavily upon internal dissensions in Germany. But I had thought that the magnificent and heroic unity of the entire German peoples in defense of their home and Fatherland had opened the eyes of the gentleman.

As to "militarism," let us see. Who was it that made and followed the policy

of militarism in the last twenty years, England or Germany?

Just think back of Egypt. Recall Fashoda. Ask the French people which nation at that time, through its warlike threats and attitude, forced upon France the humiliation long known to them as "the shame of Fashoda," so keenly and bitterly felt by the French. Recall the Boer war, with the conquest and destruction of the liberties of free peoples and small and weak nations. Remember Algeciras, where England, according to Sir Edward Grey's own statement, had given France to understand that in the event of war she could reckon upon England's assistance, and the General Staffs of the two countries began to confer upon plans in that sense.

Then came the Bosnia crisis. It was Germany, not England, who averted war at that time. It was Germany who moved Russia to accept her mediation proposal.

England, on the other hand, let her displeasure be known in St. Petersburg over this peaceful solution. Sir Edward Grey, as reliably known to me, even stated upon this occasion that he believed that English public opinion would have approved England's participation on the side of Russia if it had come to war.

We were in a fair way of adjusting our differences with France through peaceful negotiations when England intervened (in the Agadir crisis) with the well-known warlike speech and threats of Lloyd George which brought up the black warclouds.

Sir Edward Grey has declared that England never had any evil intentions toward Germany and that there was no coalition against Germany. That statement of the British Foreign Secretary requires but a one-word answer, and that word is "einkreisungspolitik"—that is, England's "isolation policy."

[This refers to the supposed policy of King Edward VII. of isolating Germany.]

The entire world knows through the published documents from the Belgian secret archives that neutral statesmen, as well as Belgian diplomats, not only in Berlin but in Paris and London, saw in the isolation policy of England nothing but an imminent danger of war.

What I could do to meet this danger and to avert the threatening and imminent developments I did. The neutrality agreement which I proposed to Lord Haldane would not only have insured peace for Europe, but for the entire world. England rejected it.

[When reminded of Grey's statement that Germany had demanded the unconditional neutrality of England, even in case Germany provoked a war on the Continent, the Chancellor continued]:

I made public in the Reichstag Aug. 19, 1915, the exact text of the formula I suggested to the English Cabinet in the negotiations at that time. The last formula read: "England will maintain this friendly neutrality should a war be forced upon Germany." Mind you, "forced!"

I dislike to come back to these things which have been thoroughly discussed before the entire world, but since you interrogate me as to Sir Edward Grey's remarks, I am compelled to establish that they are not in accordance with the facts.

Let me make one more and a last remark about the past. Again and again, Sir Edward Grey renews his assertion that Germany could have averted this war had it accepted England's proposal for a conference. How could I accept this proposal in the face of the mobilization measures of Russia's vast army in full headway?

Despite Russia's official denial, notwithstanding the fact that the formal mobilization orders were not issued until the night of July 30, it was definitely known to us, and has since been confirmed, that the Russian Government already on July 25 began mobilizing in accordance with a decision arrived at when Sir Edward Grey's proposal was made.

Assuming that I had accepted this proposal, and after negotiations of two or three weeks—during which Russia steadily and rapidly continued to assemble her armies, vastly superior numerically, on our borders—the conference had failed. Would England perhaps have saved us from a Russian invasion or come to our assistance with her fleet and army? In view of the subsequent events I doubt that very much.

With two frontiers to defend, Germany could not engage in debates the outcome of which was extremely problematical while possible foes were utilizing the time to mobilize armies with which to invade us.

In the critical days of July, 1914, Sir Edward Grey himself admitted that my counterproposal of a direct exchange of views between the Cabinets of St. Petersburg and Vienna was better calculated to adjust the Austro-Serbian conflict than his conference proposal. This direct exchange of views, suggested by me after no small difficulties had been overcome, was in a fair way of being carried out when Russia's formal mobilization of her entire army, notwithstanding her explicit assurances to the contrary, made war unavoidable.

Had England spoken an earnest word at St. Petersburg at that juncture the war would have been averted. From a confidential report of the Belgian Minister in St. Petersburg the world knows that the Russian war party obtained the upper hand from the moment it knew it could count upon English help in the war. Why did England deal in that manner? Let me recapitulate briefly what English statesmen have said on this point. On Aug. 3, 1914, Sir Edward Grey declared that England would suffer hardly less if it participated in the war than if it kept out. At the same time he dwelt upon the great and vital interests England had in Belgium. Therefore not for the sake of Belgium, but for the sake of England Sir Edward Grey considered it advisable that England should enter the war. * * *

Sir Edward Grey wants permanent peace. I, too, want permanent peace. I have repeatedly expressed myself in that sense since the beginning of the war. But I fear we will not come nearer to the peace desired, I believe, by all peoples so long as the responsible statesmen of the Entente Powers indulge in and confine themselves to observations about Prussian militarism and to pathetic declamations about their own superiority and perfection, or, even as Sir Edward Grey did in this interview, desire to favor Germany without a change in her internal political affairs and conditions.

In answer to the English Minister—who, I should think, would be rather reserved and careful on that point in view of conditions in Ireland—I only want to say that Germany has home rule which it independently administers. Incidentally, let me add one thing. Did the democratic Constitution of England hinder English statesmen from making and concluding secret arrangements and agreements with Russia and France, which were one of the essential causes of this war?

But, as I have already said to you, a general press polemic and public speeches will only tend still more to intensify the hatred among peoples. And that is not a way that leads to the ideal conditions of Sir Edward Grey, when free peoples and nations, with equality of rights and privileges, will limit their armaments and solve their differences and disputes through arbitration's decisions instead of war.

I have twice publicly stated that Germany has been and is prepared to discuss the termination of the war upon a basis that offers guarantee against further attack from a coalition of her enemies and insures peace to Europe. You have read President Poincaré's answer to that.

One thing I do know—only when statesmen of the warring nations come down to a basis of real facts, when they take the war situation as every war map shows it to be, when, with honest and sincere will they are prepared to terminate this terrible bloodshed and are ready to discuss the war and peace problems with one another in a practical manner, only then will we be nearing peace.

Whoever is not prepared to do that has the responsibility for it if Europe continues to bleed and tear itself to pieces. I cast that responsibility far from myself.

German Chancellor's Reichstag Speech of June 5, 1916

FIVE days after the great naval battle in the North Sea the Imperial Chancellor again discussed peace in the Reichstag in a more defiant tone, declaring that any further suggestions of peace by Germany would be "futile and evil." His address is said to have stirred the German Nation deeply. It was applauded in the Reichstag, except by the Conservatives and the Socialists who had seceded with Dr. Liebknecht.

"Six months ago, on Dec. 9," said Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, "discussing our military situation, I spoke here for the first time of our readiness for peace. I could do so in entire confidence that our war situation would continue to improve. Developments have confirmed this confidence. We have made further progress on all fronts. We are stronger than we were before.

"If, with this development before my eyes, I declared that we were ready for peace, I need have no regret for my statement, even if our offer evoked no response from our enemies.

"In the critical times of July, 1914, it was the duty of every responsible statesman before God, his country, and his conscience to leave nothing untried that could preserve peace with honor. We also desired after the successful repulse of our enemies to neglect nothing that was calculated to shorten the terrible sufferings experienced by the people of Europe in such a conflagration.

"I told an American journalist that peace negotiations could only reach a settlement if they were conducted by statesmen of the belligerent powers on the basis of the real war situation as shown by the war map. This proposition was rejected by the other side. They will not recognize the war map, as they hope to improve it in their own favor. But it has constantly changed in our favor. We have added to it since that remark was made. The surrender of the British Army at Kut-el-Amara, defeats with tremendous losses of the French at Verdun, the collapse of the Russian offensive in March, the mighty thrust forward of our allies against Italy, the strengthening of our lines before Saloniki, and just now we have received news of the naval battle off Jutland with jubilant and grateful hearts.

"This is how the war map looks now. If our various enemies desire to shut their eyes to it, then we must and shall fight on until final victory.

"We did what we could to pave the way to peace, but our enemies repelled us with scorn. Consequently all further talk of peace initiated by us becomes futile and evil.

"Some statesmen in England and elsewhere have made attempts to feel the pulse of our people, and, while making contrasts between our different States as political units, have tried to console themselves into the belief that our striking force was near the breaking point. These gentlemen are indulging in strange notions. If they do not desire to deceive themselves they will notice only how firmly beats the heart of the German people. There is no external influence that can shake our unity even in the slightest degree.

"Certainly we have had our differences of opinion on such matters as the U-boat question and the question of our relations with America, but I declare emphatically that each side in these controversies has respected the convictions of the other and that we have remained always one on the great national question.

"We discussed these matters in committee and decided it was impossible to satisfy the demands for a public announcement. We were, I believe, absolutely agreed that in these cases exhaustive public discussion would damage the country. Nevertheless, I want to say that I, too, long for the time when the administration of the censorship can

abandon the restrictions and inconveniences which are at present inseparable from it.

"I in no way desire to resurrect the censorship of debates. Let me say this much to remove any doubt. Each political measure, without exception, in this time of war, has had only one object in view, namely, to bring the war to a glorious end. The censorship should be carried on from the same point of view, whether it be military or political.

"I shall endeavor to see that where the connection of political matters with the war is only slight the pencil of the censor shall be employed as lightly as possible.

"As far as I am concerned the newspapers will find as few shackles as possible and a just and impartial appreciation of their aims. The existence of the press censorship has recently given rise to a new nuisance, namely, the circulation of numerous private pamphlets, some without names attached, as if the confidence of the people could be thus destroyed, although this was the very purpose of these pamphlets. As an example of this class I take a pamphlet which was recently widely circulated. The writer, under the guise of an anxious patriot, has collected from the political history preceding the war a chain of gross untruths and distortions."

The Chancellor proceeded to give illustrations of the alleged falsehoods in the pamphlet. One of the typical statements was that the Chancellor nearly collapsed when the English Ambassador announced the breach of relations between Great Britain and Germany. The speaker declared that this was absolutely false.

"As a matter of fact," he said, "Sir William Goschen, at his farewell visit, was personally so deeply affected that I have, from a natural feeling of propriety, avoided speaking about it."

The Chancellor replied to a pamphleteer's charge that in the opening days of the war he had believed England would have remained Germany's friend or at least neutral, and that he had wasted three days parleying with England, three days which meant an enormous prolongation of the war because the first blow was not struck promptly enough.

"I know that my attempts at an understanding with England," he said, "are my capital offense, but what was Germany's position in the period prior to the war? France and Russia were united in an indissoluble alliance. There was a strong anti-German party in Russia and an influential and growing section in France which was urging revenge and war. Russia could only be held in check if the hope of English aid was successfully taken from them. They would then have never ventured on war. If I wished to work against war I had to attempt to enter into relationships with England.

"I made this attempt in the face of the development of an English policy which was hostile to Germany and of which I was entirely cognizant. I am not ashamed of my conduct, even though it proved abortive. He who on that account charges me with being the cause of the world catastrophe, with its hecatombs of human sacrifices, may make his accusation before God. I shall await God's judgment calmly."

The Chancellor appealed for the unity of all parties, declaring that political lines ought to be obliterated during the prosecution of the war. In conclusion, he said:

"I see the entire nation in heroic stature fighting for its future, our sons and brothers fighting and dying side by side. There we see the equal love for home in all. The sacred flame of love of home steels every heart, so that they defy death and suffer death in thousands. Only a heart completely dried up can escape the affecting impression of the great primitive strength of this people.

"My belief in my people and my love for my people gives me a conviction firm as a rock that we shall fight and conquer, as we have fought and conquered hitherto. Our enemies wish to let it go to the end. We fear neither death nor devil, not even the hunger devil which they wish to send into our country. The men who fight out there around Verdun,

who fight under Hindenburg, our proud bluejackets, who showed Albion that rats bite, are fashioned from a breed that knows how to bear privations also. These privations are here. I admit it calmly and openly, even to foreign countries, but we will bear them.

"In this fight against hunger we will also make progress. Gracious heaven allowed a good harvest this year. It will not be worse, but better, than in the previous hard year. The calculation of our enemies on our economic difficulties will prove deceptive.

"Another of their calculations was sharply corrected by our young navy last week. This victory will not make us boastful. We know that it does not mean that England is beaten. But it is a token of our future wherein Germany will win for herself, and also for smaller peoples, full equality of rights and lasting freedom of sea routes, now closed by England's sole domination."

Why Peace Talk at Present Is Idle

By Sir Edward Grey

British Minister of Foreign Affairs

In an impromptu speech in the House of Commons on May 24 Sir Edward Grey answered the German Chancellor—likewise certain home critics. Arthur Ponsonby, Liberal member from Stirling, Scotland, had criticised Sir Edward for "employing the American press as a platform" and slighting the House of Commons. The essential portions of his pithy reply are here printed in full.

MEMBERS of the German Government have given interviews from the beginning of the war over and over again to the people of the United States, and now, when one of us tries to defend his own country in a neutral country against statements made by the German Government, the honorable member reproaches me with want of respect. These are no days for pedantry of that kind.

I care not how often I say it—this war might have been avoided by accepting the conference we proposed. Why was not that conference accepted? Because there was not good-will.

It had been preceded by a conference on the Balkan question only shortly before. I wish the German and Austrian Governments would publish the reports of their Ambassadors with regard to the part we played in that conference. I have never seen them, but I am quite sure that nobody went through that conference without being prepared to bear testimony to the fact that the attitude of the British Government was one of entire good faith all through—and when the German Chancellor says that another conference would have been used against Germany, that advantage would have been taken to prepare for war, and so forth—things which he did not say at the time—I say that the attitude we had observed through the conference which had just closed entitles us to say that a conference as it was proposed on the eve of this war was one which those who had experience of the previous one ought to have accepted with confidence and good-will.

If there was a diplomatic failure, that accounts for how it came about. It was not our failure.

I cannot agree with the honorable member (Mr. Ponsonby) that the interview published with the German Chancellor, or the speech made by the German Chancellor last month shows that disposition for peace which he seemed to find in it. If Germany is prepared for all the terms which the honorable member says, why does she not say so? He reproaches us with letting etiquette stand in the way.

Is it etiquette that stands in the way of the German Government making the statements which the honorable member suggests on their behalf? I really think that, in a time of war, the Gov-

ernment of the enemy might be allowed to speak for itself.

I find only one thing new in this interview with the German Chancellor—the charge that our attitude was bellicose in the negotiations with regard to Bosnia when Austria annexed Bosnia. That is new. It is a first-class lie. The idea that we attempted to urge Russia to war, that we said this country would be ready to go to war about Bosnia, that that was our attitude, is the direct contrary of the truth.

When you talk about appealing to reason, about getting reason to triumph over might, and so forth, and about reasoning with the German people, you cannot reason with the German people so long as they are fed with lies and know nothing of the truth.

So long as these lies are multiplied—I suppose this new one has been supplied to the German Chancellor out of that laboratory which is always at work in some diplomatic quarter in Germany producing these things—as long as you have that sort of thing going on you cannot possibly reason with your enemy, and your enemy does not want to be reasoned with.

What do we find in the German Chancellor's interview? As I read it, it means that those people are responsible for the continuance of the war who will not accept Germany's terms. We are to look at the map of the military situation as it is today to see what those terms should be; and we have had the German Chancellor's preceding speech as to what those terms should be. They are terms victorious to Germany, safeguarding Germany's interests, taking no account of other people's interests, and leaving, if they were accepted, the other States of Europe at her mercy whenever she chose to pursue an aggressive policy toward them again.

It is childish to say that because Germany's enemies will not accept the terms of peace that suit Germany without regard to their own interests, therefore they are responsible for prolonging the war.

The real thing responsible more than anything else for prolonging the war at this moment is that the German Government goes on telling its people that they have won the war, or that if they have not won it they are going to win it next week, and that we, the Allies, are beaten.

The facts are that the Allies are not beaten, and they are not going to be beaten. The first step toward peace will be when the German Government begins to recognize that fact.

If any of the Allies have a special right at this moment to speak with regard to peace it is the Government of France, on whom for some weeks past the concentrated fury of the German attack has been falling. The prowess of the French Army during the long battle of Verdun is saving France and saving her allies, too.

Is this a moment for us to do anything but concentrate on expressing our determination to give the fullest support in our power to those allies? If any one has a right to speak on behalf of peace at this moment it is the Government of France. The Prime Minister of France has spoken, and if the report in today's paper be accurate, as I believe it to be, he has said: "What will the generations to come say if we let escape the occasion to establish firmly a durable peace, a peace which must be based on international right?"

That is what we feel, too, and, with our allies, deeply as we desire to see the fruts of peace established, as the honorable member for Leicester described them—in a peace that shall endure and save the world from such a catastrophe as this war in future ever again—I believe the duty of diplomacy at the present moment is to maintain, as it has completely maintained, the solidarity of the Allies and to give the utmost support it can to the military and naval measures which are necessary, and taken by the Allies in common, to bring this war to a stage, which it has not reached yet, at which that prospect of a secure and durable peace will be made a reality.

"Britain Will Fight It Out"

By David Lloyd George

Minister of Munitions

[Part of an address to his constituents in Wales]

WE have accomplished enormous results in the raising of armies and in their equipment when you consider that we began with about the tiniest army in Europe, a smaller army than the Serbian Army, and we have now got one of the greatest and best equipped armies in the world. Still, I agree that in conducting a war a Government should not only be resolute, but appear resolute.

War is a terrible business. But men will face all its horrors if they have confidence in their leaders. But if there is hesitation, if there is timidity, if there is the appearance of irresolution, the bravest hearts will fail, and the spirit of the nation is the propellant of its armies. Therefore it is important, whatever happens, that you should have confidence that the Government is doing its best in the firmest and most resolute manner to conduct the war.

That is why I have had no sympathy with those who seem to think that because war is hateful you ought to fight it with a sort of savor of regret in your actions. Doubting hand never yet struck a firm blow.

In any action which I have taken since the war I am not conscious of having departed from any principle which I ever enunciated to you on this platform. I came into politics to fight for the under dog, and it has been all the same to me whether he was an underpaid agricultural laborer, a sick workman, an infirm and broken old man or woman, who had given their lives to the country, a poor slum dweller, or a small nation harried by voracious empires. In fighting this war I have simply, in my judgment, been carrying out the principles which I have advocated on this platform now for thirty years of my life.

I have always felt that the life of this empire was at stake. And I know how much depends on that life. With all its faults, the British Empire, here and across the seas, stands for freer, better, nobler conditions of life for man.

I believed that in this war freedom was at stake. So I have thrown myself with all my heart, my soul, and my strength into working for victory. Nor have I ever had any doubts about the result if we fought with intelligence and with resolution. The fundamental facts are in our favor. We have command of the seas. We have got it now more completely than we ever had The resources for the raw materials of arms in men and equipment are ours.

But I want to say one thing: Time is not an ally. It is a doubtful neutral at the present moment, and has not yet settled on our side. But time can be won over by effort, by preparation, by determination, by organization.

We must reckon fearlessly the forces of the enemy. We must impartially, intelligently reckon our own. There is no greater stupidity in a war than to underestimate the forces with which you have to contend. Calculate them to the last man, add them up to the last man, add them up to the last shilling, see what you have to face, and then face it. Then I have no doubt of victory.

We must have unity among the Allies, design and co-ordination. Unity we undoubtedly possess. No alliance that ever existed has worked in more perfect unison and harmony than the present one. Design and co-ordination leave yet a good deal to be desired; strategy must come before geography.

The Central Powers are pooling their forces, all their intelligence, all their brains, all their efforts. We have the means; they, too, often have the methods. Let us apply their methods to our means and we win. Then we shall come to the reckoning for the long, dreary, cruel tale

of wrong—the outrages on Belgium, the atrocities in Poland, the barbarities of Wittenberg, the inhumanities of the Lusitania. The long account must be settled to the last farthing.

I have no fear of the people. Britain will fight it out. We are a sluggish people, but no one ever made the mistake, without suffering for it, that we were faint-hearted, for I believe in the old motto, "Trust the people." Tell them what is happening—there is nothing to conceal. Have all the facts before them. They are courageous people, but they never put forward their best effort in this land until they face the alternative of disaster. Tell them what they are confronted with, and they will rise to every occasion.

Look at the way they are doing it. The people are capable of rising to greater heights than even their truest leaders ever believed. Look at the way, the cheerful way—it is the amazement of every man who has been at the front—they are enduring hardships, wounds, facing danger and death on the battlefield; look at the calm, quiet courage with which the men and women at home are enduring grief. You can trust the people.

I read a story the other day—I am glad after a very tiring day to take up a little tale of adventure as a counter-irritant to the excitements of the House—I read a tale the other day about a mining camp at the foot of a mountain in the great West. The diggers had been toiling long and hard, with but scant encouragement for their labors, and one night a terrible storm swept over the mountain. An earthquake shattered its hard surface, and hurled its rocks about, and in the morning in the rents and fissures they found a rich deposit of gold.

This is a great storm that is sweeping over the favored lands of Europe, but in this night of terror you will find selfishness, the hard crust of selfishness and greed, has been shattered, and in the rent hearts of the people you will find treasures, golden treasures of courage, steadfastness, endurance, devotion, and of the faith that endureth forever.

THE ONLY LASTING PEACE

In a letter to Robert Donald, dated June 8, Mr. Lloyd George wrote:

No nation has reached the heights of the moral grandeur of France during the war. I set her as England's constant model. Soldiers and Generals show qualities of endurance, courage, and military skill worthy of the highest deeds of Napoleon's army.

We are now too close properly to judge the immortal pages written by France in the book of history, but historians of the future will write of the splendid deeds of her sons in letters of gold.

At the name of Verdun I bow before such proofs of superhuman courage. The French Army met a shock, backed by the most barbarous methods, such as no army ever had to meet. It will be one of the decisive battles of the war because it represents the enemy's supreme military effort.

Its lesson for the Allies is that heavy artillery and the most violent explosives will play the preponderating rôle in the battles to come. We will profit thereby, for it comes at a moment when the fabrication of munitions increases prodigiously and the allied strength daily augments.

I have never despaired of victory. The task will be hard, but the end is sure. It is Germany's military force that we must beat. It is not enough to force her to submission by economic pressure. A peace imposed on Germany exhausted in food and materials only would not be durable. It would be a moral defeat for the Allies. The Germans could say they had beaten us in battle and made peace only because we had starved their women and children. That peace we don't want. Only a crushing military victory will bring the peace for which the Allies are fighting, and of which Germany will understand the meaning. That victory we shall have; it will be complete and final.

Peace Through Victory Alone

By Aristide Briand

Premier of France

[An address to members of the Russian Duma during their recent visit to Paris]

VICTORY is in the heroism of our soldiers. It is in them, provided we give them all the means needed by them to conquer. It is for that that we have to use all our energies and will. And if we receive you with so much fraternal eagerness, it is because we know what resolution and tenacity have been shown in your country by the two assemblies of which you are the delegates. You will find here the same desire of Parliament and Government to attain the same end. * * *

This morning I brought before you the beauty of our cause, and I added that what gives us our strength in this war is that we have not wished it. We hold our heads up; our conscience is clear. There is no stain on our alliance. Nevertheless we have always exerted ourselves to settle all rivalries amicably and peacefully. Remember all the provocations which have come to pass in the world during the last twenty-five years. Not one has come from us. To these provocations we have replied with the persevering pursuit of peaceful solutions.

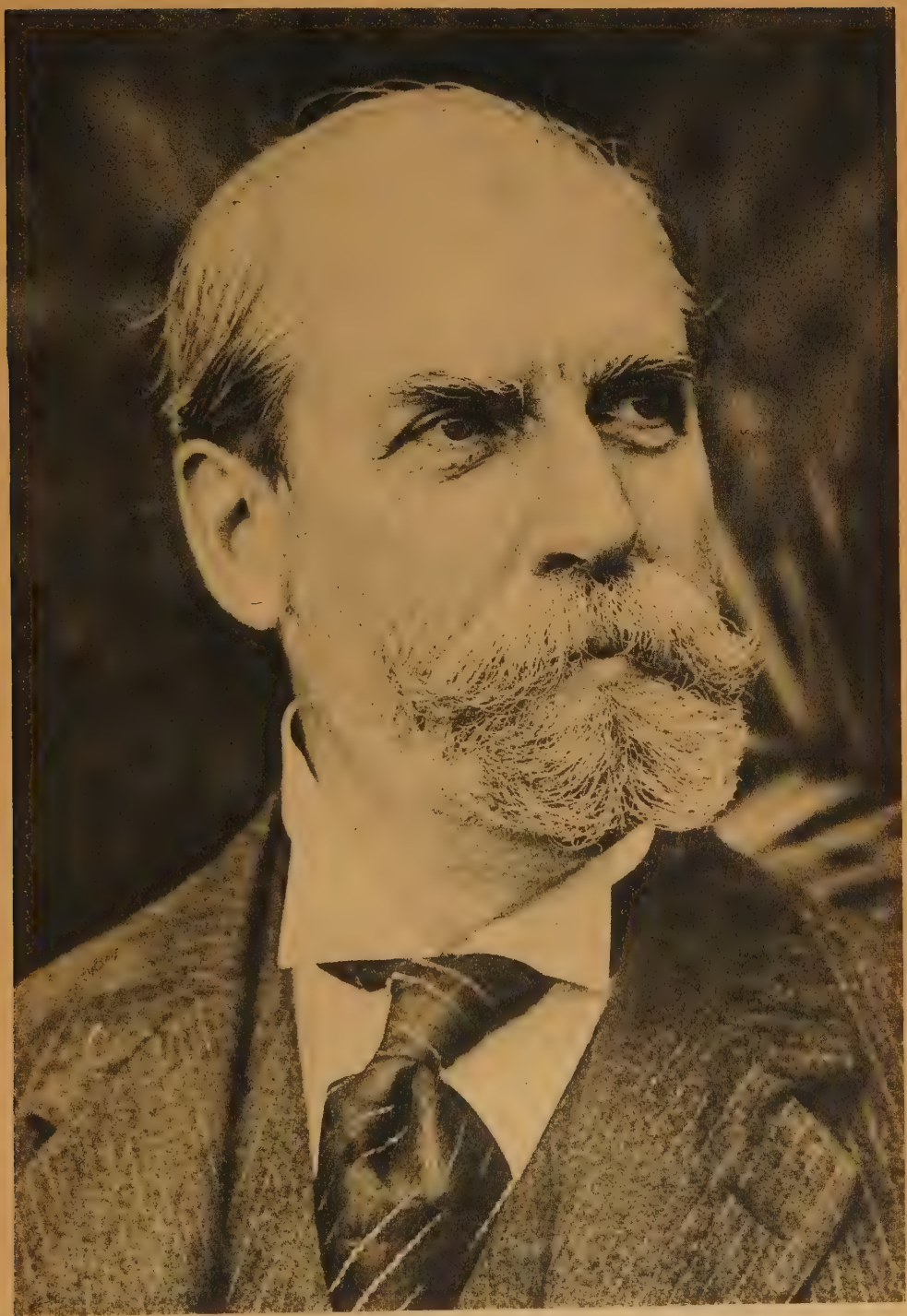
It is not because there was fear in us. Our nations are too fine, too noble, too strong not to be above such suspicions. We took care to save the world from the horrors of a war of which we foresaw the extent and the ravages. Yet we French had a very painful wound in the side. If we have shown so much patience, it is because we expected the necessary reparation only through right. But a people drunk with pride and fascinated by the desire of achieving the domination of the world has unexpectedly thrown itself on us and unchained war at the very moment when we were endeavoring to find an amicable solution. Now we are fighting. We mean to win. We will win.

Germany, using in turn force when she believes herself strongest and craft when she feels herself growing feebler, is today resorting to craft. She is spreading abroad the illusive word "peace." Where does this word come from? To whom has it been spoken? And on what conditions? And to what end? By her ambiguous manoeuvres Germany reckons on dividing the allied countries. No one among us will fall into such a sorry trap. I have said, and I repeat, that when blood flows in streams, when our troops with so much self-sacrifice are giving up their lives, the word "peace" is a sacrilege if it means that the aggressor will not be punished and if tomorrow Europe runs the risk of again being delivered up to the despotism, fantasy, and caprice of a military caste athirst for pride and domination. It would be the dishonor of the Allies! What should our reply be if tomorrow, after having concluded such a peace, our countries were dragged anew into the frenzy of armaments? What would future generations say if we committed such an act of folly and if we missed the opportunity which is offered us of establishing on solid foundations a lasting peace?

Peace will come out of the victory of the Allies; it can come only out of our victory. Peace must not be an empty formula; it must be based upon international law, guaranteed by sanctions, against which no country will be able to take its stand. That peace will shine on humanity and bring security to the peoples who will be able to work and evolve according to their genius. Blood will no longer be upon them.

It is this ideal which gives our task its greatness. It is in the name of this ideal that our soldiers are fighting and exposing themselves so light-heartedly to death; it is in the name of this ideal that mothers, wives, daughters, and sis-

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES



Former Justice of the Supreme Court, Nominated for President at the Republican Convention, Chicago, June 10. (The Portrait of President Wilson, the Democratic Nominee, Has Already Appeared in These Pages)

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood.)

GENERAL LI YUAN HUNG

The New President of China, Who, as Vice President, Succeeded to the Office Upon the Death of Yuan Shih-kai, June 6

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood.)

ters in mourning are keeping back their tears, knowing that the sacrifice of a son, husband, father, or brother will not have been useless to their native land and to humanity. That is the only peace for which we must strive. It is by that peace that our countries will grow nobler and finer. We shall obtain the victory of our arms, which will assure us this peace, by united action and by a ceaselessly active and increasingly intimate fraternization. We owe this victory to humanity—and it is coming.

Although she has ravaged Belgium and Serbia, although she still occupies several of our départements, although she has penetrated into Russian territory, Germany today is not triumphant. More and more she appears sinking in the world. Germany is living in anguish, anxiety, and remorse. This is the power of the ideal which is at work. This is the beginning of the end. This is the certainty that the hour of our victory will soon be striking. We are today one vast country, fighting for the same cause—the Allies using in common their blood, their men, and their resources.

And now, gentlemen, let us turn our hearts and minds toward those who are fighting out there, and on whom glory is already shining brightly.

An Empire Day Message

By Rudyard Kipling

On May 24, known as Empire Day throughout the British dominions, Mr. Kipling published the following:

WHEN Germany challenged us nearly two years ago to uphold with our lives the ideals by which we professed to live, we accepted the challenge, not out of madness, nor for glory or for gain, but to make good those professions. Since then the Allies and our empire have fought that they may be free and all earth may be free from the intolerable domination of German ideals. We did not foresee the size of the task when it opened. We do not flinch from it now that the long months have schooled us to full knowledge and have tempered us nationally and individually to meet it. The nations within the empire have created, maintained, and reinforced from their best the great armies they devote without question to this issue. They have emerged, one by one, as powers clothed with power through discipline and sacrifice, strong for good by their bitter knowledge of the evil they are meeting, and wise in the unpurchasable wisdom of actual achievement. Knowing as nations what it is we fight for, realizing as men and women the resolve that has been added to us by what each has endured, we go forward now under the proud banner of our griefs and losses to greater effort, greater endurance, and, if need be, heavier sacrifice, equal sponsors for the deliverance of mankind.

America's Creed of War and Peace

By Woodrow Wilson

President of the United States

This important address, which has elicited mixed comments from all the belligerent powers of Europe, was delivered in Washington on May 27 at a banquet of the League to Enforce Peace, an influential pacifist organization of which ex-President Taft is the head and leader. The utterance is a tentative intimation that the United States is willing to serve the present belligerents in the matter of peace negotiations if and when they so desire. Incidentally Mr. Wilson gave his indorsement to the fundamental principle of the League to Enforce Peace.

THIS great war that broke so suddenly upon the world two years ago, and which has swept within its flame so great a part of the civilized world, has affected us very profoundly, and we are not only at liberty, it is perhaps our duty, to speak very frankly of it and of the great interests of civilization which it affects.

With its causes and its objects we are not concerned. The obscure fountains from which its stupendous flood has burst forth we are not interested to search for or explore. But so great a flood, spread far and wide to every quarter of the globe, has of necessity engulfed many a fair province of right that lies very near to us. Our own rights as a nation, the liberties, the privileges, and the property of our people have been profoundly affected.

We are not mere disconnected lookers-on. The longer the war lasts the more deeply do we become concerned that it should be brought to an end and the world be permitted to resume its normal life and course again. And when it does come to an end we shall be as much concerned as the nations at war to see peace assume an aspect of permanence, give promise of days from which the anxiety of uncertainty shall be lifted, bring some assurance that peace and war shall always hereafter be reckoned part of the common interest of mankind.

We are participants, whether we would or not, in the life of the world. The interests of all nations are our own also. We are partners with the rest. What affects mankind is inevitably our affair as well as the affair of the nations of Europe and of Asia.

One observation on the causes of the present war we are at liberty to make, and to make it may throw some light forward upon the future as well as backward upon the past. It is plain that this war could have come only as it did, suddenly and out of secret counsels, without warning to the world, without discussion, without any of the deliberate movements of counsel with which it would seem natural to approach so stupendous a contest. It is probable that if it had been foreseen just what would happen, just what alliances would be formed, just what forces arrayed against one another, those who brought the great contest on would have been glad to substitute conference for force.

If we ourselves had been afforded some opportunity to apprise the belligerents of the attitude which it would be our duty to take, of the policies and practices against which we would feel bound to use all our moral and economic strength, and in certain circumstances even our physical strength also, our own contribution to the counsel which might have averted the struggle would have been considered worth weighing and regarding.

And the lesson which the shock of being taken by surprise in a matter so deeply vital to all the nations of the world has made poignantly clear is that the peace of the world must henceforth depend upon a new and more wholesome diplomacy. Only when the great nations of the world have reached some sort of agreement as to what they hold to be

fundamental to their common interest, and as to some feasible method of acting in concert when any nation or group of nations seeks to disturb those fundamental things, can we feel that civilization is at last in a way of justifying its existence and claiming to be finally established. It is clear that nations must in the future be governed by the same high code of honor that we demand of individuals. * * *

If this war has accomplished nothing else for the benefit of the world, it has at least disclosed a great moral necessity and set forward the thinking of the statesmen of the world by a whole age. Repeated utterances of the leading statesmen of most of the great nations now engaged in war have made it plain that their thought has come to this: That the principle of public right must henceforth take precedence over the individual interests of particular nations and that the nations of the world must in some way band themselves together to see that that right prevails as against any sort of selfish aggression; that henceforth alliance must not be set up against alliance, understanding against understanding, but that there must be a common agreement for a common object, and that at the heart of that common object must lie the inviolable rights of peoples and of mankind.

The nations of the world have become each other's neighbors. It is to their interest that they should understand each other. In order that they may understand each other it is imperative that they should agree to co-operate in a common cause and that they should so act that the guiding principle of that common cause shall be even-handed and impartial justice.

This is undoubtedly the thought of America. This is what we ourselves will say when there comes proper occasion to say it. In the dealings of nations with one another arbitrary force must be rejected and we must move forward to the thought of the modern world, the thought of which peace is the very atmosphere. That thought constitutes a chief part of the passionate conviction of America.

We believe these fundamental things:

First, that every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which it shall live. Like other nations, we have ourselves no doubt once and again offended against that principle when for a little while controlled by selfish passion, as our franker historians have been honorable enough to admit; but it has become more and more our rule of life and action.

Second, that the small States of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon.

And, third, that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression and disregard of the rights of peoples and nations.

So sincerely do we believe in these things that I am sure that I speak the mind and wish of the people of America when I say that the United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations formed in order to realize these objects and make them secure against violation.

There is nothing that the United States wants for itself that any other nation has. We are willing, on the contrary, to limit ourselves along with them to a prescribed course of duty and respect for the rights of others, which will check any selfish passion of our own, as it will check any aggressive impulse of theirs.

If it should ever be our privilege to suggest or initiate a movement for peace among the nations now at war, I am sure that the people of the United States would wish their Government to move along these lines:

First—Such a settlement with regard to their own immediate interests as the belligerents may agree upon. We have nothing material of any kind to ask for ourselves, and are quite aware that we are in no sense or degree parties to the present quarrel. Our interest is only in peace and its future guarantees.

Second—A universal association of the nations to maintain the inviolate security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all the nations of the world, and to prevent any

war begun either contrary to treaty covenants or without warning, and full submission of the causes to the opinion of the world—a virtual guarantee of territorial integrity and political independence.

But I did not come here to discuss a program. I came only to avow a creed and give expression to the confidence I feel that the world is even now upon the eve of a great consummation, when some common force will be brought into existence which shall safeguard right as the first and most fundamental interest of all peoples and all Governments, when coercion shall be summoned not to the service of political ambition or selfish hostility, but to the service of a common order, a common justice, and a common peace.

God grant that the dawn of that day of frank dealing and of settled peace, concord, and co-operation may be near at hand!

Wilson's Mediation Not Acceptable

By Lord Cromer

Former British Ruler of Egypt

In a letter to The London Times Lord Cromer expressed himself thus frankly on the subject of American peace mediation:

BOTH the politicians and the press of this country so far exercise very praiseworthy restraint in discussing the attitude adopted during the present war by the Government of the United States.

It would, however, appear advisable that President Wilson and those associated with him should be left under no doubt as to the views on the subject of his most recent utterance held by many who, as in my own case, have throughout their lives persistently entertained and still entertain most friendly feelings toward America and Americans.

I can, of course, only state my personal opinions, but I believe that those opinions are shared by many of my countrymen. In the first place, President Wilson cannot too clearly understand that, desirous as the people of this country are to bring this terrible war to a close and willing as they would eventually be to listen to any rational and practical proposals having for their object the diminution of the risk of future wars, they would altogether reject the idea of concluding peace save on terms wholly acceptable to themselves and their allies.

We know nothing very definite as to the terms which Germany is prepared to propose or to accept, but from the feelers put forward by the inspired German press we can come to no other conclusion than that they are not worthy of a moment's consideration or discussion.

In the second place, it is well that President Wilson should fully realize the fact that the meaningless and misleading phrase, invented in Berlin, about the freedom of the seas is generally regarded in this country as a mere euphemism for the destruction of that naval supremacy on the part of Great Britain which has in the past been of such infinite benefit, not only to Englishmen, but to the rest of the civilized world.

Without in any way wishing to disparage the valuable assistance rendered by the gallant land forces of the empire, it seems certain that if as will, I feel assured, be the case we emerge victoriously from the present contest, the victory will be mainly due to the British Navy.

It is inconceivable that any responsible British Government would be disposed to listen or that the nation would be prepared to accept any proposals having for their object the diminution of the relative naval strength of this country.

A third point is deserving of notice. We may all recognize President Wilson's

good intentions and his lofty aims, we may assume he is impartial, but it is more than doubtful in spite of the very friendly feelings entertained toward America and Americans generally that the people of this country would under any circumstances welcome the idea that President Wilson should assume the rôle of mediator.

As note has succeeded note and speech followed speech, the conviction has been steadily gaining ground that President Wilson has wholly failed to grasp the view entertained by the vast majority of Englishmen on the cause for which we and our allies are fighting. This opinion will certainly be confirmed by the amazing statement that America is not concerned with the causes and objects of the war.

Confidence in President Wilson's statesmanship has been rudely shaken. Neither for the moment does it appear likely to be restored to the extent of acquiescence in the proposal that he should be in any way vested with the power of exercising any decisive influence on the terms of peace, upon which the future destinies of this country and of the civilized world will greatly depend.

Our Foreign Policy in This War

By Robert J. Lansing

United States Secretary of State

[Address delivered on June 3 before a Bar Association at Watertown, N. Y.]

THE great war has caused so many conditions which are entirely new and presented so many questions which were never before raised or even thought of that it has been no easy task to meet and answer them. The relations between neutrals and belligerents were never more difficult of adjustment. It was never harder to preserve neutral rights from invasion by the desperate opponents in the titanic conflict in which the power, if not the life, of the great empires of the earth is at stake.

The peoples and Governments at war are blinded by passion; their opinions are unavoidably biased; their conduct frequently influenced by hysterical impulses which approach to madness. Patience and forbearance are essential to a neutral in dealing with such nations. Acts, which, under normal conditions, would be most offensive, must be considered calmly and without temper.

In a nutshell, the situation of our relations with Great Britain and Germany, the two powers with which we have had our principal controversies, is this:

Germany, having developed the submarine as an offensive engine of destruction, asserts that she cannot, on account of the resulting conditions, conform to the established rules of naval warfare, and we should not, therefore, insist on strict compliance. Great Britain has no sympathy with the German point of view, and demands that the submarines observe the rules of visit and search without exception.

On the other hand, Great Britain declares that, on account of the new conditions resulting from submarine activity and the use of mines and from the geographical position of Germany, she cannot conform to the established rules of blockade and contraband, and we should not therefore hold her to strict compliance with those rules. Germany insists, nevertheless, that Great Britain be made to follow the existing law.

Both Governments have adopted the same arguments, based primarily on military necessity, and offer the same excuses for their illegal acts, but neither will admit that the other is in any way justified for its conduct. Now, what is the United States to do in these circumstances?

The only alternative is for this Government to hold firmly to those neutral rights which international law has clearly

defined and to insist vigorously on their observance by all belligerents.

This has been the position of the United States from the beginning of the war. It has twice sought to obtain mutual consent from the belligerents to certain changes in the rules, but in both cases it failed and the suggestions were withdrawn.

A Government which places life and property on an equality would be generally condemned and justly condemned. This seems to be axiomatic, and yet, I regret to say, there are some Americans who do not recognize this difference. How many take this view it is impossible to say, but the number is large, judging by the letters and telegrams received in Washington. Indeed, it is held by some who sit in the halls of Congress. These people openly complain that the Government does not exert as much pressure to protect American property as it does to protect American lives—property which can be restored to the owners or an indemnity paid; lives which can never be restored or adequately indemnified.

This mental attitude makes one wonder if the sensibilities of the American people have become so blunted by materialism that they think as much of the loss of their property as they do of the loss of the lives of their fellow-countrymen.

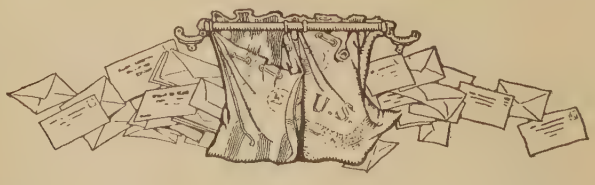
Such an idea is repugnant to a liberty-loving American; it is utterly wanting in the nobler impulses of a great people; it is hostile to the spirit of true Americanism. Yet it exists and is widespread, and must be reckoned with. The great heart of the Republic is threatened with fatty degeneracy through those who have lost their patriotic vigor; many Americans have become lovers of ease rather than lovers of national honor.

When you disapprove of some course of action taken by this Government be lenient in your judgment, for often the action is the result of conditions which cannot be made public and which may never be made public. It is always my wish, and I know that it is the wish of the President, to take the people into our confidence, to tell them frankly what the situation is; but you must realize that it cannot be done in every case. They must try to be patient and to trust the Government to do the very best it can in upholding the national honor and dignity.

Let me add just a word: When the foreign policies of the Government are criticised by honest critics—I mean by "honest" critics those who are not influenced solely by political considerations or personal ambitions—I often wonder what the critics would do if they had the responsibility.

Would they be so bellicose? Would they make demands when it was questionable whether they would compel compliance? Would they count the full cost of their action? I wonder whether they would be radical or conservative. Responsibility makes a world of difference in a man's point of view. When a few words may plunge this country into war the man who has the power to utter those words will think a long, long time before he exercises that power. He will submit to a deal of criticism and endure abuse and ridicule rather than see the young men of America sent forth to die on the battlefield.

Only the supreme necessity of maintaining the honor of the United States or of defending its independence and the liberties of its people will induce him to speak the fateful words which may bring death to thousands of his fellow-countrymen and change the destinies of the Republic.



"When the Chancellor Speaks"

Written for Current History

By Gilbert Hirsch

THE German Imperial Chancellor has addressed the representatives of the German people on the state of the nation six times since the outbreak of the war.

"When the Chancellor speaks, it is always a great day for us," says a Berlin newspaper. "But, to remain a great day in history, it must bring us nearer to peace."

Far from peaceful appears that other Chancellor, who stands, twice life-size, on the steps of the Reichstag, like its guardian spirit. His brow is wrinkled under his helmet, and his fist is clenched as he looks across the Koenigsplatz toward the white marble figure of von Moltke, who drove back the French in his own day; toward the "Iron Hindenburg," who has driven back the Russians in ours.

Two common soldiers in mud-gray uniforms stand in front of Bismarck and stare up into his face. Their knapsacks are full and more than full; for they go to the front today.

After a moment they pass on as if satisfied. Have they been able to read in those set features the secret of why they are going to die?

A taxi-auto rolls up to the side of the big gray building and its occupant disappears through the door. He is followed by two men who have come on foot. The blare of a military auto horn announces a low, open automobile, slender and dark gray, like a submarine, that shoots around the corner. An officer of high rank steps out; he, too, is swallowed up by the big building.

The two soldiers have stopped again to watch.

"What is it that's going on today?" one of them asks of the policeman on duty.

"The Imperial Chancellor speaks on peace." Then, in the tone of a superior officer giving an order, he tells them not to block up the doorway. Meekly they cross the street, and watch the stream of Reichstag members with a look of increasing wonder.

You can tell from the look of them that they have learned what war is; have been at the front before; have perhaps seen buildings larger than this one cracked like eggshells by a single shot from a mortar. Can anything that is said inside this box of a building, with its gilt dome, really put a stop to the colossal struggle that rages clear across Europe, from Arras to Bagdad? Do these self-important little "Reichstagsabgeordneten," with their high hats and their black leather portfolios full of papers, think that they can stop it—with words?

The two men in mud-gray lose interest; their faces again become impassive; they turn and trudge across the asphalt as doggedly as if it were the end of a day's march across the plains of Poland.

On the opposite side of the building a long line of porters and messenger boys has been waiting since 7 o'clock for the few tickets that are left. For all Germany wants to hear the Chancellor, convinced that he can give the answer to that question which touches them most deeply. It is no longer, "Which will win — England or Germany?" but, "Which will win—War or Peace?"

As yet the forces of peace have won not a single victory in any country. Last fall the Italian Socialists were expected to form a powerful battalion against war. Yet Italy has joined France and Russia in signing that agreement not to make a separate peace—"done in quintuplicate at London"—which puts the peace of Europe, as far as the Allies are concerned, into the hands of England.

Of the English cabinet? Or of the English people? Snowden, the Socialist,

puts that question to the English Premier in the House of Commons; "demands" a reply favorable to democracy and to peace. If the German Imperial Chancellor gets up in the Reichstag and announces peace terms—peace terms that seem "reasonable" to the common people of England—what then? May they be rejected, in secret meetings behind locked doors, by Ministers and diplomats who have staked their whole careers on a smashing victory?

No, declares the Socialist, and demands that "no proposal for peace negotiations based upon an evacuation of conquered territory be rejected without the knowledge of Parliament."

The Premier listens gravely. Refuses the demand so suavely that one hardly knows that it is refused. Peace proposals made to the British Government must first of all be laid before the allied Governments.

The British Government, however, should regard it as "desirable" that Parliament be taken into its confidence "as early as possible."

Little hope of peace in that quarter. As to France, that same militant temper that made Briand only a few years ago the most revolutionary of Socialists now makes him proof against socialist demands for peace. From Russia rumors of desire for a separate peace have been recurrent since the third month of war; yet the temper today is more warlike than ever.

And Germany's allies? Bulgaria is flushed with victory in the Balkans. "The Sick Man of Europe" still insists that his recuperation is permanent, and is ready to prove it. Austria will stand by Germany, and Hungary shows no sign of drawing away. Count Tisza, whose words are listened to more respectfully than those of any other statesman in the whole Dual Empire; Count Tisza, whose single personality is shifting the political centre of gravity from Vienna to Budapest; Count Tisza has replied as follows to those in the Hungarian Parliament who clamor for peace:

"When shall peace return? That rests entirely with our enemies. But the greater the sacrifices that this war demands, the harder will be the conditions of peace for our enemies."

And the neutral nations? In the Parliament that sits under the shadow of the empty Peace Palace at The Hague there has been talk of interceding. But now the conflagration is spreading, and Holland herself is in danger of being involved. Switzerland is a breeding place of peace rumors. But the war itself has made clear the impotence of small States, in diplomacy as well as in war.

The United States? Officially she has as yet made no move to intervene; and the one unofficial attempt turns out a fiasco. The "Peace Dreadnought" runs into an Atlantic storm; and then into worse storms. England sneers at it. Germany distrusts it. America is sneakingly ashamed of it.

Little prospect, then, of peace from without.

"But why cannot we take the first step? We have won. Everywhere our armies stand deep in the enemies' country. In 1871 we dictated the terms of peace from Paris. Why cannot we today dictate terms of peace from Brussels or Belgrade? If our terms are generous enough, surely they will be accepted. Did not Bismarck himself, after delivering Austria a crushing blow, make an early and magnanimous peace, leaving her territory intact? Did not that magnanimity —since it allayed the antagonisms of centuries—prove a great blessing to Prussia? Why, then, shall Germany not deal in the same spirit with her enemies of today?"

Such are the questions which those men are asking themselves who, long before the hour set, fill up the extreme left of the Reichstag floor. These ninety members of the Social-Democracy are not proletarians. By conviction—yes. By birth—perhaps. In spirit?—Never. Most of them have the look of the bourgeois, of what the Germans call the "Philister"; are men with a certain small position in the world, of which they are proud; with a bank account, of which they are certainly not ashamed. They are militant politically; but socially respectable.

Here and there among them is an un-

mistakable laborer type. And you catch rare glimpses of fanatic intensity, inheritance from an earlier generation of Socialists. But here appearances are deceiving. Rebellion has its conventions, just as obedience has; conventions that express themselves not merely in the cut of a man's clothes, but of his beard and of his features. That powerfully built man, for example, with the forked red beard and the angry features, who looks more anarchist than socialist, will, when he gets up to speak, roar as gently as any sucking dove.

There is a sparse sprinkling of uniforms among them. And one of their leaders wears the epaulets and sword of an officer. There is nothing in those regular features, red cheeks, snow-white hair and mustache to make his uniform seem an incongruity. You can see from his bearing that Albert Sudekum, Doctor of Philosophy, author, and member of the party of the Social Revolution, is as proud of his share of the battle of Lorette Heights last Spring as of those scores of battles between capital and labor, between socialism and the Government, which used to be his one reason for living.

Not far from him sit the Liberals—National Liberals and the Progressive People's Party. And to their right, directly in front of the Speaker's stand, sit the Catholics. Here the officers grow more plentiful. And the benches of the Imperial Party and of the Conservatives at the extreme right look like a council of war—Lieutenants, Captains, Majors, in gray campaign uniforms, one behind the other.

An old-fashioned town crier's bell calls the meeting to order. And the man who swings it looks like the town crier himself. A weazened, little old man, bald, spectacled, white-bearded, President Kaempf is as fantastic as a figure from a child's story book. The more so by contrast to the men who cluster about him and behind him, in the doorways and in the two rows of benches to either side of him on the raised "tribune"—Princes and Excellencies, Generals and Admirals, Ministers of the German Empire and envoys from the individual States that compose it—two hundred leaders of the German State, facing the four hundred representatives of the German people there in the hall below them.

Is there danger of a chasm opening up between the tribune and the hall, in which all German hopes of victory shall be swallowed up? Is there a possibility that the representatives of the people will refuse to support the rulers of the State in carrying on the war any longer? Or, on the other hand, can it be true that the rulers are tired of war, but dare not admit it, and have secretly prompted the representatives to ask them to make peace?

Each of these possibilities has, at one time or another, been predicted by Germany's enemies; who, through the eyes of some of the "neutrals" in the galleries, are watching eagerly what is about to take place.

If the eyes of the whole hostile world were upon them those 200 on the tribune could not bear themselves more defiantly. The officers stand as if on a battlefield with the shells crashing about them. Some of them wear the blue parade uniform of peace, others field gray, with the crimson stripe of the General Staff.

Next to a former Military Attaché at Washington stands a young naval officer, short and supple, with dark, highbred features of a Spanish type. The short knife he wears at his belt looks, in its gilt sheath, like a toy. But appearances are deceptive—particularly at sea. Did not a certain lamented King of England once speak of the whole German Navy as—a toy?

Those who crowd the balconies to the doors have come here to see, not uniforms, but men. They point out statesmen and diplomats by name. Over there is the Minister of Railways. That bald man with the white mustache is Delbrück of the Interior. Over there is Jagow, head of the Foreign Office, suave, subtle. Now he bends his head politely to listen to something whispered to him by that man at his right who holds the attention by the unmistakable, cold magnetism of the great practical statesman. He looks strangely like Elihu Root—a Prussian Elihu Root. Is

it imagination—or does everything about him—his figure, the lines of his coat, the cut of his hair, suggest the black eagle of Prussia?

He is Karl Helfferich, Minister of the Treasury and the strongest man in the German Government. Von Havenstein, head of the Imperial Bank, may be the greater financial engineer; Helfferich is the greater financial soldier and financial diplomat. He it is who raised the second great war loan in the Spring of 1915, the third still greater one the next Fall—"the greatest financial feat in history," he himself called it—and who has again procured ten "milliards" from the pockets of Germany's citizens. If, in the speech the Chancellor makes today, we hear one word of weakness, we may know that it is because this "Hindenburg of finance" confesses defeat. But he stands there cool, quietly confident, with the look of a General in the middle of a successful campaign.

His figure dominates the tribune. It is upon him that the American Ambassador, sitting in the first row of the Royal Balcony, directly in front of a Chinese attaché and a Venezuelan chargé d'affaires, first fixes his black opera glasses. Then he focuses them upon the head of Germany's Foreign Office; studying that polite enigmatical face as an astronomer studies a distant star; as if trying to read the soul of the man who will be his antagonist in the next "regrettable misunderstanding" to arise between the two countries.

Von Tirpitz next claims the Ambassador's attention. Bald, with forked white beard, pale with the pallor of fishes at the bottom of the sea—the old seafighter looks like Father Neptune himself. If he has been shorn of his power in the bitter fight over those deadly deep-sea fishes of which he was so proud, he does not show it. He sits alone, motionless as a statue, the hand that rests on the table in front of him white and slender as a woman's.

A stir at the doorway. The Chancellor stalks in and takes the seat to the President's right. He wears the gray field uniform of a Major General, and carries his tall, slim figure with conscious military stiffness; yet cannot quite overcome that slight stoop of the shoulders which proclaims the scholar, close to sixty. The suns of many battlefields have bronzed his long, thin face, but his features are refined, sensitive, and sad. His friends say that to him this war is a godsend, since it has pulled him, by main force, out of deep despondency. His wife died just before the war broke out. She was said to be one of the most remarkable women in Germany.

When the house is quite still he rises to speak.

"Gentlemen: I take this first opportunity to give you a brief survey of the situation. Shortly after the Reichstag last adjourned"—

His voice is low, his manner matter of fact, his delivery a little halting. He even seems, in spite of his long public career as a Prussian official, slightly embarrassed by the knowledge that he is addressing all Germany and the world. But when he describes Germany's recent military successes the scholar expands and fills out the Major General's uniform. And his voice becomes almost vibrant as he speaks hopefully of the period that shall follow this war, when that "firm bridge" which has been built by German arms between Germany and the Near East "shall no longer echo to the tramp of marching battalions but shall serve the works of peace, of culture"—

"—Of the German capitalists!"

The interruption comes from the back of the hall—from the left—the very left. No need to ask to whom that high, shrill voice belongs. Those in the balcony crane their necks; but, for the most part cannot see as the voice comes from directly below them.

In the hall itself, murmurs, laughter. Some one shouts: "Put him out!"

The Chancellor flushes, waits. The hall quiets down.

The Chancellor begins again as if nothing has happened. For a time he turns a little toward the right of the hall as if looking in that direction for support. Then he turns squarely toward the Social Democrats, and points out to them how all the predictions made by their late leader, Bebel, about a Ger-

many involved in a great war, are now refuted by the facts.

His tone becomes hard and challenging. The whole Social-Democratic theory of war is being tried in his balance, and found wanting. And none of those in the left of the hall seem inclined to lift a finger in its defense.

"He predicted universal unemployment," continues the Chancellor, his voice mounting; "he predicted universal hunger"—

"—and the Revolution!"

That defiant voice from the rear of the hall is higher, shriller than before; has a slightly hysterical quaver; rises almost to a shriek.

A moment of silence, in which his "comrades" to the right and left turn to stare, in shocked silence, apparently more deeply affected by this breach of the discipline of the party than the other representatives are by the breach of the discipline of the Parliament. There are shouts and laughter from the right of the hall, smiles and murmurs from the tribune. Finally the fantastic little figure in the President's chair rises and, with the help of that town crier's bell of his, suppresses the "revolution" and restores quiet.

Twice at least, during each of the Chancellor's speeches to the Reichstag, that one voice is raised in shrill protest. The first impulse of the neutrals in the gallery to sympathize with a man who has chosen to fight singlehanded against a whole Parliament, against a whole nation, is somewhat checked by the sight of the man himself. He is short, dark, slight; wears thick eye-glasses for short-sightedness; wears the ugly, beltless, ill-fitting gray uniform of the "Schipper," as the trench-digging, road-building brigade of the regular army is somewhat contemptuously called. He is over forty but looks ten years younger, and has somewhat the manner of a precocious schoolboy.

There is nothing of the politician about his appearance; nor yet of the revolutionist—rather of the theorist, whose theories have built walls between him and reality, walls quite as thick as those which kept his father imprisoned during thirteen of the last thirty years of his life. Wilhelm Liebknecht was a great political thinker and organizer. But he bequeathed to his son little besides his theories—and his courage.

These interruptions of Dr. Karl Liebknecht in the Reichstag, sharp and effective as some of them are, lay him open to even sharper rejoinders.

"I speak," he cries, "for the common men, the men out there in the trenches, at the front—"

"Where you have never been," dryly adds a man sitting at the right in officer's uniform—for the "Schippers" are chosen from among those whom a weak heart or some other physical defect unfits for the first line of battle.

And once, when his diatribe against the Government becomes particularly violent, a member of his own party calls him to order in the tone of a mother reproving a naughty child:

"Haven't you learned that a politician must consider the effect of his words? You are simply putting weapons in the hands of the enemy."

And Karl Liebknecht does not interrupt again during that session.

Six times since the outbreak of the war has the German Imperial Chancellor addressed the representatives of the German people on the state of the nation. And each time he speaks, this question, coming from the heart of the common people in Germany, and audible to him alone, becomes more insistent.

"Is the Imperial Chancellor ready to declare under what conditions he is willing to make peace?"

All his speeches are in response to this unspoken question. And each succeeding speech gives a clearer and fuller response to it. Germany's peace terms are like a picture thrown on a screen—at first dim and all but indiscernible, but slowly, very slowly, brought to focus. The Chancellor seems to be feeling his way, from speech to speech, toward those ultimate demands which, at the Peace Conference, will have to be clear, hard, definite, and unchangeable.

In delivering his first war speech, on the historic 4th of August, his mind was too full of the peace that had just

been broken to have room for the peace that must later be patched up.

Four months later, Turkey's decision to fight on Germany's side encourages him to declare that Germany will not stop fighting "until we have the certainty that no one will again dare disturb that peace in which we intend to develop, as a free people, the being and the power of Germany."

That word "certainty" gives way to the much stronger phrase—"all possible guarantees and pledges," in his speech of the following Spring, in which he pays his respects to Austria's new enemy, Italy.

"The more fiercely the storm rages about us," he adds, "the firmer must we build our house."

The fall of Warsaw early in August makes him even more confident that Germany can get what she wants. Visions of "a new Germany," rise before him; of a Germany which is not merely to be "guaranteed" and "pledged" against actual attack, but which is to "build out her position" in such a way "that other powers will never again be seized by the inclination" even to intrigue against her diplomatically. There is not only to be a new Germany, but a whole "new Europe," in which a new Poland, "freed from the Russian yoke," will be led toward "a happy future in which it can lead its own peculiar national life."

All this sounds promising, to German ears. But finally the time comes when the people of Germany are tired of promises of peace, and would like to look upon the face of peace itself.

"Is the Imperial Chancellor ready to declare under what conditions he is willing to make peace?"

Again that question from the heart of the German people, as he enters the Reichstag hall. But this time, not only he, but the whole Parliament hears it. For at last, after sixteen months of bitter war, the burning question has got itself uttered aloud. And all Germany, all the world, awaits an answer.

It is a man of fifty who asks it—bald, precise, neatly dressed; slightly pedantic, with the peculiar, obstinate pedantry of the socialist; yet typically German, typically middle class.

Originally a printer by trade, Phillip Scheidemann has for the past twenty years been a socialist editor, for the past twelve years member of the Reichstag, for the past four years a recognized leader of the Social Democratic faction there, for the past year the man who, more than any other, has held together the powerful party that represents the common people of Germany.

Will he be able to hold it together longer? That depends on the answer to the great question which he, the spokesman of the people, is now putting, with the unconscious dignity of an average man on whose shoulders rests a responsibility far from average, to von Bethmann Hollweg, spokesman of the Kaiser.

He speaks of the daily increase of death, of want, of misery; of how "Europe is deliberately bringing on its own ruin through this war, and the United States of America"—here he glances toward the balcony, where Mr. Gerard can be seen in the front row, listening eagerly—"the United States of America is making brilliant profits out of it all."

He tells of how all countries long for peace, yet none dare admit it.

"Upon you, Mr. Chancellor, rests a great responsibility. The whole world will stand with those who make the first offer of peace. Accursed throughout all history be they who shove it aside, to keep up the fighting till Europe bleeds to death!"

But the words are drowned out in the Chancellor's ears by those mocking, hostile voices which seem to penetate to him even here, predicting a defeated Germany suing for mercy. Although he asserts, with great emphasis, his readiness "to declare at once" under what conditions he is "willing to enter into peace negotiations"—yet he does not declare it; declares, instead, that any offer of peace made by him now would be misconstrued by that enemy which still dares talk of "throwing Germany back across the Rhine."

It is only at the very end of his speech that he throws out a hint, heavily veiled, of the peace terms which Germany will demand. The Reichstag hears once more of "material guarantees," and this time

in a specific connection—Belgium. And it is allowed to extract what meaning it can from the important but vague declaration that:

"Neither in the east nor in the west may our enemies remain in control of gates of entry, through which they can again threaten us more seriously than before."

To judge by their applause, those uniformed men to the right of the hall believe themselves to know exactly what that declaration means, and approve of it. Most of them have learned, from the most intensely personal experience, where those "gates of entry" lie. Some of them have helped drive back the enemy after he has passed through these gates. Others have helped storm the gates themselves—Liége, Kovno, Novo Georgievsk, and the rest; or have fought desperately, as yet unsuccessfully to drive the enemy back from those few square miles of German territory that he holds, thanks to the great gate of Belfort; or have held the trenches around that still greater gate of Verdun—not yet dreaming of storming it—for that attempt still lies two months in the dim future.

But the Social Democrats are not satisfied with the Chancellor's answer. Some of them do not think that the Chancellor has made his peace terms clear; others think he has made them all too clear; as they prove clearly enough, a week later, when a score of them break party discipline in order to vote against the fourth war loan appropriation, requested of them by the shrewd and persuasive Helfferich, who appears before the Reichstag in person to demand it.

But when, on April 5 of this year, the Chancellor once more faces the people's Deputies, something gives him the courage to speak more plainly. Is it the failure of the Allies' Dardanelles expedition? Or is it the German successes around Verdun? Or the series of thunderbolts cast down upon England almost nightly by the German air pilots? Or is it, perhaps, some secret assurance as to the attitude of the factions within Germany itself?

Some assurance given by Liberal and Socialist leaders that, if he avoids the use of that dangerous word "annexation," he may speak as plainly as he likes without fear of changing the dissenting minority into a majority?

Certainly something very definite must have happened to give him the courage to talk like a twentieth century Bismarck about redrawing the map of Europe on a large scale; the courage bluntly to inform the Reichstag that "in many respects the new Europe cannot resemble the old."

"Can he really believe," says the Chancellor, "that Germany will ever, of her own free will, deliver back into the hands of reactionary Russia the nations between the Baltic and the Volhynian swamps?"

And as to Belgium: "Here, also, Germany cannot sacrifice the oppressed Flemish race, but must assure them the sound evolution which follows the lines of their national character."

That speech marks not merely a turning point in the Chancellor's policy of dealing with the Reichstag; it marks a turning point in Germany's policy of dealing with her neighbors. It is a program for a third stage in the career of the German Nation.

In the first stage, Germany was a thing of fragments and splinters, of principalities turned against one another by the intrigues of neighboring States.

Bismarck brought about the second stage, in which Germany was united, yet was much too busy learning to hold itself together to have the surplus energy to extend itself through "spheres of influence" or "peaceful penetrations."

This speech of von Bethmann Hollweg's announces a third stage, in which Germany will insist on having neighbors "with whom we can collaborate, and who will collaborate with us"; in which "Germany and Austria must and will solve the Polish question"; in which, in short, Germany shall announce that it has attained its diplomatic majority, just as it attained some time ago its military and economic majority, and that now it is prepared to play a man't part in the affairs of Europe.

The Horrors of Trench Fighting

By Roméo Houle

CURRENT HISTORY *received the original manuscript of this remarkable narrative and can vouch for its authenticity. It is undeniably one of the most thrilling human documents of real warfare that the great struggle has thus far produced. The editor has investigated the standing of the author in his home community and obtained official confirmation of his military record. Romeo Houle was born in New Bedford, Mass., Oct. 29, 1893, at 36 Hicks Street, the son of a local barber, Zacharie Houle, and Xeline Begnoche. He has a common school education. In 1912 he moved to Montreal, where he was a barber. When war was declared he enlisted in the Sixty-fifth Regiment, First Canadian Division, Aug. 10, 1914. He was discharged Feb. 10, 1916, and arrived in America Feb. 23, on the steamship Tuscania. His father secured the young soldier's discharge through Congressman Walsh of Massachusetts on the ground that he was an American citizen and was not of age when he enlisted. He lives at present at Oxford, Fairhaven, Mass., and is pursuing his vocation as barber at Lamothe's shop, 1,335 Purchase Street, New Bedford. He made notes of his experiences while in the trenches, and the subjoined production was written by him from those notes in collaboration with his friend Arthur L. Bouvier, editor of a local French newspaper at New Haven.—[Editor* CURRENT HISTORY.

THE true story of the trenches has never been told. I know, because for many months I have lived in trenches. I have slept daily in dread of bullet, shrapnel, mine, and deadly gas; and nightly in fear of mine and gas—and the man-eating rats.

I am one of the few soldiers living who entered the front trenches at the opening of the war and who lived to fight the Germans in the front trenches in February, 1916. Of my original company, (the Fourth of the Fourteenth Battalion, Third Brigade, First Canadian Division,) which marched away to that hell at Laventie and Ypres so gayly—500 brave boys—I am one of the sixteen who survive. And returning unexpectedly, snatched by the American Government out of the very jaws of death, with the mud of the trenches still upon my clothing, I discovered how much American people have been talking of the trenches and how little, after all, they really know.

Who has seen hell? Who has experienced the horrors of Milton's terrible vision or the slow tortures of Dante's inferno? God! If Dante's dream madness were truth, and those seven circles were seven encircling battle lines in Northern France or the torn fringe of brave little Belgium, I could stand up and say there is no agony of body or mind which I have not seen, which I have not experienced. I thank God and give Him the glory that I still am sane. Gas? What do you know of it, you people who never heard earth and heaven rock with the frantic turmoil of the ceaseless bombardment? A crawling yellow cloud that pours in upon you, that gets you by the throat and shakes you as a huge mastiff might shake a kitten, and leaves you burning in every nerve and vein of your body with pain unthinkable; your eyes starting from their sockets; your face turned yellow-green.

Rats? What did you ever read of the rats in the trenches? Next to gas, they still slide on their fat bellies through my dreams. Poe could have got new inspiration from their dirty hordes. Rats, rats, rats—I see them still, slinking from new meals on corpses, from Belgium to the Swiss Alps. Rats, rats, rats, tens of thousands of rats, crunching between battle lines while the rapid-firing guns mow the trench edge—crunching their hellish feasts. Full fed, slipping and sliding down into the wet trenches they swarm at night—and more than one poor wretch has had his face eaten off by them while he slept.

Stench? Did you ever breathe air foul with the gases arising from a thousand rotting corpses? Dirt? Have you ever fought half madly through days and nights and weeks unwashed, with feverish rests between long hours of agony, while the guns boom their awful symphony of death, and the bullets zip-zip-

zip ceaselessly along the trench edge that is your skyline—and your deathline, too, if you stretch and stand upright?

Yes, I Roméo Houle, know the trench. And but for Congressman Walsh and the American Ambassador to England, and the fact that I was under age when I enlisted in Montreal—but for those men and this fact I should still be fighting, bleeding, and perhaps dying in some dirty wet trench in Northern France. I longed for big adventures, you see, and now, ah, God! I am sick of adventure, for the adventures I have had will plague my sleep until I die.

You wouldn't believe all I have seen, all I have left. Ah, no; you would say, "Roméo Houle, you are lying," were I to tell you some unbelievable things that I have really lived through. Men go mad over there. When you know what life in the first-line trenches is like you will wonder that I have returned, and that, having returned, I am still in my right mind. Sometimes, at night, I find myself again carrying the wounded back after the charge, and listening to dying soldiers telling me to look into blood-soaked pockets for last letters to their sweethearts or mothers back home. "Tell mother that I received the Blessed Sacrament before the battle began." I hear their breaking voices whisper, "Tell mother," while the thundering artillery pours its curtain of fire upon us, and our boys throw back from their rude, hand-made sling shots their deadly "jam-pots." "Tell mother!" I think all the battle front is crying now those words. O Mother of God, hear them and end this needless butchery!

ROMEO HOULE

I fought at Ypres. I fought at St. Julien. I fought at Lacouture and Festubert. I fought at Cuinchy. I fought at Givenchy and La Bassée, and in the first-line trenches at Messines. And before all these I fought in the first line at Richebourg and Laventie, and I live, one of 16 alive out of 500.

I am an American by birth and a barber by occupation. I have shaved men for my living in New Bedford, Mass., and have shaved soldiers of necessity in time to the cracking of rifles in Northern France. I chanced to be in Montreal when England declared war. That was on Aug. 4, 1914. On Aug. 10 I enlisted in the Sixty-fifth Regiment of French Canadians commanded by Major Barre of Montreal. There were two New England boys with me in the regiment—Henri Bertrand of Attleboro and a fellow named Collette from New Bedford. There were 500 French Canadians — then — between the ages of 18 and 28. I left most of them buried in unmarked graves.

We left Montreal on Aug. 25 for Valcartier, where they made out of a fair barber a good soldier, I think. The Duke and Duchess of Connaught inspected us at Valcartier, and a brave sight we were in our new uniforms and our full and gallant ranks. But the Duke and Duchess would have shuddered could they have inspected us, say at Cuinchy or Messines. Our 500 got thinner the older the war grew. Our 500 will be gone, I think, all gone but me, before the war is over. I'd be gone, too, but for Congressman Walsh and the American Government, which, after all, is mine, and the one

I'd best die for, if die I must for any. It was on Sept. 25 that I sailed with my regiment for Plymouth, England, on board the Cunarder Alunia. There were 1,000 men on board, half English, half French.

Thirty-three vessels sailed together in three rows of eleven boats each, with three cruisers to left and three to right of us, and one before and one behind to guard us. So great was our dread of German torpedoes and mines, it took us twenty-one days to cross.

I was in the Seventh and Eighth Companies of this French Canadian regiment, the Sixty-fifth, but at the front my company was known as the Fourth of the Fourteenth Battalion, Third Brigade, First Canadian Division. The Alunia was the second to land at Plymouth, and the whole town turned out to give us a reception, with houses decorated and flags flying—for 484 of us a death bridal, indeed! Three days later we were reviewed by Lord Roberts on Salisbury Plain, and the King also inspected us. Thence we marched to Larkhill, where we remained until Feb. 12, 1915. Then we left for France.

First came St. Nazaire; then Hazebrouck, and a twelve-mile hike to Fletre, a village in the north. We had a two days' rest, and marched twenty-four miles to Armentières. At Armentières I first entered a trench. We trained there with English troops. And we lay shivering in the rain for forty-eight hours, and then gladly left for Richebourg, three miles away.

At Richebourg we entered trenches of our own. There Charles Lapointe of Montreal, the first of our company to die, looked over the edge of the trench. That is death. Machine guns all day sweep the trench edges. If you raise your hand, your fingers will be cut off as by a knife. And once I saw a poor wretch, weary almost to death of the trench, raise his right arm at full length. He was sent home, maimed and in agony, as he had wished. And who can say that his act was cowardly? He who has lived in the trenches for weeks and months knows. The soldier had courage to raise his hand. Perhaps some who clung to the mud at the trench bottom were greater cowards than he.

Well, Lapointe looked over the trench edge; and nobody knows what he saw. His brother was there to lay him down. He buried him (as we ever must the dead at the front) in a shallow pit in our trench. And the brother had for a time the agony of having to fight and feel the earth give over Charley's breast.

Two miles from there, at Laventie, we fought in the first line again. A German shell exploded over a pile of brush in a field near where I was shooting toward the German line. And we, weary of the monotony of the fighting, were overjoyed to see the ground covered far and wide with potatoes, which some farmer had hidden under hay. Potatoes! We blessed our periscope for the toothsome vision. And, marvelous to relate, we noted that the German fire slackened. Our officers could not restrain the French Canadians. On our bellies, over the death line we crawled unscathed, and, flat on the ground, wriggled to the potatoes, braving death for what we deem so common in America.

I got my share. Nor did the flaming sky pour upon us the leaden hail we feared, for the Germans held their fire while we gathered the crop we did not plant.

Toward night, in the dusk, we discovered by our spectroscope that the German boys, who were cold in their trenches, were demolishing a house for firewood, an old cottage, the property, perhaps, of that very peasant who had hidden our potatoes under the hay. We had their lives in our hands. We remembered our Irish feast—and word went down the line to hold our fire. Nor did one German die.

That was the Golden Rule of the battle front.

I slept in my blanket, my first night under fire, with a lump of cheese at my feet, as a bribe to the rats to spare my face. Not that I slept much. The night rocked with sound. The night is the true time for fighting, and the wire-cutters were creeping about on their dangerous errands between the trenches. The rockets now and then hissed skyward, throw-

ing their powerful flares of light over the darkened world. Wounded men groaned. And rats, like flies in Summer, scuttled about, making queer noises, which we could hear in momentary lulls. I had not lain there long before an officer called for volunteers to examine the land between our trench and the enemy's and repair our broken barbed wire entanglements. The wires are destroyed every day by the bombardment, and must be repaired every night. It is a most dangerous duty. Yet, I gladly volunteer, with Aurele, Auguste, and other friends.

While we were at work upon the wires the Germans threw up some flares and turned our protecting darkness into the glare of midday. They poured upon us a deadly fire. We dropped among the dead bodies which littered the ground. And long I lay, sprawled across the corpse of some brave German lad killed there many days before—constrained to feign death to save my life. But we did not all escape. Martin of Montreal was killed and many of our little party were wounded. But, as usual, I came back at last, moving painfully on my stomach, uninjured. I reported to Captain Desserre and told him all that I had heard and seen. And then I went back to sleep upon empty sandbags; and a cold, cold night it was.

I awoke at 7 o'clock, sore and stiff. I soon had kindled a little fire and cooked a slice of bacon and steeped a little tea for my chum, Aurele Roy of Montreal, and myself.

"I can lick the whole German Army alone this morning!" I exclaimed in French, warmed by the tea.

"Not alone!" cried Roy, reviving also under the influence of our breakfast, "for if you begin to lick 'em, I'll be beside you." And we laughed together, little dreaming how soon our brave words would be put to the test.

I did my turn at guard duty almost cheerfully. I cleaned my rifle and bayonet, shaved myself, and washed up a little, and then thought I would get a little more rest while I could. But, alas, some one had stolen my two empty sandbags! So I took off my overcoat and spread it on the ground and covered myself with a blanket. The sun meanwhile was shining hotly on the heaps of dead bodies which lay not far away outside the trench. I was glad to cover my head with a blanket to shut out some of the awful stench. And that is how the smell of decaying bodies saved my life.

Arthur Robillard, a car conductor back in Montreal, was on guard duty. I was roused when he fell over me. As I sat up something got me by the throat and began to strangle out my life. The air was rent with awful cries. Many of my comrades lay dying and dead about me. I hurled myself in semi-madness into a huge crater near by, made by a bursting shell. There was a little muddy water at the bottom, and I fell in it, face down.

The water relieved me a little, and I wet my handkerchief in it and covered my face. The green, stinking air was thus shut out, and I began to breathe easier. I crawled out, and half blindly sought my unconscious chum, dragging him back ten yards into the crater where the water was. I laid him face downward there, and he, too, revived a little, and there we lay, waiting for death.

Ten minutes later, I heard a shouting, and knew that the Germans were coming fast. Then I ran back into my trench, got my gun, and began firing as fast as I could. The rifle soon became so hot that it burned my hands. I threw it down and began throwing bombs. The order to retreat to the next trench came. My half-strangled comrade was with me. We ran together and, looking back, saw the big, strapping gray fellows of the Teuton army leaping down into our trench.

I forgot the rheumatism from which I had been suffering for several days when I saw them come, (we all suffer from rheumatism, it is one of the curses of the trenches.) Meanwhile, the French had retired to their fourth line, and we were left, almost surrounded, with our left flank exposed and annihilation threatening us.

Somehow we got hold of two machine guns, and placed them where they would do the most good. One of these was running 560 shots a minute, and the other—blessed French destroyer!—was pouring

out death at the rate of 700 shots a minute.

I shall never forget those Germans. When our guns suddenly spoke their front line melted; their second crumpled before this destruction; but on, on, on they came, unflinching, marching with even steps into certain death. We were like lions at bay. It was our lives or the Germans'. Then, as fourteen of us fought together, a bomb dropped amid us, and killed eleven. I came to consciousness, lying in the bottom of a trench, with Roy leaning over me.

"Are you living, Roméo!" he exclaimed in amazement. I rose dizzily. He and I and one other stood alone among our eleven dead friends.

Then Roy told me that I had been blown clear of the trench, twenty feet from where I stood, and that he had braved death to secure, as he supposed, my dead body. A careful examination showed that my only injury was a terrible bruise on the calf of my leg, where the round surface of a flying shard had struck me, but without breaking the skin. Miracles are but small matters when you fight in the presence of death.

"I'm not afraid now," I told Roy. And from then on I and all my soldier friends believed my life was charmed and that the Germans could not kill me.

We were driven back before their heavy guns to the fourth line, and were almost immediately told in haste to leave it as quickly as we could. Our engineers had mined the place, and as we fled the Germans poured down a gray horde of men. So we blew them up.

Have you ever seen a thousand men hurled to atoms by a giant blast? I cannot forget that awful sight. The whole earth seemed to leap skyward, and through and through the black mountain of earth and stones shot heads and arms and legs, torn fragments of what were once heroic men. Next to the gas which they gave us, I think our blowing them up like this was surely the worst thing men could do to men.

Perhaps you have heard of the friendship which often springs up between the Allies and their foes. I know something about it. It was at Laventie that the Germans began to amuse themselves by putting a bullseye on a biscuit box and letting us use it for a target. We then returned the compliment and set up a similar bullseye for the Teuton boys. For between Germans and Allies as individuals, there is no hate, though I must except the treacherous German prisoner I had to kill to save my life.

Every time the Germans made a bullseye, I would raise a shovel. If they missed, I put up a handkerchief. They did the same for us. And so we who sought each other's lives played together, and death spoke sharply all around.

Sergeant Pichette was a wag. He put an old derby on a stick and ran along the trench as if it were a man, and the Germans fired at it. He would pull the hat down occasionally to make the enemy believe that the man under it had been shot, but soon afterward he would raise it again, thereby causing much amusement.

We used to talk back and forth —those German boys and we Canadians. They were the 157th and most friendly. "Hi! Where do you come from?" a voice in French once called over to us.

"We are French Canadians," we replied with pride.

"Well, we're Canadians, too," came the astonishing answer. "We come from Ontario."

There came a pause. There was no firing. Then the German shouted, "Let me see one of your group; let him stand above the trench, and on my word of honor we shall not fire."

One of us sprang out of the trench and stood up. There fell a deep silence upon the two armies. Then many stood up, and finally the Germans, too, were rising. We talked for hours so, when the officers were not looking. When they looked we did a deal of firing—but our aim was much too high.

One day the Germans threw over a bit of paper wrapped around a stone. "If you don't fire on us, we won't fire on you," some one had written. We kept that strange pact for days, until the officers, discovering this pact of peace, moved us to another part of the trenches.

Some months later, curiously enough,

we found ourselves opposite the same regiment. Neither side forgot we were both Canadian, and steadfastly kept our treaty of peace. They did not consider that rough note a "scrap of paper." Not a single shot was fired and only one man was killed, and he by a stray bullet.

Because friendships started easily between hostile bodies, they kept moving a regiment from one part of the trenches to another, that we might not get too friendly with our enemies. We had no heart in the butchery, Germans or we French Canadians.

A big part of trench warfare is the mining operations. I feared the mines more than anything, I think. It was more terrible than gas poisoning to think that at any moment the earth would be rent and you would be thrown a thousand ways at once. The mining operations were carried on by trained miners, who burrow along under ground about fifteen feet below the surface. The engineers in charge figure out just how far they must dig to reach positions under the German lines, and when they have done so a fuse is run in—and Fritz and Hans and their friends jump fifty feet toward heaven.

We do this; the Germans do it. It is bad work. And on both sides, we have to keep men listening all the time for the digging. When it is discovered that a mine is coming our way, we sink a tunnel deeper still and blow up their tunnel. And the Germans do the same thing with our mines. The soldier in the trench never knows when he may be blown into small pieces—and that is why we always preferred to risk uncertain dangers between the lines at night, instead of lying down in the wet trench, helplessly waiting for death.

I never felt so secure, indeed, as when I was on guard between the trenches, through all the night I could hear the bullets go over me. Men go crazy there. And the insane are sent to England. But sometimes men go mad and become a menace to their own comrades and officers. They sometimes have to be killed. And there have been times when I have crouched in some first-line trench, where no communication trench joined us to the second or third line, when no doctor could reach us. And I have seen men so terribly wounded, enduring such agonies, and screaming so heart-breakingly for somebody to kill them, that our boys have done what they asked, to save them the unnecessary horror of living dismembered.

And I have seen men of good health grow so weary of the trenches that they have simply stood up at noonday. Some machine guns swiftly ended them. And others, as I have written, simply stick up their hands above the trench top and bullets trim off their fingers.

I was twenty days at Laventie. We only had the regular rifle shooting there, and were fortunate in losing not a single man of our 500 by bombs. We then marched to a point about one mile to the right of the now famous Neuve Chapelle, where we caught the Germans by surprise and took nearly 3,000 prisoners.

For two days and two nights I was firing continuously. My rifle became so hot that I had to fill my hands with dirt before firing. The fighting became so fierce that we had to employ men to do nothing else but carry ammunition to us from 200 yards in the rear. We were two and one-half miles to the left of the British. The Germans, but for us, could have got reinforcements, but we Canadians were in the way. We expected, at first, to attack them, as they were only sixty yards away. We had constructed special bridges to cross a ten-yard stream near by. Our work was to fire upon the German reserves in the rear, and this we easily did, because our guns carried for two miles. The Germans were defeated largely because they supposed the British had plenty of reinforcements.

The whole thing began suddenly at 2:30 in the morning, after a quiet day. It was an earthquake. Our company until then had fought in no real battle and had lost only five men. Other companies used to declare that we had some guardian angel to protect us. Anyhow, many say that I had some guardian angel to protect me—and I am sure that I did.

Three men volunteered to go and cut the wire entanglements. Bullets were humming through the air. They crawled

forth—to their deaths, we thought—but succeeded in cutting nearly all. So the Germans thought we were about to attack them. As soon as the Germans discovered what our men had done, we poured a withering fire over the broken wires, so that no man could live to reach and repair them.

The English bombarded the Germans for two whole days. Then we heard cries, and fast by us went the Black Watch, a Scotch regiment, and the Coldstream Guards. It was between 4 and 5 in the morning that they passed us, and within ten minutes they had captured the three first lines of the Germans.

The Germans lost 25,000 men and 3,000 prisoners. Our loss was between 10,000 and 12,000. Two days later troops came to relieve us, and in time, for we were well-nigh exhausted. We marched at night to Estaire, a pretty village eight miles away. Our men were so worn out that they dropped from weariness on the way. We spent eight days in this town and were royally treated by the French.

At midnight of the eighth day we were warned to get ready for marching again. We walked twenty-seven kilometers to Cassel, where General Dorrien, who was in charge of the battle when the English retreated from Mons in France, in the early part of the war, told us that he was going to take charge of the whole Canadian division, and that our regiment would be transferred to another army corps. He gave us three days' rest, and told us we were to occupy French trenches at Ypres.

THE BATTLE OF YPRES

Ypres is the graveyard of the old Sixty-fifth. We were carried to within six miles of the place in London buses, twenty-five men in a bus. Ypres was forty miles away. We met there the Canadian Scottish Third Brigade of 5,000 men. From the end of the bus line we tramped six miles and encamped outside the village of St. Julien, one mile away. Two battalions were in reserve at St. Jean and two were in the front line, mine being one of the two at the front.

It was at Ypres that we first met the gallant French troops. My company was on the left of the English line, so that we acted as interpreters between the French and the English. A roadway ten yards wide separated the two lines and a tunnel ran from the English to the French lines.

We found the trenches here to be forty yards from the German line and in bad condition. Firing was continuous, by day and by night. The communication trenches were in bad shape, too, and the Germans, who were on a height, raked us terribly with their machine guns. I looked through my periscope and saw between 400 and 500 unburied German dead lying between the lines. I counted 25 dead Frenchmen among them. Three months before, I was told, the Germans had tried to carry the line and neither side had given the other a chance to bury its dead.

Our French neighbors were Zouaves, between 19 and 30 years of age, and the gayest soldiers I have ever fought beside. They sang gay ditties and called us French Canadians "Frères." We spent our nights in throwing grenades at the Boches and our days in the slow monotony of every-day trench life.

I rose at noon, the day after our arrival, and took the time to shave, a rare event. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, at one mile from us, we saw yellow smoke rising from the ground. This smoke was the deadly gas being thrown upon the French and upon the Sotch regiment that had taken our places while we were resting, for, of course, we were resting when I shaved. We formed at once in light marching order and went to help the Scotch.

We entered the reserve trench, and at midnight the first-line trench. The Scotch had lost half of their effectives and were returning with the French, the blood streaming from their mouths and noses, and their faces all yellow-green. The French had lost nearly all their regiment. The Germans within five minutes had occupied our first and second lines.

In half an hour the Boches began a great bombardment. At 7 o'clock they tried to take our line, repeating their attacks all the night, but we rolled them back. They came even to within ten

yards of us, a flood of human waves. But our machine guns, our "coffee grinders," as we called them, mowed them down like hay, and we lost not many men.

Our artillery had plenty of ammunition. Our light guns were placed at 400 yards from the front line and the heavy artillery at one and a half miles, and some pieces as far as four miles away. The famous French Africans, called Senegalese, were fighting here with us. The Boches set fire to the City of Ypres in the night, and I watched its sullen glare against the sky. The civilian populace went running by, in dreadful condition. That night, of my friends, died Vaillant, Poitras, and Bond, all of Montreal, and two others. Poirer and Lefebre of Montreal and O. Wiseman, also my friends, had been killed during the day. Yet I lived!

Ypres was a famous battle, one of the greatest of the war, I think, till this terrible onslaught at Verdun. Our division (Canadian) reached from Ypres (Belgium) to Poelcappelle Road. At 2 A. M., before the gas overtook me, I was sent out between the lines with another man to examine the wire entanglements. We heard a sound as of some one handling pipes, but discovered nothing more. Then the Boches sent up their flares (skyrockets whose bursting bombs turned night into daylight) and we lay on the ground motionless. In the darkness which followed, we crept back over the heaps of dead toward our line. When I had almost reached the trench, another great flare burst right over us, and I had to lie still for several long moments until the welcome darkness gave me an opportunity to drop into the trench again.

Men were dying from the gas, their eyes popping, their faces green, and crying: "Water! Water! I'm choking! Air! Air! Air!" It is a frightful thing to hear your friends crying like that. I saw one die right before my eyes, rolling upon the ground as if mad, tearing at his chest. His fingers were crooked after his death, his body full of blue spots and his mouth white. Another poor wretch fell two or three feet from me, dying from the gas. He was sucking water from a dirty handkerchief.

Listen! Suppose you were fighting in a trench. The wind comes toward you, foul with odors from nameless, twisted, torn bodies unburied between you and the Boches. Near you are your brave comrades. Some lie wounded and dying in agony on the trench bottom. The bullets zing-zing eternally over your head. There is a mighty swelling from an organ more sonorous than ever human organist played. The rockets are bursting; the flares shedding white glares over the torn ground. Your coffee grinders are mowing them down.

Then, rising from somewhere near by, comes the gas, yellow or green. Then comes a sudden stinging in your nose. Your eyes water and run. You breathe fire. You suffocate. You burn alive. There are razors and needles in your throat. It is as if you drank boiling hot tea. Your lungs flame. You want to scratch and tear your body. You become half blind, half wild. Your head aches beyond description, you vomit, you drop exhausted, you die quickly.

Every other man seemed to fall. As I fought I marveled that I was spared. And again came to me the belief that my life was charmed; that the bullet had not been melted, the shrapnel not been loaded, the gas not mixed which would cause my death. An ecstatic confidence buoyed me up. I was brave, because I was so sure of life, while all my comrades seemed groveling in death.

My platoon was under a withering fire, before which we crumpled and melted away. We left the trench, pressing forward. All hell seemed to rise suddenly from the bowels of the earth and pour over us flame and molten lead. The ground seethed from the exploding shells. The mitrailleuses vomited death.

Our thinned lines gave a yell. I saw a black hole in the ground. Sergeant Albert Pichette shouted, "Into their trench!" I leaped in. Four Germans were trying to escape on the further side. I did not fire, intending to make them prisoners. But the only thing I took was a great blow on the side of my head, and away went my prisoners.

I crawled up the trench a few feet and came upon two men trying to strangle

each other. I though, then, of motion pictures I had watched back home. Here was a more terrible drama than ever the movie camera showed.

A bayonet charge is a street fight magnified and made ten thousand times more fierce. It becomes on close range almost impossible to use your bayonets. So we fought with fists and feet, and used our guns, when possible, as clubs. We lay in our prize trench for about four hours. The boys, excited because they still lived, sang and jested, and told of queer experiences and narrow escapes they had had.

By 10 o'clock came the story that the British had lost four field guns and asked our help to recapture them. I was one of twenty-one from my company who volunteered to go. So we joined men from the Tenth and Sixteenth Battalions, and at 11 o'clock prepared to storm the wood where the cannons were.

We had only forty yards of open ground to cover, but the German artillery and machine guns worked havoc among us. It did not take us long to run those forty yards.

We were soon in the wood, where it was so dark that we could hardly distinguish friend from foe.

I ran in and out among the trees and asked every one I met who he was. I came upon one big fellow. My mouth opened to ask him who he was, when his fist shot out and took me between the eyes. I went down for the count, but I knew who he was—he was a German. I got up as quickly as I could, you may be sure, and swung my rifle to hit him in the head, but the stock struck a tree and splintered. I thought I had broken all my fingers.

I found three wounded men, French, I thought they were, in that gloom. So I carried them into our trench. As I brought in the last one, the officer said, "You are doing good work, Houle." I asked him why he thought so, and he answered: "You have brought in three wounded men and when we put the light on them we found they were Germans." Well, I am glad I saved them. I would have done so anyhow, had I known their nationality. For we were all trained to give a wounded man help, whether he were friend or foe.

Yet it is dangerous work, helping a wounded German. I never helped another, after the experience I had. It was one of the two occasions when I knew with certainty that I killed a man. He was a wounded German soldier. We found him suffering and weak. But we knew we could save his life and were dressing his wound. My back was turned. He took a revolver out of his tunic pocket and fired pointblank at me.

I do not know how I escaped death. Perhaps it was because his hand shook from weakness; perhaps my guardian saint turned aside that death bullet. Anyhow, he had his revolver in his hand. We had to act quickly. My officer spoke a quick word, and I made sure that he would never fire another shot.

Well, we got our machine guns. But the Germans had blown them up, and all our sacrifice of men was in vain.

We were relieved by a British regiment before morning and marched back to our billets to have a rest. I slept all the rest of the night until 11 o'clock the next morning. It was the first rest I had had in forty-eight hours, with only a slice of raw bacon and a piece of bread to eat.

These were little incidents of the bloody battle at Ypres. That afternoon some of the boys brought out tables from a house and placed them in the sun. The civilian populace, in their flight, had left behind their live stock. We caught some hens and rabbits and cooked them in wine we found in a cellar. Ah, that was a feast. I never had a better one.

Yet we were strange feasters. Had some artist been able to paint us he would have had a strong canvas. Some of the boys had their heads bandaged, and nearly all of us were covered with dirt and blood. Some sang for us, though others were downhearted. It surprised me that a few hours after we had faced death and had been suffering untold hardships we could now gather like college boys at a beer night feast and sing.

During the rest of that battle we lived in the reserve trenches, bombarded day

and night. The battle lasted twenty-one days. When it was over they called a roll of our regiment. There were 500 of us when we left Montreal. As the commander called the roll, name after name was met with no response. At Ypres 480 out of 500 of us were left dead on the field. And in reality our loss had been greater than that, for our 500 had been thinned out in other actions and filled with a full roster again. Twenty of us out of 500 survived at Ypres.

We fought madly at St. Jean, after Ypres, and retreated. We rested eight days at Bailleul, marched through Steevwerck and rested eight more days there; we also rested at Estaires for eight days, then through Vieille Chapelle, and then had another eight days' rest. We reached Lacouture at night and went into battle again at Richebourg.

We arrived there in May, 1915. Richebourg is in France, eight miles from the Belgian border, on the English front. A very small agricultural village we found it, coming to it after a hard twelve-hour hike from Bailleul. We got into the Richebourg trenches in the evening.

I found myself in a German trench, captured by the British. Five hours before the battle had raged, and the place was still full of wounded and dead, both German and British. Trench by trench we worked our way into the British front line. We had been reinforced by the Twelfth Battalion of reserves, which was made up of French Canadians and Englishmen; thus our decimated regiment was swelled to 365 men.

The battle was going on. Relieving the front line proved a dangerous task. We had to proceed cautiously to avoid bullets, and it took us three hours to reach the front line, which we did at midnight. Ten of our men were killed by shrapnel or stray bullets on the way.

Then came the report from our left that the Germans were trying to counter-attack. Our officers called for volunteers for a bomb and hand grenade throwing party. We were gone twenty minutes, fifteen of us in all; three of us were wounded, and Carrier of Montreal was killed. We were able to report on our return that we had done effective work. After that things quieted down and gave us a breathing spell.

The next morning we were ordered to take the German first-line trenches. Our cannon began to clear the way first at 2 o'clock in the morning. The famous French 75—the French 75 which is always helping the English at difficult times—blasted out the pathway over which we were to charge. We had thirty-two of these 75s—four guns to each of the eight batteries. When worked hard, these guns can fire twenty shots a minute.

We were all Catholics. At 5:30 o'clock we began to say our prayers, and soon after we were charging with fixed bayonets. We had no great difficulty in taking two lines of trenches. But when we reached the third, they rallied and drove us out. There the Germans made a counterattack, raking our flanks with their machine guns as soon as we reached their third trench. They killed 75 of us, wounded over 100, and took 20 prisoners. We were obliged to leave our wounded in their trench with the dead.

I lay until night in the German second-line trench, among the dead and wounded. There was, of course, no communication and we could not clear the place we had taken or get medical help for the men who writhed in agony all around us. A company of Highlanders from the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Battalions came to our relief at night. The Highlanders and my company were given orders to capture an orchard on our left. Through this orchard ran the German trench. German snipers were concealed in the old apple trees, and the place seemed one huge shrapnel, which burst and never ceased bursting. Three-quarters of our men were killed. And I, as usual, was among the unwounded survivors.

We took the orchard trench, but were glad enough to retire at the counterattack, and unfortunately lost our orchard and our third trench. Listen! Out of 250 Highlanders, only forty came back. Of my own company, (which you will remember had been reinforced to 365 men,) only seventy came back. And Roméo Houle, with the charmed life, was again

among the few who returned, and had not a single wound.

About one and one-half miles on the right of Richebourg, we took up a new position, after three days' rest in a village next to Lacouture. The Scots Greys and the Coldstream Guards were in the trenches. To our surprise, they greeted us with shouts and cheers. We asked them why they cheered us so. They answered that they thought so well of the Canadians that, helped by them, they would encounter any odds. The shooting was then going on; the Scotch had tried to advance and had been pushed back. When our company came, we all tried to advance together. Again our company had been reinforced, this time to 420 men.

The Germans occupied a hilly place. Although they were only sixty yards away, we fought back and forth for an hour. Our first two charges were stopped by their entanglements. The wires in many places were not down at all and we could not pass. Then our artillery began to mow among the wires. In thirty minutes our way was clear, and on the third tussle we got into the German trench. It was a close fight. We used even our fists. My bayonet was broken, and I used my gun as a club. There we remained until we got reinforcements. Out of 420 men, my company was reduced to eighty. No, I could not be killed.

We were at Cuinchy only two days, but we took three lines of trenches there, and retreated. The dead we left on the field covered the barbed wire entanglements. The Germans in their counterattack came at us in serried ranks. Our coffee grinders smashed their first, their second, their third lines, but they came on and on, resistless as a flood. We could not but give way and withdraw before that awful advance. They cared not for the lives of men, but thought only of the ground they gained. Every foot they advanced cost them many, many lives. But those trenches from which we retreated are now occupied by the British. All their silly outlay of men was in vain.

To the south of Cuinchy, we fought at Givenchy. Five days we were in the third line, and four in the first. German mortars opposite us were belching forth thunderous volumes of flame and death. Chaos was at Givenchy. Lightning lashed us—the swift lightning of 10,000 rifles and great batteries of field guns. Yet we destroyed their mortars and took fifty prisoners. Do you wonder that I am still proud that I fought there—proud of the French Canadians? What soldiers ever fought more valiantly? Who ever gave their lives in a noble cause more gladly? Who ever met certain death more steadfastly and unafraid? Whatever I think of war—and before I am done, I shall tell—whatever I think of war, I say that braver soldiers never lived or died than the gallant French Canadians. But oh! I am sorry to think how their handsome lines have been thinned—thinned more than most people know.

Two of our men cared for ten prisoners. A Sergeant led them away. I suppose that they are in England now, spectacles for the curious. They were brave men. I am sorry for their captivity, on their account; but glad to see their terrible martial strength thus ebbing. When we took a trench, the Germans would throw up their hands and cry "Comrade." The Saxon Germans always surrender the quickest, because they are so nearly akin to the English. The Bavarian Germans and the Prussian Guards are different propositions.

At Béthune, a town of 50,000 population, we had a ten-day rest. They shifted us to Oblingham—and then another rest. And then three more weeks of fighting at La Bassée. It was the same story!

I had fought in the first line of the battle front until all the bed I knew was wet earth, and all the rest I knew were snatches of sleep obtained during lulls in the rocking tumult. From almost the very opening of the war I had fought. And long since I had had my fill of the fighting.

The American Consul at London wrote me a letter. It came, I remember well, in October, 1915. It brought me my first ray of hope—my first real hope of life. For I knew that that strange chance which had spared me so many months, when so many of my comrades had died,

would not always be mine. I knew that death fought by my side in the day and slept with me in the night. I saw him grinning at me from the twisted features of those shot in the battle. I heard him gibbering on the horrible field at night!

The Ambassador gave me the hope that, having been under age and an American by birth when I enlisted, my Government might secure my discharge. Influential friends were working for me.

On Jan. 10, 1916, in the forenoon, I was notified to report to headquarters, 300 yards behind our firing line. I laid low in the front trench all day, fearful lest at the last moment I should be shot. For a friend, who had obtained a long furlough for rest in England, on the very eve of his departure, had been killed by my side a few days before. It seemed so pitiful an ending, just when he was going home.

So eager was I to leave, that I planned the best I could how to escape. But I knew that if I yielded and went, I should forfeit my life. By a great effort, I restrained myself. But at 4:30 o'clock I could stand it no longer. My friends wept at the parting—for joy for my sake that I was going back to life; for grief that they were left, to die probably, so far from their fair Canada.

At 4:30 o'clock, then, with last handgrips and the well-wishes of all, I jumped a little ditch and crept on hands and knees in a circuitous way to the headquarters.

I walked seven miles to the railroad. The firing sank away. The trenches and their fevers, their wounded and dead, their noxious odors and their deadly gases, and the man-eating rats—all became a memory. I was free, going home to my wife and child, my parents, my friends, unwounded.

I take no credit for any special courage in the field. If I was brave, it was because I had to be so. We were all brave, who kept our senses. We became accustomed to a large degree to the incessant intimacy with dangers and death. We could look without wincing at frightful things. And yet—I have promised to write what I think of war.

I know not what word could adequately describe war. Man's poets have never imagined any description terrible enough. "Hell" is too weak a word, after Ypres and Richebourg. It is all a great slaughter house, legalized by Princes and Kings. And it is more horrible than the slaughter house, because the forms of death planned are more cruel, more mad, more devilish.

I was not altogether free from hurts. There is a dent in my skull from a spent bullet, which failed to kill me. And I got a terrible bruise on the leg from a shard that did not break the skin. But I live, thank God, one out of the 16 of those 500 men, most of whom we left behind at Ypres.

If you Americans have the choice, never vote for war. You do not know what war is, who have not seen it. I did not know. I could not know. It is not like the sanguinary conflicts of the civil war—they were little fisticuff battles compared to this gigantic slaughter of heroes. Now calm science, cruel, unutterably cruel, calculating a hundred deaths with the precision of the crazed murderer, lays out the battle schemes, and goes seeking through science for new forms of death more horrible than the old. We fight underground and undersea, on the land and in the air. We fight with fire, with steel, with lead, with poisons, with gases, with burning oil. We are lower than the brutes, lower than the lowest and most degraded forms of life.

I do not know why we fought. No Archduke's little life was worth the titanic butchery of the world war. The beginning was petty and small. And I, looking back at horror, horror, horror, cannot forget the extraordinary friendships we made with the men in the enemy's trenches. We were both only human beings, after all, Fritz and I. We had no wish to kill each other. We had much rather sit at the same table, with our wives and children around us, and talk of gardens, of fair pictures, and of great books. But for our officers and the nations which they represented peace would have been declared right there in the trenches—and that by the soldiers themselves.

I am only Roméo Houle, a barber. But I have lived—God, I have lived! All the

slaughter of heroes by the Meuse and on the Belgian border and in Northern France has passed before my eyes. And I, Roméo Houle, am forced to write this:

Man is given life to enjoy it, not to destroy it. We cannot make ourselves better or the world we live in more worth while by killing each other like beasts gone mad.

I thank God that the nightmare is over. Only in my dreams do the cannon roar over the line at Ypres. And such dreams are quite terrible and real enough. I hope never to fight again.

In the Hospital

By SERGEANT ROBERT BEARNS

The author of this poem, now recovering from a severe wound, was an English miner before he joined the army.

He 'adn't no shinin' 'elmet on,
Nor 'E 'adn't no bloomin' sword,
But somehow the pains o' my wound was gone
When the King come into the ward;
There wasn't a 'aporth o' frill or fuss,
Just a' officer smart an' trim,
An' I couldn't 'elp turning and saying to nurse,
"Do you think as it's really 'Im?"

'E come up and stood by the side o' my bed,
And 'eld out his 'and to me;
"Where was you peppered, my son?" 'E said,
Or that's what 'E meant it to be.
We chatted away in no make-pretend—
That wasn't his royal plan.
'E was a King and a soldier's friend,
So we chinwagged man to man.

'E knew all about where the boys 'ad been,
And what the battalion had done;
An' when 'E had gone, then up come the Queen,
Who spoke to us one by one.
'Er smile 'ad a kind o' a wit o' tears,
A something that seemed to say,
"I know how you suffer, you poor old dear,
Don't I wish I could help you today."

An' I've been thinking things out a bit
As to what we are fighting for,
And why the best of our British grit
Must go to this 'Ell of a war.
And talking away to King and Queen
So 'omely, has give me the clue,
An' this seems to be the 'ang o' the thing,
I fancy I've got it true.

All us as is under the Union Jack
We works on a family plan;
We are all expected to do our whack,
But a man may be a man.
'E may earn less than a quid a week,
An' 'is notions may be queer,
But what 'e thinks 'e's allowed to speak,
And the slop won't interfere.

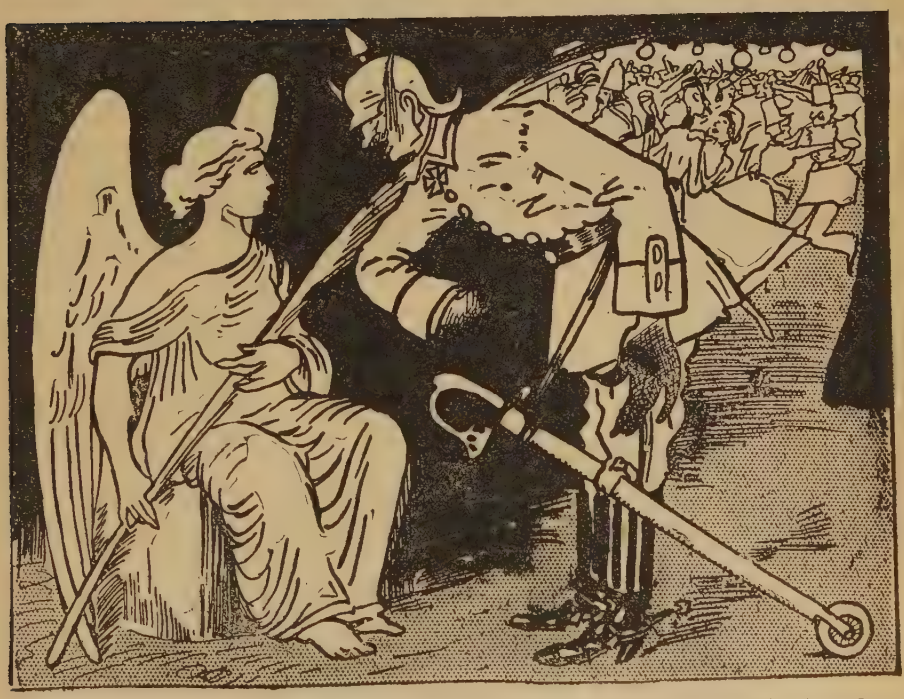
There's something that binds us that isn't force,
Which means that we're jolly well free;
An' that's the thing that brought, o' course,
Our chaps from beyond the sea.
Now the Kaiser considers like this, perhaps,
"Men! You! D'ye see any green?
We'll do the thinkin', we top-notched chaps,
You are bits of a bloomin' machine."

An' more'n ever I know today,
As I'm going back to fight
For 'ome, an' freedom, an' kids at play,
And things as is true and right.
And whether I live or chance to die,
As the fates of war may bring,
Above us the same old flag shall fly,
And so—God save the King!

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[Spanish Cartoon]

A Peace Overture



—From the Campana de Gracia, Barcelona.

"May I have the pleasure of your company?"
"Thanks! First go and wash your hands."

[French Cartoon]

Modern War

—*Jean Veber in L'Esprit Satirique en France.*

The Brute Let Loose.

—*By Steinlen, French Cartoonist.*

Glory!

[English Cartoon]

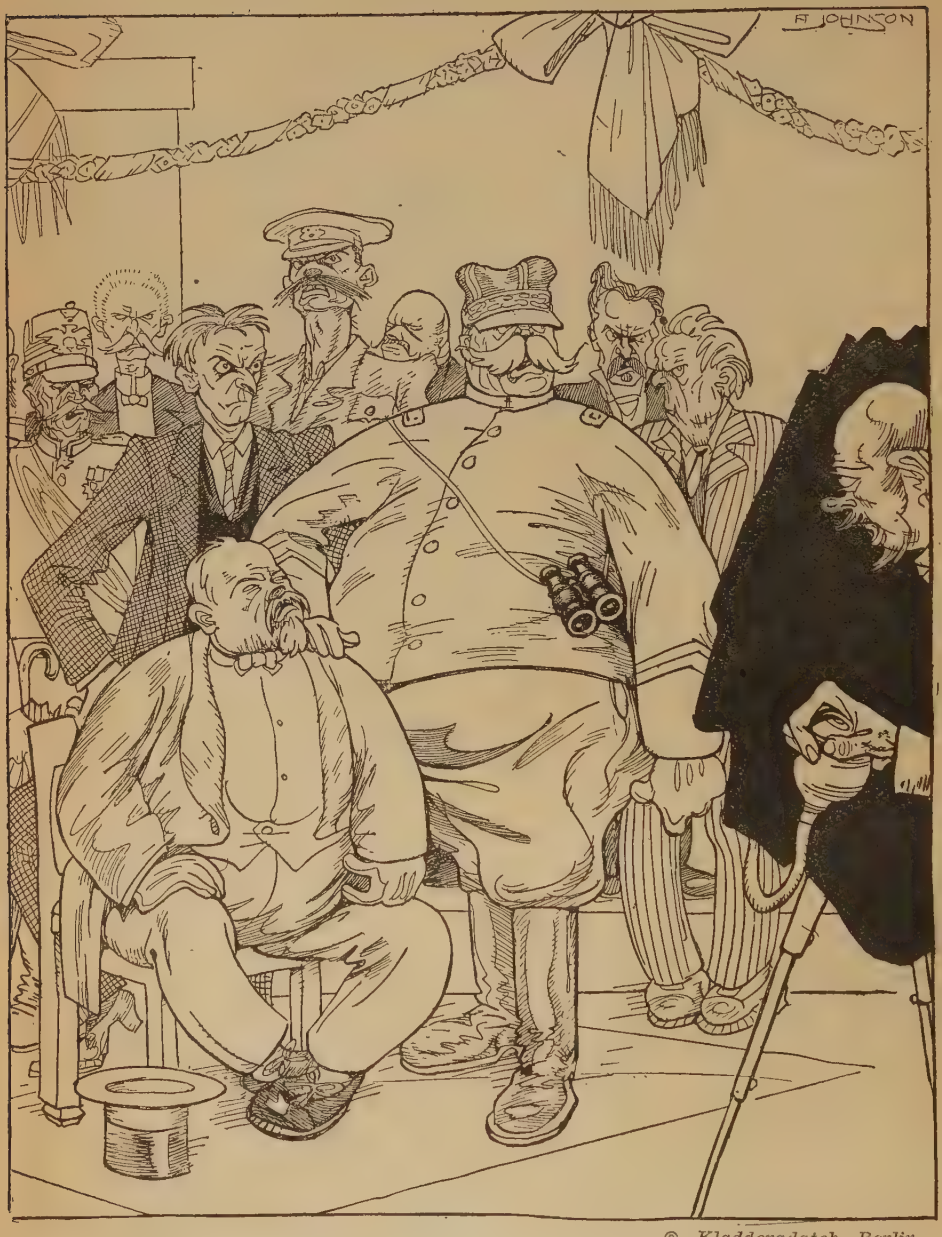
A Case of Injustice

—*From The Sketch, London.*

TOMMY: "They takes me from 'ome, an' bungs me into barricks. They takes away my clothes an' puts me inter khaki. They takes away my name an' gives me a number—005. They sends me ter church, an' after a forty-minutes sermon, the Parson says: 'Number 005: "Art thou weary?"' I jumps up an' ses 'Yus!' an' gets fourteen days C. D. for givin' a civil answer! How'd I know he meant the hymn and not me?"

[German Cartoon]

At the Close of the Entente Conference



—© *Kladderadatch, Berlin.*

"And now, gentlemen, in order to get at least one cheerful picture of the conference, please—look pleasant!"

[English Cartoon]

Peas and Plenty

THE ECONOMIC RESTAURANT Co. Ltd.
CUSTOMERS DESIRING SMALLER PORTIONS CAN BE SUPPLIED WITH A LARGER MAGNIFIER FREE OF CHARGE
ECONOMY AND WAR
BUCKLE

—*From The Bystander, London.*

A magnificent suggestion for the future in all the warring countries.

[French Cartoon]

Spring

—*By Abel Truchet, French Artist.*

"How black the nightingales are, this year!"

—*Forain in L'Opinion, France.*

PHILOSOPHY OF THE FRONT: "What's the odds? It's life!"

[American Cartoon]

Kitchener's Grave

—*From The New York Times.*

[Canadian Cartoon]

Disappointment After Disappointment

—*From The Calgary News-Telegram.*

Another Bomb That Failed to Explode.

[German Cartoon]

Military Courtesies

—© *Fliegende Blaetter, Munich.*

"Well, General, what is your son doing on the eastern front?"
"The same as yours—taking prisoners."

[French Cartoon]

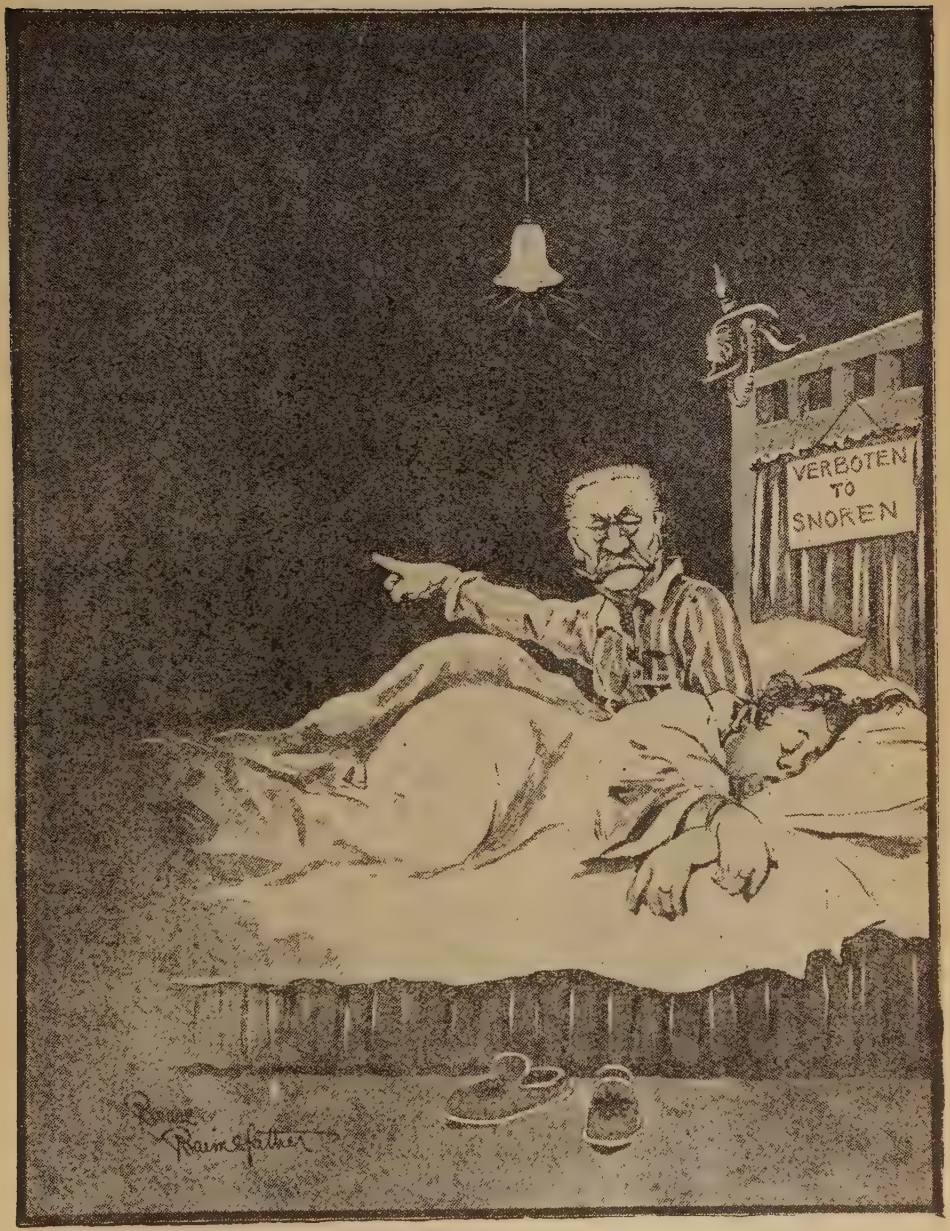
The Mystery of the Blockade—

—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

——Or, The Hand That Grips.

[English Cartoon]

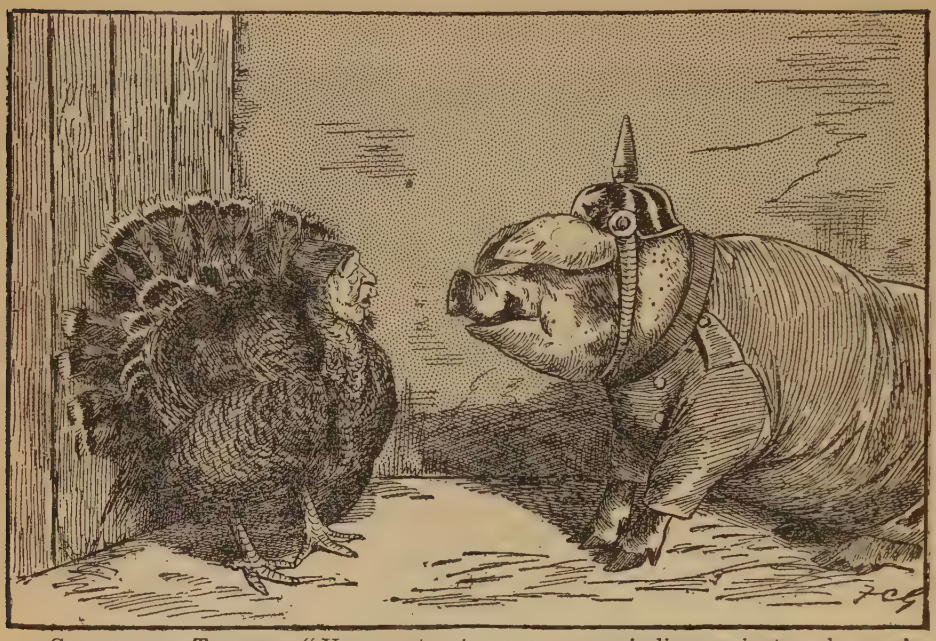
A Fragment From Germany



—*From The Bystander, London.*

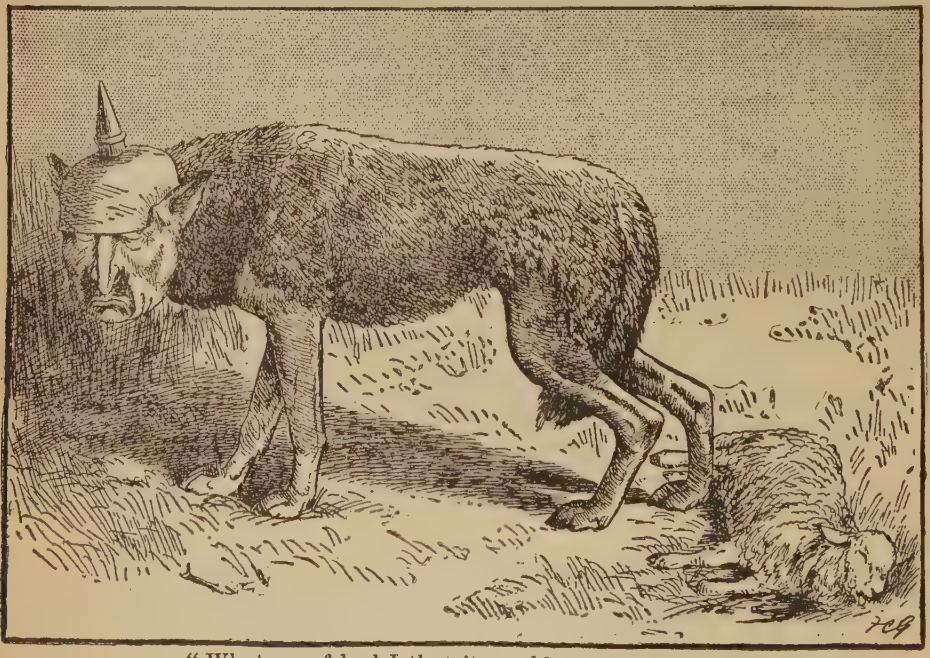
"Look here, Frau H., if you want to stick nails into anything there's my statue outside."

The Schwein-Hun and the Moslem



GERMANY TO TURKEY: "You must get over your prejudice against pork—you've just *got* to love me."

The Wolf's Explanation

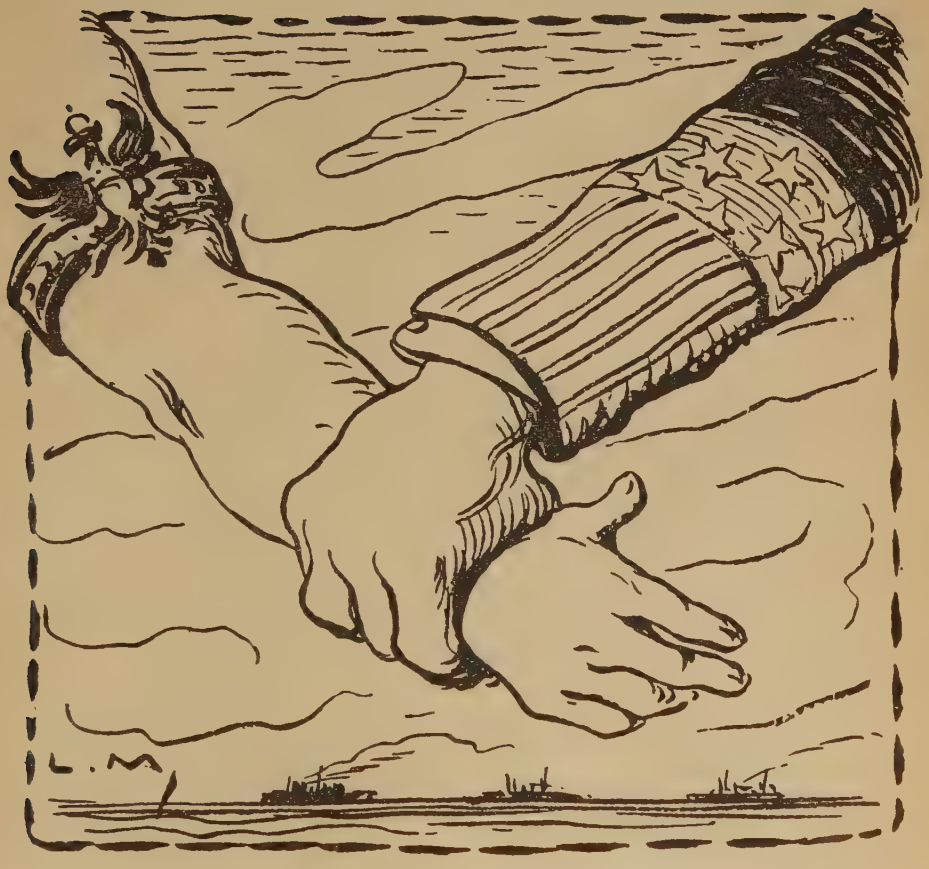


"What proof had I that it would not attack me?"

[French Cartoon]

Hands Across the Sea

[In the submarine crisis]



—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

"President Wilson has grasped the hand that Germany extended to him."—Frankfort Gazette.

[Italian Cartoon]

An Untimely Plea

—From the Numero, Turin.

DEATH: "I am weary of work—don't send me any more victims."

CROWN PRINCE: "Are you mad? I have just got papa's permission to make 20,000 corpses."

[French Cartoon]

The War in German Style

—From the Paris Matin.

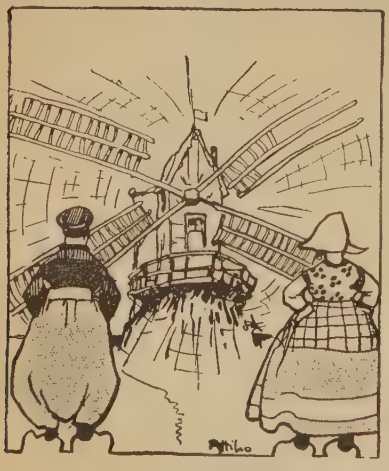
MEXICAN INSURGENT: "Down with the United States!"

THE SINN FEINERS: "Long live the Irish Republic!"

BOTH TOGETHER: "Deutschland über alles!"

[Italian Cartoon]

Holland's Precarious Position



—From Fischietto, Turin.

"And the mill begins to turn."

"But who knows for whom it is grinding?"

[French Cartoon]

The Modern Don Quixote

—With Apologies to Gustave Doré.

"We love Don Quixote, and sometimes recognize ourselves in him."—Professor von Wieze.

[English Cartoon]

The Biter Bit

—*From The Sketch, London.*

THE COCK: "Hullo, Billy! What's the matter?"

THE GOAT: "Matter? I've eaten a lot of recruiting posters and a packet of peace pamphlets, and the row going on inside is something awful!"

[French Cartoon]

M. Poilu Visits His Godmother

—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

"Yes, I killed fifty-six; they all had an iron cross."
"Was it in Artois?"
"No, in my flannels."

[German Cartoon]

A Guilty Conscience

—© *Jugend, Munich.*

NORTHERN NEUTRAL: "My dear Jorgensen, I feel like a criminal. Yesterday my wife presented me with twins, and England at present allows us only *one*."

[English Cartoon]

More Than He Bargained For

—*From The Bystander, London.*

ATLAS: "Well, really this is getting a bit *too* hot for me."

[English War Poster]

THE EMPIRE NEEDS MEN!
THE OVERSEAS STATES
All answer the call.
Helped by the YOUNG LIONS
The OLD LION defies his Foes.
ENLIST NOW.

Another striking call that helped to make a record for voluntary enlistment in England.

[English War Poster]

One of the historic posters that helped to recruit England's millions now in the trenches.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From May 12 Up to and Including June 11, 1916

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

May 12—Germans carry 500 yards of British trenches near Hulluch, but lose part of the ground in counterattack.

May 16—British occupy 250 yards of German trenches on Vimy Ridge.

May 18—Germans fail in heavy attacks on French positions in Avocourt Woods and on Hill 304.

May 20—Germans win part of French trenches on northern slope of Dead Man Hill.

May 22-23—French regain offensive at Verdun and take Fort Douaumont.

May 24—Germans retake Fort Douaumont and drive French out of Cumières.

May 25—Germans take trenches west of Douaumont.

May 27—French force themselves back into Cumières and advance near Dead Man Hill and Douaumont.

May 29-31—Germans gain ground on the west bank of the Meuse; French capture strong German position southwest of Dead Man Hill.

June 1-3—Germans penetrate advance trenches between Douaumont and Vaux.

June 4—Germans bombard Fort Vaux.

June 6—British first line broken at Hooge, east of Ypres.

June 7—Vaux garrison surrenders to Germans.

June 9-11—French repulse attacks at Hill 304; Ypres bombarded.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

May 12—Germans resume offensive in sector north of Selburg station near Jacobstadt.

May 17—Russians defeat Germans near Lake Sventen and advance in the Olyka region.

May 24—Germans drive Russians out of trench near Pulkarn.

June 5—Russians start sudden offensive along the entire line from the Pripet marches to the Rumanian frontier.

June 6-7—Russian advance continues; over 40,000 Austrians taken prisoner.

June 8—Russians recapture fortress of Lutsk.

June 10—Russians advance five miles beyond Lutsk and push on between Buczacz and Potok.

June 11—Fortress of Dubno captured by Russians; 409 officers and 35,000 men taken prisoner.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

May 12—Intense artillery action along the Trentino, particularly in the Col di Lana zone.

May 16-17—Austro-Hungarian troops begin successful offensive on entire front, capturing many positions in Southern Tyrol, and reporting 141 officers and 6,200 men taken prisoner.

May 18—Austrians extend gains on the Doberdo Plateau.

May 19—Italians evacuate the line between Monte Maggio and the uppper Astico Valley, and Zugnatorta in the Lagarina Valley.

May 20—Italians abandon Col Santo.

May 21—Italians check offensive in the Lagarina Valley and retake Astico defenses.

May 22—Austrians carry Armentara Peak and clear Italian forces out of Lavarone Plateau.

May 23—Austrians gain in the Sugana Valley and take fortification of Monte Veina; Bulgars are aiding Austrians on the Isonzo front.

May 27—Italians driven from positions west of Bacarola; Austrians occupy peak of Monte Cimone and Batalo in the upper Posina Valley.

May 31—Austro-Hungarian troops force a passage across the Posina River to the west of Arsiero and take fortified works of Punta Cordin, but are repulsed in the Lagarina Valley.

June 3—Italians halt Austrian attacks along the entire front in the Trentino and reconquer Belmonte position northeast of Monte Cengio.

June 4—Austrians checked on the Arsiero front.

June 5—Italians fall back in the Cengio zone; Austrian attacks on position at Coni Zugna, in the Lagarina Valley, repulsed.

June 7—Italians make successful counterattack on Austrians near Campo Mulo.

June 8—Italians advance in the upper Tellina Valley.

June 9—Italians give ground in Sette Communi battle.

June 11—Italians repulse attacks on Monte Lemerle.

IN ASIA MINOR AND EGYPT

May 14—Russians repulse Turks in the region of Baiburt.

May 19—Russian cavalry joins British on the Tigris; Turks vacate Bethaiessa advanced position; British move north; new advance on Kutel-Amara begun.

May 20—South bank of the Tigris practically clear of Turks as far as the Shatt-el-Hai River.

May 27—Russians defeat Turks and Kurds near Serbrecht.

June 1—Turks check Russian advance in Mesoptamia and retake Mamakhtum.

June 5—Reinforced Turkish army drives Russians back twenty-five miles on the Caucasus front.

June 7—Russians take Turkish positions at Khanikin.

June 12—Turks drive Russians back from Khanikin and reoccupy Kasr-i-Shirin.

AFRICAN CAMPAIGN

May 13—General Smuts reports defeat of Germans at Irangi in German East Africa.

May 30—British occupy New Langenberg.

June 2—British drive Germans toward Pangani on the coast.

AERIAL RECORD

There has been unprecedented aerial activity on the western front. On May 18 sixty air fights had been reported within a few days. Georges Boillot was killed in an encounter with five German aeroplanes. American aviators brought down three German machines near Verdun. On June 1 German aviators bombarded the open town of Bar-le-duc, killing eighteen civilians.

Three German seaplanes raided the east coast of England on May 20, dropping bombs on Kentish towns. No casualties were reported.

The Greek village of Majadagh, near the Serbian frontier, was raided by German aviators. Fourteen civilians were killed.

Allied airmen dropped bombs on El Arisch, on the coast of Syria, and on El Hamma.

Austrian aviators raided Bari, on the Italian Adriatic coast, killing eighteen civilians.

NAVAL RECORD

The greatest naval battle in history was fought on May 31 when the German high sea fleet emerged from Kiel into the North Sea and engaged the main part of the British fleet off the coast of Jutland. The British reported the loss of three battle cruisers, Queen Mary, Indefatigable, and Invincible; three armored cruisers, Defense, Warrior, and Black Prince, and eight destroyers. The Germans reported the loss of the battle cruiser Lützow, the battleship Pommern, the cruisers Frauenlob, Elbing, and Rostock, and six destroyers. These lists, however, are believed to be incomplete.

In the war zone the activities of German submarines have abated somewhat. Within a month about fifteen neutral, four Italian, three French, and five British ships have been sunk.

In the Mediterranean ten belligerent vessels were sunk by Teutonic submarines and by mines. One Greek ship was lost.

In the Adriatic Sea the Italian transport Principe Umberto was torpedoed and sunk and a large number sailors perished. An Austrian transport was sunk in the Harbor of Trieste.

The British cruiser Hampshire struck a mine off the Orkney Islands on June 5 and Lord Kitchener was lost with his entire staff.

MISCELLANEOUS

Greece was invaded by Bulgar forces which pushed on to Demir-Hassar after occupying the forts commanding the Struma Valley. The country's coal supply was cut off by England and Greek ships were held in British ports. King Constantine published a demobilizing decree disbanding the twelve senior classes. The Allies notified the Government that they would take all measures necessary to enforce treaties safeguarding Greek unity and the Greek Constitution.

In Germany the food situation became so serious that on May 13 Clemens Delbrueck, Minister of the Interior, resigned, and Tortlowitz von Batocki was appointed food dictator by the Kaiser. Other important changes in the Cabinet followed.

The British Parliament passed a compulsory military service bill, which was signed by the King on May 25. Ireland was excluded from the provisions of the bill.

James Connolly and John McDermott, the last two signers of the Irish Republic proclamation, were executed in Dublin, and John MacNeill, President of the Sinn Fein volunteers, was found guilty of conspiracy and sentenced to life imprisonment. Sir Roger Casement was put on trial for high treason; also Daniel Julian Bailey, an Irishman who was captured with him.

Preliminary hearings have been held. Premier Asquith visited Ireland in a vain attempt to bring about an agreement on the home rule question, and the task of pacifying the island was intrusted to Lloyd George.

Germany has issued a general warning that a neutral vessel may be attacked by a German submarine if, when challenged to halt, it fails to obey.

On May 24 Secretary Lansing sent a vigorous note to France and England protesting against interference with neutral mails, but since that time several vessels have been detained and the mail searched and seized.

The Italian Cabinet resigned, June 11, after the failure of the Chamber of Deputies to pass a vote of confidence, following the presentation of the budget of the Ministry of the Interior.

MEMORIAL TO LORD KITCHENER

Historic Service in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, June 13, Attended by King George and Queen Mary, and by Representatives of All the Allied Powers

SIR EDWARD GREY, NOW AN EARL

The British Minister of Foreign Affairs Has Been Honored With an Earldom in Recognition of His Wartime Services

(Photo from Medem Service)

PERIOD XXIII.

Battle of the Somme—The Russian Advance—Submarine Adventures—The Deutschland's Achievement—Death Sentence of Sir Roger Casement—Developments in Africa—Sir Edward Grey's Diplomacy—Lest We Forget—The Sin of Color-Blind Neutrality—The War and German Christianity—Battle of Jutland—The Austrian Attack on the Petrolite.

WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

Entering the Third Year of War

THE second year of the European war ends with the date of this issue of Current History, and with peace not yet in sight. Influential German newspapers assume to believe that the Allies' offensive, which began July 1 at the western front in that region of France known as Picardy, has demonstrated the invincibility of the German defense; they declare that the drive has been barren of effective results, but acknowledge that the German line may very probably yet be tested at other points in France and Flanders; they express confidence, however, that their lines cannot be broken. They give full credit to the bravery, dash, and skill of their foes, but insist that such formidable assaults emphasize strongly the unconquerable determination of their own forces, and affirm that this must soon convince the Allies of the futility of their hopes. They assert that within a few weeks an irresistible protest will arise in France and England against the useless sacrifice of human life, and that the Allies will be forced to sue for peace.

On the other hand, the Allies affirm that their offensive in the west is up to their expectations; that the heroic defense of Verdun has demonstrated that the hope of any further advances by the Germans in France is blasted; that the extraordinary victories and advances by the Russians, the favorable turn of affairs at the Italian frontier, and the acknowledged superiority of the Entente forces in the Balkans will bring success at the proper moment; that the disposition of Rumania to join the Allies, soon to crystallize into action, will cut off an important source of food supply from the Central Powers; that the tightening of the blockade, the closer co-operation and unity of action by the Allies, the growing unrest in Germany and Austria-Hungary, the financial straits of the Teutons, their lack of resources and inability to continue their former quick transfers of fresh troops to critical positions—that all these factors point inevitably to their ultimate collapse, and that complete victory for the Allies is only a question of time.

With this spirit and such widely divergent views in the belligerent camps, there seems little prospect of an early peace. On the contrary, there is every evidence that the soldiers will pass another Winter in the trenches unless unexpectedly there should come a mighty clash of arms with overwhelming defeat for one or the other. Decisive battles, however, are not likely in the present method of warfare; hence the earliest prophecy of the late Lord Kitchener, made at the beginning, that the war would last three years, seems likely to be fulfilled.

* * *

Cabinet Changes

CABINET changes during the month occurred in Great Britain and Italy. The vacancy in the Secretaryship for War caused by the death of Lord Kitchener was filled by the appointment of David Lloyd George, and the latter was succeeded as Minister of Munitions by Edwin Samuel Montagu, former Fi-

nancial Secretary to the Treasury. McKinnon Wood returned to his former post as Financial Secretary.

In Italy the Salandra Cabinet fell early in June, owing to the failure of the Government to take into its confidence the Parliamentary leaders—part of a general policy of secretiveness and reticence. A new Cabinet was formed by Signor Bosselli as Prime Minister; it consists of eighteen members, five more than the outgoing Cabinet, and is a coalition body containing five Liberal Conservatives, one Catholic, four Liberal Democrats, two Radicals, two Reformist Socialists, and one Republican. Baron Sonnino retains the post of Foreign Secretary. The new Premier has completed his seventy-eighth year; he has been in Parliament since 1870; his Ministerial career began under Crispi, when he held the portfolio of Public Instruction from 1888 to 1891. In his opening address he favored prosecution of the war with extreme vigor, and a firm adhesion to a closer alliance with the Entente. On July 15 Italy denounced the commercial treaty with Germany, for the reason, as announced, that Germany had failed to live up to its terms in the payment of pensions and the recognition of other civil rights to Italians residing in Germany. It is believed this will soon be followed by a declaration of war by Italy against Germany. The German courts have recently held that Italy and Germany are in a state of war.

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Submarines in Two Roles

RUDYARD KIPLING of the British Immortals and Captain Paul Koenig of the German Merchant Marine contribute two interesting chapters on the submarine in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY, but from widely differing angles. Kipling sings of the submarine as a weapon of war, while Koenig chants of the submersible craft as an instrument in peaceful commerce. This war has produced many marvelous changes in our methods of applying mechanical, chemical, and physical laws, but in no direction has the revolution been so far-reaching and the horizon of possibilities so widely broadened as in the use of the submarine. As an instrument of warfare it became the most hideous terror of all the new implements of horror which the struggle developed. Though it did more than any other one cause to alienate American sympathy from the Teutons, yet for a while it jeopardized British marine mastery, threatened the United Kingdom with the possibility of starvation, and produced a thrill of fear among all who would venture on the seas. As a vehicle of commerce, the dramatic crossing of the Atlantic by the merchant submarine Deutschland, which safely made the voyage from Bremen to Baltimore in sixteen days with a million-dollar cargo of precious dyestuffs, is one of the memorable episodes of the war, adding fresh laurels to the daring, originality, and productive skill of German mariners. Just what permanent results will flow from this successful feat cannot now be foretold, but it will undoubtedly reopen, if only to a limited extent, commercial and mail intercourse between Germany and the United States in defiance of the most rigid blockade, and may cause a complete revision of all international maritime law.

* * *

Women Doing Men's Work

THE extent to which women are pursuing men's vocations from which they were formerly excluded is visualized in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY on two rotogravure pages. These illustrations relate to British conditions; the same situation prevails in Germany, France, and Austria-Hungary. The Secretary of the Munitions Department of the United Kingdom stated to Parliament early in July that, while in 1914 184,000 women were engaged in war industries, on July 1, 1916, the number was 666,000, out of a total of 3,500,000 so employed.

The employment of women in war industries, however, represents only one branch of their activities. They have invaded all fields, as the illustrations show; they are street sweepers, stokers, chimney sweeps, millers, conductors, policemen, bricklayers, machinists, carpenters, brewers—in fact, there is no occupation now closed against them. It is estimated that in Great Britain alone

3,500,000 women are now engaged in occupations where men were formerly exclusively employed.

* * *

Great Britain's Blacklist

THE British Government announced July 18 that it had blacklisted eighty business firms and individuals domiciled in the United States with whom British subjects are forbidden to trade. The list was made public and includes several banking firms, chemical houses, oil, smelting, and general exporting concerns, chiefly corporations that are American branches of German institutions. It is assumed that the blacklisting of the firms by Great Britain will seriously hamper, if not destroy, the entire export trade of the designated institutions, as neutrals would fear incurring the ban also if they traded with them. Our Government, it is believed, will make a vigorous protest, and the controversy over this interference with American traders may have far-reaching consequences.

* * *

Revolution in Arabia

IN the beginning of the war it was expected that the Moslem world would rise in India, Egypt, and the Caucasus, helping the cause of Turkey and her allies. The opposite has now come to pass: A revolution has broken out in Arabia. Its leader is the Grand Sherif of Mecca, and its aim is the independence of Arabia from Turkey. The revolution, primarily, is a religious affair. The Arabs have long desired to free the holy cities of Mecca and Medina from Turkish rule. Mecca is now in the hands of the rebels, Medina is besieged, the city of Taif and the important ports of Jeddah and Kunfuda have also been captured by the Arabs. The roadbed of the Hijah railway has been destroyed for a distance of 100 miles and the telegraph lines have been cut, so that communication between Turkey and Arabia has been rendered very difficult. The rebels are well supplied with ammunition, and the possession of the chief seaport assures to them the support of Great Britain.

The interest that Moslem India is taking in the revolution is worthy of notice. The Indians, thousands of whom annually visit Mecca and Medina, have long harbored hostile feelings toward the Turks, who exploit the pilgrims to the utmost. In this respect the Moslem population of Russia, which is very large, feels much the same as the Moslem populations under British rule.

* * *

Germans in Ireland

IT is rather a strange parallel of curious history that Germany should have been involved in the recent rebellion in Ireland, for the only other hostile landing by way of Ireland known to modern history was made by Germans in 1487, when Lambert Simnel landed there with a force of 2,000 Germans. The Earl of Kildare crowned him King at Dublin that year, and at the head of his German troops he crossed over to England, but met defeat at Stoke.

A subsequent uprising in Ireland by Perkin Warbeck was also supported by the Earl of Kildare, but the Government of that day believed in conciliation and forgiveness to the point of stupidity. The historian Froude says, in recounting the story:

> The Irish rebels with their ever-ready wit and fluent words, their show of bluntness and pretense of simplicity, disarmed anger and dispersed calumny, and they returned on all such occasions more trusted than ever, to laugh at the folly which they had duped.
>
> "All Ireland cannot govern this Earl," said a member of the King's Council.
>
> "Then let this Earl govern all Ireland," replied the King.
>
> He was sent over, a convicted traitor—he returned a Knight of the Garter, Lord Deputy, and the representative of the Crown. Rebellion was a successful policy, and a lesson which corresponded so closely to the Irish temper was not forgotten.
>
> "What, thou fool," said Sir Gerald Shaneson to a younger son of this nobleman thirty years later when he found him slow to join the rebellion against Henry VIII. "What, thou fool, thou shalt be the more esteemed for it. For what hadst thou if thy father had not done so? What was he until he crowned a King here, took Garth, the King's captain, prisoner, hanged his son, resisted Poynings and all Deputies; killed them of Dublin upon Oxmantown Green; would suffer no man to rule here for the King but himself! Then the King regarded him, and made him Deputy, and married thy mother to him, or else thou shouldst never have had

a foot of land, where now thou mayest dispend four hundred marks by the year."

The London Post, in censuring the present Government for its blindness, says that when the rebels were caught in a traitorous correspondence with Charles V., the Emperor of Germany, they were pardoned. Not until the great rebellion of 1532-34 had reduced Ireland to ruin did Henry awake to the necessity of strength, and by striking terror into the hearts of evildoers bring the rebellion to a close. It cites this historic episode to support the contention that the present troubles in Ireland are due to a complacent and short-visioned Government which permitted matters to drift without any show of authority. The Post concludes that the only way there can be a settlement of the Irish question is by a strong administration with no short cuts or compromises.

A definite settlement has now been reached, as is noted elsewhere in these pages, and the Irish question will remain quiescent at least until one year after the war.

* * *

To Promote the Birth Rate

THE French Chambers have before them a bill to establish after Jan. 1, 1917, a system of birth bounties. It proposes that the State shall give to every mother $100 for each of her first two living children, $200 for the third baby, $400 for the fourth, and $200 for each baby thereafter, the bounty to be the exclusive property of the mother, regardless of whether or not the children are born in wedlock. The law also provides that $400 be given to the father if he presents at the Mayor's office "at least four of his living children whom he has supported continuously since their birth." It is proposed that the funds to pay these bounties shall be derived from a supertax assessed against every person of either sex who had for any reason remained childless or had raised only one child.

* * *

THE passing of the Mexican crisis is fully covered elsewhere in this issue. It is now reported that our Government will not only agree to a joint patrol of the border on conditions to be arranged by a joint commission of Mexicans and Americans, but will also, while not formally indorsing, at least "benevolently approve," a loan of $100,000,000, or even double that sum, to enable the Carranza Government to establish itself and promote stable industrial recovery in that sorely stricken land.

* * *

WHILE our State Department has been considering financial aid to Mexico preliminary measures have been taken for American participation in a large loan to China. It will be remembered that American bankers withdrew in 1913 from the so-called five-power loan to China in deference to the wishes of President Wilson, but it is understood the Administration is in favor of our participation in the proposed new loan. It is not understood that the loan will involve our Government in partnership in any concession or form of collateral; it will be entirely an unofficial "straight loan." The introduction of a large block of American capital in China would have an important bearing on our commercial relations and might prove an effective counterstroke to the new Russo-Japanese treaty.

* * *

IN addition to the Mexican and Chinese loans, a new loan to France of $100,000,000 will at once be floated by a private American syndicate to be known as the American Foreign Securities Company, embracing all leading New York financial institutions with a few exceptions. The French Government will maintain a collateral deposit to secure the loan at a market value of $120,000,000. With the exception of the Anglo-French loan in 1915, this is the largest private loan to a foreign Government ever made in the United States.

* * *

THE Board of Trade Labour Gazette for June, a British publication, fixes the total increase in retail food prices in the United Kingdom since the beginning of the war at 59 per cent. Comparisons of meat prices between June, 1916, and July, 1914, show that the better

cuts are 50 to 60 per cent. dearer, the cheaper cuts 100 per cent.; bacon, 40 per cent., and fish, 86 per cent.; potatoes, flour, bread, cheese, and tea increased from 50 to 60 per cent. The average increase in cost of living in the two years, taking food, rent, fuel, clothing, light, &c., but disregarding increased taxation, is 40 per cent. The total rise in food prices at Berlin in the two years is put by British authorities at 119.8 per cent., and in Vienna at 121.5 per cent.

* * *

REMOTE British colonies and protectorates have made the following direct contributions in money toward the cost of the war: Ceylon, $5,000,000 in ten yearly installments; Mauritius, two contributions of $50,000 each; Bermuda, $18,000 annually for fifteen years; Jamaica, $300,000 a year for forty years—to begin at the end of the war; Bahamas, $50,000; Dominica, $50,000; Turks and Caicos Islands, $5,000; Cayman Islands, $525; Nigeria, the charges for interest and a sinking fund of 1 per cent. on a share of the imperial war debt amounting to $30,000,000; Gold Coast, $400,000 in eight annual installments; Zanzibar, $50,000.

* * *

PORTSMOUTH, a city of less than 200,000 inhabitants, lost 4,000 men in the Jutland naval battle; 1,500 homes are left fatherless. According to American averages there were 40,000 men over twenty-one years of age in Portsmouth, so that one-tenth of the male adult population of that one town perished in the single naval battle.

* * *

NOTE.—CURRENT HISTORY is in receipt of a letter from Arthur L. Bouvier of New Bedford, Mass., disclaiming the credit of having collaborated with Roméo Houle in preparing the remarkable story in English of Mr. Houle's experiences in the trenches in France with a Canadian regiment, printed in our July issue. He writes that the English version of Mr. Houle's narrative was written entirely by David MacGregor Cheney of The New Bedford Standard. A French version was written by Mr. Bouvier in collaboration with Mr. Cheney, whence the confusion arose in the mind of the representative of CURRENT HISTORY at New Bedford, who, instructed originally to investigate the narrative of Mr. Houle, fully authenticated it.

PREMIER ASQUITH announced to the Commons on July 19 that a new vote of credit of $1,500,000,000 would be asked for before the end of the month. It is the eleventh since the outbreak of the war, and brings up the total to $13,410,000,000.

* * *

THE question is frequently asked why the Germans are slaughtering hundreds of thousands of the flower of their army at Verdun to capture a fortress which already has been practically destroyed and will prove of no strategic value if occupied. This inquiry is answered in many ways, but the following explanation by a war correspondent of The London Morning Post seems the most plausible:

Some say it would mean nothing but a ruined town, of no more significance than any other locality on the 400 miles of front; but they have not attempted to explain why, on that hypothesis, the French should fight so stubbornly to preserve, and the Germans to possess, what is of no value. The fact that it cost so many thousand lives would of itself give it a certain value from the point of view of morale, if for no other reason. Among the people of Germany, and, no doubt, among neutrals, its capture would probably create a deep impression. To the Germans it would mean success, purchased at a price best known to themselves. Such abstractions mean something in war, in which Napoleon is said to have observed "Le moral est pour les trois quarts." As for more material military results the Germans may think that the capture of Verdun would be a stepping-stone to further successes. They may think that it would lead—as has been suggested in the German press—to the acquisition of the whole range of fortified heights between Verdun and Toul. That seems to be the extreme view of the German optimists; and it is too extravagant to need consideration. The maximum effect would probably be the withdrawal of our allies from the eastern heights of the Meuse as far south as St. Mihiel, where the German position already abuts on the river, and the straightening of their front along a line to some suitable point in the Argonne. But this would involve more fighting and greater sacrifices than even Verdun has seen as yet, and, at the current rate of progress, would be the work of many months, during which it is not to be supposed that events will stand still in other quarters. What is, perhaps, most credible is that the Germans hope to crush the spirit of the French Nation, and to make the Allies recognize that the Germans are really victorious, and that it would be futile to prolong the struggle.

Interpretations of World Events

Tactics of the British Drive

A FRENCH officer thus explains the tactics of the big drive on the Somme: The tactical method of the Franco-British offensive, he says, consists of three echelons, or steps. The first, to the north, is held by the English from the Ancre to La Boisselle. The centre one, in front of the northern echelon, runs from the wood of Trones, near Longueval, through Hardecourt to the Somme River. The third, or right echelon, occupies the territory to the south of the Somme, passing through Biaches and Barleux. These echelons all face east. The lines between the echelons face north, thus giving the battle front the formation of a series of angles. This position of the Allies in a sharp salient is of the utmost value for an offensive, because the artillery of each advanced echelon enfilades the flank of the enemy's line, which faces the next echelon to the rear. Thus the Germans are controlled in a series of right angles wherein they receive the fire of the Allies from two sides. The method of advance by echelon has been remarkable. On the nights of July 4 and 5 the echelon on the right, south of the Somme, reached a point northwest of Barleux, where it spent four days fortifying itself. Meanwhile the other echelon on the left advanced. On July 7 the British echelon on the north attacked the front at Thiepval and La Boisselle. On July 8 the centre echelon advanced, reaching the lines of the Trones Wood and Hardecourt. On July 9 the echelon to the south started an action, attacking on a three-mile front, penetrating the front for one kilometer, and reached Biaches, and on July 10 to 47-Meter Hill, overlooking Peronne.

Echelon means the rung of a ladder or the step of a stair, and a staircase looked at edgewise, with first the lowest step, then the second, then the third pushed forward, gives a picture of the tactics. The enemy contained in each angle can be shot from two directions, from the rise and from the tread of each step. But there is another sense in which the "big push" is a step-by-step arrangement. To smash up the modern reinforced concrete trench and its barbed wire margin requires four or five days' pounding with the heaviest guns. When the pounding is done the infantry rushes forward and seizes the trench, or perhaps a series of two or three trenches. Behind lie further trenches, still to be smashed. To bring forward the heavy guns required for this sort of work, and which are mounted in weighty carriages run on rails, requires, first, the building of the rails on ground recently dislocated by artificial volcanic eruptions. This takes time. Then comes a fresh pounding of several days, followed by a fresh infantry rush, and so on, a step at a time.

The question now arises: Can the Allies step forward faster than their enemies can build new trenches behind the old ones? If so, they will presently break out into comparatively open country. If not, the step-by-step process will of necessity go on at the same rate, right across occupied France and Belgium; perhaps further. Apparently the Allies believe they can go faster, and expect shortly to find open water—or open land—before them, with only hastily extemporized earthworks which the new howitzers should be able to eat up rapidly.

With General Brusiloff's Forces

GENERAL BRUSILOFF'S cyclonic advance is made even more noteworthy as a military achievement by the detailed reports which the mails are now bringing to supplement the meagre cables from the Russian front. Stanley Washburn, correspondent for The London Times, declares that at many points the Russians have been fighting against numerical odds, sometimes of three to one, and that they have been exceedingly sparing of ammunition, very rarely indulging in hurricane fire, but carrying positions by cold steel, with the long 30-inch bayonet, which is always fixed and never taken off the rifle's muzzle. Mr. Washburn describes an advanced position on the Styr, near Kovel, where the Russian troops had earlier

forced a crossing of the river, facing a terrific fire and turning the enemy out of his positions at the point of the bayonet. In hurriedly dug positions offering the most meagre kind of shelter the Russians drove back four consecutive Austrian counterattacks. Each left the field thickly strewn with Austrian dead, besides hundreds of their wounded, who had been left where they fell. Though familiar with Russian courage and tenacity, he says he found it difficult to realize that human beings had been able to carry the positions which the Russians had carried; the Austrian first line representing the very latest practice in field works, and often comparing favorably with the German lines in France, is protected by half a dozen barriers of barbed wire, with strong redoubts and machine gun positions, and with underground shelters often twenty feet deep, while the reserve positions extend in many places from half a mile to a mile in series after series behind the first line, with elaborate communication trenches, shelters, and bomb-proofs. Mr. Washburn also combats the idea that the Austrian defense was weak. At one point he was shown a short sector where no less than 4,000 Austrian dead had been buried, proving a stubborn and courageous resistance. He found very few Slavs, such as Czechs, Poles, or Slovaks, among the Austrian prisoners. These, because of their sympathy for their brother Slavs, the Russians, a sympathy in past expressed by wholesale surrenders, are sent preferably to the Italian front, for there is no love lost between the Slavs and the Italians, both of whom claim and covet the east shore of the Adriatic and the Isonzo Valley.

President Poincare and the Terms of France

SPEAKING on the French National Festival, July 14, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille in 1789, Raymond Poincaré restated the terms which France demands as the consummation of the war: "We are fighting," he said, "not for honor alone, but for honor and life. We are seeking entire restitution of our invaded provinces and of those—Alsace and Lorraine—seized forty-six years ago; for reparation for the violation of rights at the expense of France or of her allies, and for the guarantees necessary for a definitive safeguard of our national independence." Assuming that France and her allies gain a victory as sweeping as the President of the French Republic desires, and as England and Russia, Belgium and Serbia, desire, it is evident that of these requirements some will be very much easier to secure than others. To begin with, the evacuation of the occupied part of Northern France and Belgium; even Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg seems to concede that, though there is danger that his spirit of conciliation may bring his downfall. Next, Alsace and Lorraine could be definitely handed over to France by a stroke of the pen, as they were taken from her by a stroke of the pen, though Germany would doubtless make "mental reservations" as to taking them back again. Even the immense indemnity which, on the principle of damages in a civil suit, the Allies might justly claim from a conquered Germany, could in time be collected, as the indemnity from the Chinese Empire was collected, by taking possession of all the custom houses of the Central Empires and collecting the import and export duties for the Allies' account. But the defense for the future is more difficult, even by a broad system of limitation of armaments. Napoleon attempted exactly that with Prussia, limiting her to an army of so many thousands; but Stein circumvented him by renewing these thousands every few months and thus training an immense army. And the same thing could be done again in half a dozen different ways.

A Separate Peace for Austria

THERE are persistent rumors that Austria is suing for a separate peace; even that a council of Russian Ministers is already considering the terms. What could Austria gain by a separate peace at this stage of the war? Gain is, perhaps, not quite the word; but Austria might hope to save

much, which may otherwise go by the board. It is true that her armies are smashed, that she has no effective reserves, that her Generals are discredited and superseded in their own commands by Germans—a very galling punishment to men as proud as the aristocracy of the Dual Monarchy—and that she is hopelessly bankrupt.

But there are many things which she still possesses, and dreads to lose. No doubt Russia, if conceding a separate peace now, would stipulate for the complete rehabilitation of Montenegro and Serbia, and, very likely, for the compensation of Serbia by the cession to her of Bosnia-Herzegovina; no doubt she would ask for Bukowina and Galicia, both largely Slavonic in blood, though Bukowina is claimed by Rumania, and might have gone to her, had she joined the Entente Powers. But Austria dreads to lose much more, if the war is pushed to the bitter end. To say nothing of Italia Irredenta,' which King Victor Emmanuel will look after, it is well known that Russia is in favor of autonomy for the Austrian Poles of Northern Galicia; for autonomy, probably independence, for the Slavs of Bohemia and Moravia; and also for the Slavs of Hungary, the oppression of whom is a blot on the Magyar scutcheon; with autonomy, or perhaps even union with their Serbian kin, for the Southern Slavs of Croatia, Carinthia, and Carniola. But this would mean the complete dismemberment of the Austrian Empire, and probably the independence of Hungary. To these final and ruinous losses, Franz Josef may well prefer the animosity of Germany, should he desert her; for, deprived of Austrian support, and hemmed in by the Entente Powers, Germany would be in no position to inflict condign punishment on her former ally, who would, on our supposition, have the support of the Entente Powers.

Dangerous as the defection of Austria would be to Germany, to Bulgaria it would be fatal, and, in all probability, to Turkey also, who might in turn sue for peace. But, after all, it is not at all certain that Russia would treat with Austria on any terms. M. Sazonoff tells us she has repeatedly refused a separate peace to Turkey, and the principle is the same. It may well be that, in the opinion of the Entente leaders, Austria will be more dangerous to Germany and more costly, if she remains in the fray, because this will stretch the German armies out in a longer, thinner line; and we may take it as axiomatic that Russia will do nothing, in this direction or any other, that does not meet with the full approval of her western allies.

In Hungary also there is a strong movement for peace, under the leadership of Count Karolyi, a proof of the further disintegration of the Dual Monarchy.

The New Viceroy of Canada

THE Duke of Devonshire, who succeeds his Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught as Governor General and Commander in Chief of the Dominion of Canada, is the nephew of the Duke of Devonshire who, as Marquis of Hartington, was one of the pillars of Gladstonian Cabinets until the Home Rule bill of 1886 made a schism between the erstwhile friends and drove the Marquis, with Joseph Chamberlain, to form the strong minority party of Liberal Unionists. The new Viceroy of Canada is likewise a nephew of the Lord Frederick Cavendish who was assassinated in Phoenix Park, near Dublin, on May 6, 1882, the day on which was born the present Crown Prince of Germany and Prussia. The new Viceroy was born forty-eight years ago, was educated at Eton and Cambridge, and saw something of English Parliamentary life as Member for West Derbyshire, in which lie the great estates of Chatsworth, one of the largest possessions of the Devonshire family, being elected as a Liberal Unionist when he was 23. A year later he married Lady Evelyn Fitzmaurice, a daughter of the Marquis of Lansdowne, who, in the fullness of time, presented him with two sons and five daughters.

The Duke of Devonshire comes to Canada at an interesting time when the great war and the magnificent part played in it by the great volunteer army of Canada have drawn still closer the bonds uniting the Dominion to the heart

of the Empire, and without doubt his social standing and political experience will excellently fit him to head the semi-royal Court at Ottawa, which, through moral and social forces, so strongly influences the life of the great self-governing country, which the Dominion of Canada in reality is. It is almost impossible to overrate the part played by the Viceroys of the "dominions beyond the sea" in binding together the widely separated parts of the British Empire, in unifying the feeling and thought which make for imperial unity, and therefore for potent influence in the councils of the world.

The Ulster Settlement

IN Ireland, more than in other lands, the sources of present discontents have their roots far back in the past. Thus the plea for the exclusion of six counties of Ulster from the Asquith-Lloyd George Home Rule plan rests on events dating back to "the Flight of the Earls" in 1608. Plantations of the south and west of Ireland had been tried, rather disastrously, under Edward VI. and Queen Mary. Where they failed the Stuart Kings succeeded. In 1608 O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell, fearing an attack by James I., fled from Ireland to the Continent. James seized their lands, the greater part of six Ulster counties, and established on them three classes of colonists from Britain: First, "undertakers," who were either English or Scotch, received holdings of 2,000 acres each, on which they were to establish English or Scotch tenants; second, "servitors," who were Protestant Irish, received 1,500 acres each, and might take Scotch, English, or Irish Protestant tenants; third, "old natives," received 1,000 acres each, and subdivided the land among Catholic tenants, who were permitted to evade the Act of Supremacy, which recognized the King, in place of the Pope, as head of the Church. Further, thousands of acres of the confiscated estates of the O'Neills and O'Donnells were granted to Protestant churches and educational institutions, Trinity College, Dublin, receiving some 10,000 acres. Companies of London merchants also received large grants and changed the name of Derry, "the place of oaks," to Londonderry. This system produced a piebald northern province, the Scotch and English tenants, who were scattered among Irish neighbors, holding their land on the understanding that they should receive direct support from their British kin and the British Crown.

This is the understanding which they now plead, in asking to be excluded from Home Rule, and Lloyd George has recognized the validity of their plea, in excluding Antrim, Down, Armagh, Londonderry, Tyrone, and Fermanagh, the six "planted" counties, from the jurisdiction of the new Dublin Parliament. These counties, and the Boroughs of Belfast and Londonderry, will continue to send members of Parliament to Westminster, as they have done since Jan. 1, 1801, when the Act of Legislative Union formed "the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

A real difficulty in the present settlement is the "right of the minority" of Protestant and Unionist Irishmen in the south and west of Ireland, who are equally unwilling to come under the jurisdiction of the Irish Parliament, which they fear will be controlled by Ultramontane influences—a new kind of foreign rule. But there is another minority problem; that of the Nationalists in the six excluded counties of Ulster. Meeting recently at Belfast, and under considerable pressure from Redmond and Devlin, their representatives have, by a large majority, acquiesced in the exclusion of the six Ulster counties, and therefore of the Nationalists in them, from Home Rule. It is notable that the Roman Catholic priests were the strongest element against this acquiescence. The settlement, as proposed by Lloyd George, will probably be officially sanctioned within the coming month, and will remain in force at least until one year after the war.

Russo-Japanese Alliance

THE Russian and Japanese Foreign Offices on July 7 simultaneously announced that a new Russo-Japanese convention had been signed at Petrograd

July 3, 1916, with the following provisions:

First—Japan will not participate in any political arrangement or combination against Russia which assumes the same obligations.

Second—In case one country's Far Eastern territorial rights and special interests recognized by the other are menaced, both Japan and Russia will confer on methods to be taken with a view to mutual support and co-operation in order to protect and defend these rights and interests.

The text of the convention is not yet published on account of the delay of Petrograd's answer to Japan's question whether Russia was willing to make the entire convention public. Premier Okuma elaborated the subject in the following words to a correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The purposes of the Russo-Japanese convention are an extension of the Anglo-Japanese alliance. It aims to preserve Far Eastern peace. Japan cannot bear China's long political disturbances, upsetting Japanese commercial interests in China, whose commercial development brings the most benefit to Japan on account of geographical contiguity.

Japan welcomes American money and investments and will steadfastly maintain the open-door policy in China. There is a full understanding with Great Britain, who welcomes the new convention indorsing the Anglo-Japanese alliance.

The reason Japan does not want to take the full burden of Far Eastern peace alone is that Japan is afraid of being misunderstood by other powers, especially China. Japan welcomes any power's activity to maintain Far Eastern peace and commercial development.

When the Allies advised Yuan to postpone the monarchy Japan twice invited American participation. President Wilson indorsed the Allies' advice in principle, but refused participation, saying America did not want to interfere in Chinese internal affairs.

Japan has no ambition for Chinese territory. The territorial ambition of the old-timers is a dream. Japan annexed Korea and leased the Manchurian Railway zones, as Japan's existence was menaced.

The world does not think President Wilson's Mexican policy is an indication of territorial ambition, notwithstanding that America took Mexican territory years ago. I am sure the powers understand Japan's attitude toward China, seeing that Japan welcomes any power's activity for Chinese peace. Japan is unable to steal China's territory when the former is openly co-operating with other powers.

Tell Americans we heartily welcome their commercial and industrial activity in China. America has enormous capital, which if commercially and industrially invested in China will further Japan's trade with China.

The Japanese Foreign Office categorically denied the rumor that there are any secret clauses in the treaty. It is regarded as a result of the war and was due to the invaluable aid rendered Russia by Japan in procuring arms and munitions for the last offensive.

The United States Government has made no official declaration respecting the treaty, but is keeping as fully informed as possible. The general feeling in the United States, as expressed by leading newspapers, while not at all hostile to the treaty, is one of alertness and keen interest, with a firmer resolution that this country should be prepared on land and sea to meet any reasonable emergency.

Declaration of London Abandoned

THE British and French Governments on July 8 announced their withdrawal of the Declaration of London. The new order declares it to be the intention of Great Britain and her allies to exercise their belligerent rights at sea in strict accordance with the law of nations. On account of the changed conditions of commerce and the diversity of practice, doubts might arise in certain matters as to the rules which the Allies might regard as in conformity with the law of nations, and it is ordered that the following provisions be observed:

First—The hostile destination required for the condemnation of contraband articles shall be presumed to exist until the contrary is shown if the goods are consigned to or for an enemy authority or agent of an enemy State, or to or for a person in the territory belonging to or occupied by the enemy, or to or for a person who during the present hostilities has forwarded contraband goods to an enemy authority or agent of an enemy State, or to or for a person in territory belonging to or occupied by the enemy, or if the goods are consigned "to order," or if the ship's papers do not show who is the real consignee of the goods.

Second—The principle of continuous voyage or ultimate destination shall be applicable both in cases of contraband and blockade.

Third—A neutral vessel carrying contraband with papers indicating a neutral destination which, notwithstanding the destination shown on the papers, proceeds to an enemy port, shall be liable to capture and condemnation

if she is encountered before the end of her next voyage.

Fourth—A vessel carrying contraband shall be liable to capture and condemnation if the contraband, reckoned either by value, weight, volume or freight, forms more than half the cargo.

It is further ordered that nothing in the new regulations shall be deemed to affect the Order in Council of March 11, 1915, for further restricting the commerce of the enemy, or any proclamations declaring articles to be contraband of war during the present hostilities; nor shall the new regulations affect the validity of anything done under the Orders in Council now withdrawn. Any cause or proceeding commenced in prize court before the making of the new order may, if the court thinks it just, be heard and decided under the orders withdrawn, so far as they were in force when such cause or proceeding was begun or would have been applicable in such cause or proceeding if the new order had not been made.

The new order is cited as "Maritime Rights Order in Council, 1916."

The Declaration of London was the name given to a code drawn up in 1909 by the powers for the use of an International Prize Court at The Hague. The Hague Conference of 1907 had determined on an international prize court, but did not settle the code of maritime law to be administered in it. Great Britain subsequently invited the powers to a conference to settle the law to be administered and a code was drawn up.

In England great objections were taken to the declaration as tending to destroy the maritime power of Great Britain, with the result that the Naval Prize bill, which authorized the declaration and the establishment of an international court, so far as Great Britain was concerned, and had been passed by the House of Commons, was thrown out by the House of Lords.

At the opening of the war the Government adopted the rules of the declaration, subject to certain conditions and modifications and additions, as a working code of prize law. The declaration was never ratified by the United States. The effect of the change in British policy will be to revive the general application of international law as interpreted prior to 1909.

Attacks on the German Chancellor

DR. VON BETHMANN HOLLWEG, Imperial Chancellor of Germany, finds himself in a position of great and daily increasing difficulty. The other day he was compelled to answer in the Reichstag the virulent anonymous attack of a pamphleteer who pays England the compliment of signing himself "A Second Junius." One passage of this pamphlet, which represents the view of the Conservative Junker party, and a part of the element of big business, is especially interesting to ourselves. Speaking of the suppression of Grand Admiral von Tirpitz, the German Junius says:

> The results which were bound to be brought about by the American policy of Bethmann Hollweg have not failed to make their appearance. President Wilson, far from being deterred by the weak policy of Germany in pursuing his antagonistic course, was encouraged to push his triumphs even further at the expense of an easily cowed nation. He proved the fallacy of Helfferich's assumptions, and, not content with that, insisted upon the recall of the Germany Military and Naval Attachés, who had incurred his disfavor. Never before the time of the Chancellorship of Bethmann Hollweg has the honor of the empire been so shamefully ignored as in these various negotiations with America, in which the Chancellor surrendered the oath of service of German officers with the same lightness with which he surrendered the honor of the empire. These feelings are intensified when one remembers that the Austrian Empire, which also yielded to the wishes of America and recalled the Austrian Ambassador, did so in such a way, as later in the case of the Ancona, that the dignity and honor of the monarchy did not suffer. Whoever understands how to read the notes will hardly doubt that the reply of Burian to America was a slap in the face, and not alone to the statesmen in Washington.

The German peace discussion presupposes that it will rest with Germany to dictate terms, while the Allies, on the other hand, now discourage all peace talk and give the impression that they will state their terms when Germany admits she is vanquished.

THE BRITISH OFFENSIVE

By Philip Gibbs

British War Correspondent

[See Map of Battle Front on Page 808]

Philip Gibbs's descriptions of the great British offensive in Picardy will rank with the most brilliant literary products of the whole war. We present here a series of extracts from his articles covering the first two weeks' fighting, chronologically arranged so as to give a moving picture of the whole drive, by night and by day, each flash of the film hot with the excitement of the events that inspired it.

SATURDAY, JULY 1

THE great attack which was launched today against the German lines on a twenty-mile front has begun satisfactorily. The British troops, fighting with splendid valor, have swept across the German front trenches along the great part of the line of attack, and have captured villages and strongholds which the Germans have long held. They are fighting their way forward, not easily but doggedly.

The guns spoke one morning last week with louder voice than yet had been heard upon the front, and as they crashed out all knew it was the signal for the new attack. Their fire increased in intensity, covering raids at many points of the line, until at last all things were ready for the biggest raid.

The scene of the battlefields at night was of terrible beauty. I motored out from a town behind the lines where through their darkened windows the French citizens watched the illumination of the sky, throbbing and flashing to distant shellfire. * * * On this night of bombardment I stood with a few officers in the centre of a crescent sweeping round from Auchonvilliers, Thiepval, La Boisselle, and Fricourt to Bray on the Somme at the southern end of the curve. Here in two beet-root fields on high ground we stood watching one of the greatest artillery battles in which British gunners had been engaged.

The night sky was very calm and moist with low-lying clouds not stirred by the wind. It was rent with incessant flashes of light as shells of every calibre burst and scattered. Out of the black ridges and woods in front of us came the explosions of white flare as if the earth had opened and let loose its inner heat. They came up with the burst of an intense brilliance which spread along 100 yards of ground and then vanished abruptly behind the black curtain of night. It was the work of the high explosives and heavy trench mortars falling in the German lines over Thiepval and La Boisselle. There were rapid flashes of bursting shrapnel shells, and these points of flame stabbed the sky along the whole battle front.

From the German lines rockets were rising continually. They rose high and their star-shell remained suspended for half a minute with intense brightness. While the light lasted it cut out the black outline of trees and broken roofs and revealed heavy white smoke clouds rolling over the German positions.

The full power of the British artillery was let loose at about 6 o'clock this morning. Nothing like it has ever been seen or heard upon the front before, and all preliminary bombardment, great as it was, seemed insignificant to this. I do not know how many batteries are along this battle line or upon the section of the line which I could see, but the guns seemed crowded in vast numbers of every calibre, and the concentration of their fire was terrific in its intensity.

For a time I could see nothing through the low-lying mist and the heavy smoke clouds which mingled with the mist, and I stood like a blind man, only listening. It was a wonderful thing which came to my ears. Shells were rushing through the air as though all the trains in the world were driving at express speed

through endless tunnels in which they met each other with frightful collisions. The Germans were being blasted by a hurricane of fire.

At a minute after 7:30 o'clock there came through the rolling smoke clouds a rushing sound. It was the noise of rifle fire and machine guns. The men were out of their trenches and the attack had begun. The Germans were barraging the lines. The country chosen for the main attack today stretches from the Somme for some twenty miles northward.

The French were to operate on the immediate right. It is a very different country from Flanders with its swamps and flats, and from the Loos battlefields with their dreary plain pimpled by slag heaps. It is a sweet and pleasant country with wooded hills and little valleys along the river beds of the Ancre and Somme and fertile meadowlands, and stretches of woodland, where the soldiers and guns may get good cover.

It was difficult ground in front of us. The Germans were strong in their defenses. In the clumps of woodland beside the ruined villages they hid many machine guns and trench mortars, and each ruined house in each village was part of a fortified stronghold, difficult to capture by direct assault. It was here, however, and with good hopes of success, that the Allies attacked today, working westward across the Ancre and northward up from the Somme.

When the British left their assembly trenches and swept forward, cheering, they encountered no great resistance from the German soldiers who had been in hiding in their dugouts under the storm of shells. Many of these dugouts were blown in and filled with dead, but out of others, which had not been flung to pieces by high explosives, crept dazed and deafened men, who held their hands up and bowed their heads. Some of them in one part of the line came out of their shelters as soon as the guns lifted and met the British soldiers half way with signs of surrender. They were collected and sent back under guard, while the attacking columns passed on to the second and third lines in the network of trenches.

TUESDAY, JULY 4

It is beyond the power of words to give a picture of the German trenches over the battlefield of Montauban, where the British now hold a line through the wood beyond. Before Saturday last it was a wide, far-reaching network of trenches, with many communication ways and strong traverses and redoubts. No mass of infantry, however great, would have dared to assault such position with bombs and rifles. It was a great underground fortress which any body of men could have held against any others for all time apart from the destructive power of the heavy artillery.

But now it was the most frightful convulsion of the earth that the eyes of man could see. The bombardment of the British guns tossed all these earthworks into vast rubbish heaps and made this ground a vast series of shell craters so deep and so broad that it is like a field of extinct volcanoes. The ground rose and fell in enormous waves of brown earth, so that standing above one crater I saw before me these solid billows with thirty feet of slopes stretching away like a sea frozen after a great storm.

The British must have hurled hundreds if not thousands of shells from their heaviest howitzers and long-range guns into this stretch of fields. Even many of the dugouts going thirty feet below the earth and strongly timbered and cemented had been choked with the masses of earth so that many dead bodies must lie buried there. But some had been left in spite of the upheaval of the earth around them, and, into some of these, I crept down, impelled by the strong, grim spell of those little dark rooms below where German soldiers lived only a few days ago.

The little square rooms were fitted up with relics of German officers and men. Tables were strewn with papers. On wooden bedsteads lay blue-gray overcoats. Wine bottles, photograph albums, furry haversacks, boots, belts, and kits of every kind all had been tumbled together by the British soldiers who had come here after the first rush to the

German trenches and searched for men in hiding. In one of the dugouts I stumbled against something and fumbled for my matches. When I struck a light I saw in a corner of the room a German who lay curled up with his head on his arms as though asleep. I did not stay to look at his face, but went up quickly, and yet I went down the others and lingered in one where no corpse lay, because of the tragic spirit that dwelt there and put its spell on me.

SATURDAY, JULY 8

After the first four days of battle there was something like a lull for twenty-four hours—a lull filled with the great noise of the guns, which was then broken by fresh assaults made by our troops in the direction of Mametz Wood and Contalmaison. For two days now, on Thursday and Friday, there has been severe fighting in that territory, and, although we lost Contalmaison last night, after taking it in the morning, it is, I am sure, only a temporary setback, for our position is strong in its neighborhood, and great loss has been inflicted upon the enemy. The battle of Contalmaison is not yet finished. It will be a distinct and important episode in the history of this campaign.

I have been able to see something of the battle, all the fierce picture of our shellfire, but at the time with no accurate idea of what really was happening beyond our guns, and with that sense of confusion and mystery which all soldiers have when they are on the battlefield, knowing very little of what is going on to the left or right of them, not knowing what is happening to themselves or why they stand where they do, or what order will next come to them, or whether our men are doing well or badly.

SUNDAY, JULY 9

It often has been said that the enemy's lines, which stretch from the sea to the Vosges, are one great fortress, and this is true, but it is more essentially and even technically true of the line through which we broke on July 1. The great German salient which curves round from Gommecourt to Fricourt is like a chain of mediaeval fortresses connected by earthworks and tunnels. The fortresses, or strong places as we now call them, are ruined villages stronger in defense than any old tower because they are filled with machine guns, trench mortars, and other deadly engines of destruction—Gommecourt, Beaumont, Hamel, Thiepval, Ovillers, La Boisselle, and Fricourt.

In spite of the superb courage of those British battalions which flung themselves against those strongholds on the left side of the German salient they did not fall, but breaches were made in their defenses which are now being widened and deepened. On the southern side, where the attack succeeded, La Boisselle and Fricourt and, further eastward, Mametz and Montauban are ours, and the attack is pushing further in to turn the strong places on the left from within the fortress walls, as it were, while they are being weakened by assaults from without.

MONDAY, JULY 10

The village of Contalmaison has been taken by the British. The Germans knew the position was hopeless. When the British guns lifted they heard the cheers of the British infantry on both sides of the village, and many of them streamed out of the village in a disorderly retreat only to be caught behind by the extended barrages between Contalmaison and Pozières and Bazentin-le-Petit, so that their rout became a shambles.

The British were quickly in the village and, having learned the lesson by experience of other troops at other places, made a thorough search of machine gun implacements and dugouts so there should be no further trouble with this wasp's nest.

The men left in Contalmaison were in a dreadful state. They suffered to the very brink of human endurance and beyond. They were surprised to find themselves alive enough to be taken prisoners.

One of those men with whom I talked this morning told me a tragic tale. He spoke a little English, having been a cabinetmaker in Tottenham Court Road some years ago before he went back to

Württemberg, where when the war began he was, he said, taken and put in a uniform and told to fight. With the other men of the 122d Bavarian Regiment he went into Contalmaison five days ago. Soon the rations they brought with them were finished. Owing to the ceaseless gunfire it was impossible to get fresh supplies. They suffered great agonies of thirst and the numbers of their dead and wounded increased steadily.

"There was a hole in the ground," said this German cabinetmaker, whose head was bound with a bloody bandage and who was dazed and troubled when I talked with him. "It was a dark hole which held twenty men, all lying in a heap together, and that was the only dugout for my company, so there was not room for more than a few. It was necessary to take turns in this shelter while outside the English shells were coming and bursting everywhere. Two or three men were dragged out to make room for two or three others, then those who went outside were killed or wounded. Some of them had their heads blown off, some of them had both legs torn off, and some of them their arms, but we went on taking turns in the hole, although those who went outside knew it was their turn to die very likely. At last the most of those who came into the hole were wounded, some of them badly, so that we lay in blood.

"There was only one doctor there, an unterofficer—he pointed to a man who lay asleep on the ground face downward—and he bandaged some of us till he had no more bandages; then last night we knew the end was coming. Your guns began to fire altogether the dreadful trommelfeurer, as we call it, and the shells burst and smashed up the earth about us. We stayed down in the hole waiting for the end. Then we heard your soldiers shouting. Presently two of them came down into our hole. They were two boys and had their pockets full of bombs; they had bombs in their hands also, and they seemed to wonder whether they would kill us; but we were all wounded, nearly all, and we cried 'Kameraden!' and now we are prisoners, and I am thirsty."

Other prisoners told me, in effect, that the fire was terrible in Contalmaison, and at least half their men holding it were killed or wounded, so that when the British entered last night they walked over the bodies of the dead. These men who escaped were in a pitiful condition. They lay on the ground utterly exhausted, most of them, and, what was strange, with their faces to the earth. Perhaps it was to blot out the vision of the things seen.

THURSDAY, JULY 13

Ovillers is a place of abominable ruin. There is nothing left of it except dust. There is not a wall standing two feet high or a bit of a wall. The guns have swept it flat, but under ground there are still great cellars quarried out by the inhabitants, who long ago fled, and in these the Germans are holding out against our attacks and our bombardments.

Heavy shells have opened up some of them and filled them with dead and wounded, but many still stand strong, and out of them come the enemy's machine guns and bombers to make counterattacks against the ditches and débris from which our men have been working forward. The ground is pitted with enormous shell holes, in which the men lie buried. Ovillers is perhaps more ghastly than any ruined ground along this front.

It was at 8 o'clock in the morning of July 7 that the southeastern part of the village was taken by assault. The North Country men advanced from a line to north of La Boisselle after a grand bombardment and went over the open ground to the labyrinth of trenches which defended the village. These had been smashed into a tumult of earth and sandbags, but, as usual, some German machine gunners had been untouched in their dugouts, and they came up to serve their machines as soon as our barrage lifted.

The next day our men worked their way forward above ground and below ground. Some crept out of the ditch and worked up to the bombing post made by officers on the left of the village.

Another body of troops made a sudden forward movement and, taking the enemy by surprise, marched round the left and took up a line right across the southwest end of Ovillers without loss. This was a great gain, which enabled our men to link up from separate posts.

SATURDAY, JULY 15

We have broken through the German second line, through and beyond, on a front of two miles and a half, and for the first time since October, 1914, cavalry has been in action.

Given a certain number of guns on a certain length of front with hardened troops ready for a big dash, and there was no doubt we could break the enemy's first line or system as we broke through at Neuve Chapelle and at Loos. But afterward? That was the hard thing to solve. No one on the western front had found the formula to carry an offensive beyond the first line without coming to a dead check at a river of blood. The French troops who broke through in Champagne fell before they reached the second line. At Loos the Highlanders and Londoners swept through the first line and then at Hill 70 and Hulluch were faced by an annihilating fire and could go no further except to death. But today we broke the second German line.

The attack was to begin before dawn. It was a night of beauty, very warm and calm, with the moon giving a milky light to the world. Clouds trailed across it without obscuring its brightness. The whitewashed walls of cottages and barns appeared out of great gulfs of shadow. For several miles only one figure stood at every crossroad. It was the figure of Christ on a wayside Calvary.

The road, which was lined with trees, made a tunnel with its foliage, and at the end of the tunnel, which showed a patch of sky, there were strange lights flashing like flaming swords, cutting through the darkness. We went up toward the lights and toward the monstrous tumult of noise, and walked straight across the country toward the centre of the circle of fire which was all around us.

I described the bombardment on the night before July 1. Then it seemed to me that nothing could be more overwhelming to one's soul and senses, but this was worse, more wonderful and more terrible.

Our batteries were firing with intense fury. Flashes of them were away back behind us, where the "heavies" have their hiding place, and over all the ground in front of our new line of attack they came out of the black earth with the short, sharp stabs of red flame, whose light filled the hollows with pools of fire, and the sky and ridges of ground and earthworks and ruins and woods across our lines were blazing with the flashes of bursting shells. The blinding light leaped about like a will-o'-the-wisp.

For a second it lit up all the horizon over Contalmaison and gave a sudden picture of a ghastly white and broken château with clumps of trees about it. Then it was blotted out by great blackness and instantly shifted to Mametz Wood or to Montauban, revealing their shapes intensely and shells crashing beyond them until they, too, disappeared with the click of the black shutter.

A moment later and Fricourt was filled with a white brilliance so that every bit of its ruin, its hideous rummage of earth, its old mine craters, and its plauge-stricken stumps of trees was etched upon one's eyes.

Along the German second line, by Bazentin-le-Grand, Bazentin-le-Petit, and Longueval, at the back of the woods, shells were bursting without a second's pause, and in great clusters they tore open the ground and let out gusts of flames. Flame fountains rose and spread from the German trenches above Pearl Wood.

The dark night was rent with all these flames and hundreds of batteries feeding fires. Every calibre gun was at work. Heavy shells, 15-inch, 12.7, 8-inch, 6-inch, 4, 7, came overhead like flocks of birds—infernal birds with wings that beat the air into waves and came whining with a shrill high note and swooped to earth with monstrous roar. Lighter batteries far forward were beating a devil's tattoo—one, two, three, four; one,

GENERAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG

British Commander in Chief of Armies Engaged in the Powerful Anglo-French Offensive in Picardy

(Photo © Elliott & Fry)

GENERAL FOCH

The French Commander Who, Under Joffre, Is Co-operating With Sir Douglas Haig in the Great Anglo-French Drive

(Photo from Bain News Service)

two, three, four, with sharp knocks that clouted one's ears. I sat on a wooden box on the top of an old dugout in the midst of all the fury. There was a great gun to my left, and every time it fired it shook the box and all the earth underneath with violent vibration.

The moon disappeared soon after 3 o'clock, and no stars were to be seen, but presently a faint ghost of dawn appeared. The white earth of the old and disused trenches about me became visible. A lark arose and sang overhead, and at 3:30 o'clock there was a sudden moment of hush. It was the lifting of the guns and the time of attack. Over there in the darkness by Mametz Wood and Montauban thousands of men had risen to their feet, and were going forward to the second German line or to the place where death was waiting for them.

At 4:10 there was a red glow to the right of Montauban. It rose and spread upward, a great torch with sparks dancing over it.

"By jove," cried one of the men near me, "that's Longueval on fire."

In a little while there was no doubt about it. I could see the sharp edge of the broken buildings in the heart of the red glow. The village of Longueval was in flames. * * *

Later in the day the backwash of the battle, the wounded and the prisoners, came down like the tide, but long before then I knew we had broken the second line and our men were fighting on the high ground beyond. The village of Longueval was ours; Bazentin-le-Grand, both wood and village, and Bazentin-le-Petit were ours. The gallant body of men had swept through Trones Wood, on the extreme right of the line, and patrols were pushing into Delville Wood and toward the highest ridge behind the broken German trenches.

I hear these trenches in the second German line are not deeply dug and that the dugouts themselves hardly bombproof.

For once in a way the Germans have been overconfident, and paid now a bitter price for their pride in believing the first line was impregnable. I do not care to write about this part of the fighting. It was bloody work, and would not be good to read. An incident was told me by a kilted Sergeant as he lay wounded. From one of the dugouts came a German officer. He had a wild light in his eyes, and carried a great axe.

"I surrender," he said in good English, and in broad Scotch the Sergeant told him if he had an idea of surrendering it would be a good and wise thing to drop his chopper first; but the German officer swung it high, and it came like a flash past the Sergeant's head. Like a flash also the bayonet did its work.

While the men were cleaning up the dugouts in the first-line trenches other men pressed on and stormed into Longueval village. The great fires there which I had seen in the darkness died down, and there was only a glow and smolder of them in the ruins; but the machine guns were still chattering.

In one broken building there were six of them firing through holes in the walls. It was a strong redoubt, sweeping the ground which had once been a roadway and now was a shambles. Scottish soldiers rushed the place and flung bombs into it until there was no more swish of bullets, but only a rising of smoke clouds and black dust.

Longueval was a heap of charred bricks above the ground, but there was still trouble below ground before it was firmly taken. There are many cellars in which the Germans fought like wolves at bay, and down in the darkness of these places men fought savagely, seeing only the glint of each others' eyes and feeling for each others' throats, unless there were still bombs handy to make a quicker ending.

It was primitive warfare; cavemen fought like that in such darkness, though not with bombs, which belong to our age.

TUESDAY, JULY 18

In all the fighting during the last fortnight the struggle for Ovillers stands out separately as a siege in which both attack and defense were of the most dogged and desperate kind. The surrender of the remnants of its garrison last night ends an episode which will not be forgotten in history.

These men were of the Third Prussian

Guards, and our Commander in Chief in his day's dispatches has paid tribute to their bravery, which is echoed by the officers and men who fought against them. It is a tribute to our own troops also, who, by no less courage, broke down the stubborn resistance and captured the garrison.

I have already described the earlier phases of the siege. * * * But after that, when our men were separated from the enemy by only a yard or two or by only a barricade or two, the artillery on both sides ceased to fire upon Ovillers lest the gunners should kill their own men. They barraged intensely round about. Our shells fell incessantly to the north and east. So that the beleaguered garrison should not get supplies or reinforcements we made a wall of death about them. But, though no shells now burst over the ground where many dead lay strewn, there was artillery of a lighter kind, not less deadly. It was the artillery of machine guns and bombs. The Prussian Guards made full use of the vaulted cellars and ruined houses. They made a series of small keeps which were defended almost entirely by machine-gun fire.

Between the attacks of our bombing parties they went below ground into dark vaults, where it was safe enough from trench mortar and hand grenades, leaving a sentry or two on the lookout for any infantry assault. As soon as we advanced, the machine guns set to work and played their hose of bullets across the ground which our men had to cover.

One by one, by getting around about them, by working zigzag ways through cellars and ruins, by sudden rushes of bombing parties led by young officers of daring spirit, we knocked out those machine-gun emplacements, and of the gunners who served them until yesterday there was only a last remnant of the garrison left in Ovillers.

These men of the Third Prussian Guard long had been in a hopeless position. They were starving because all supplies were cut off by our never-ending barrage. They had no water supply, so suffered all the torture of great thirst. They were living in a charnal house strewn with the dead bodies of their comrades and with wounded men delirious for lack of drink.

Human nature could make no longer resistance, and at last the officers raised the signal of surrender and came over with nearly 140 men, who held their hands up.

The fighting had been savage. At close grips, in broken earthworks and deep cellars, there had been no sentiment, but British soldiers and Germans had flung themselves upon each other with bombs and any kinds of weapon, but now, when all was ended, the last of the German garrison was received with the honors of war.

The Battle of the Somme

Anglo-French Teamwork

IT is not improbable that the concerted offensive against the German lines in Picardy, begun July 1 after the most terrible bombardment known even in this war of high explosives, will go down into history as the battle of the Somme, and that it will mark the beginning of an important change in the course of events. It has already changed the war map in that part of France, and seems likely to change it much more as the weeks go on.

Britain at last is fully prepared to fight. The great armies recruited and trained by Lord Kitchener, with the mountains of munitions piled up by Lloyd George, have become a tremendous weapon in the skilled hands of General Sir Douglas Haig; and they are supported on the right by a French army under General Foch that has shown itself

more than able to keep pace with them. The fighting of the British wing is eloquently described in the foregoing article by Philip Gibbs, but it must not be forgotten that the battle of the Somme is a joint enterprise of close teamwork under the supreme direction of General Joffre.

Thus far we have heard less of the French than of the English wing, but its achievement has been equally brilliant. The Germans caught between these Frenchmen and Peronne, like those caught between the British and Bapaume, have resisted to the limit of human endurance, but nothing human could survive the awful blasting of high explosives to which their first and second trench lines were subjected; and the Allies now have the shells and the men to keep up the pressure indefinitely. The stronger battalions are henceforth on their side.

A correspondent who visited the French army on July 9 in its advanced position near Peronne gives us this glimpse of the country over which the battle had swept:

"As far as the eye can see the view is utterly the same; utterly monotonous, nothing but desolate slopes that once were a thickly populated French countryside. The complete inhumanity of outlook strikes one tremendously. Here two great armies are at death grips, yet apart from the incessant tumult of cannonade and the never-ending rows of little smoke clouds—new ones forming before the preceding ones have time to melt—one might be thousands of miles from civilization. Our maps are of little assistance. Here should be Feuillers, there Flaucourt, further on Assevilliers, but one can distinguish nothing save heaps of blackened stones that appear through the glasses. Even the roads have been swept away by the bombardment. Nothing but ditchlike trench lines mark the presence of humans.

"Suddenly voices cried: 'Look over there, you can see soldiers.' About half a mile before us one sees groups of men like ants working busily on the hillside. Through the glasses one sees that they are sheltering themselves with extraordinary care. Some have strange oblong shields like the ancient Roman legionaries. Others are grouped under a kind of casemate on wheels whose roof touches the ground in front rising in a curve behind to give room for the workers. Still others hide behind a ripple of ground or hillocks.

"All are working furiously with picks and shovels. I have been told that the British losses have been heightened by an utter disregard of danger. Even when not engaged in attacks our allies seem still not to realize the necessity of unremitting caution. But the French have learned the lesson that Verdun hammered home—that the best soldier is he who regards his life as belonging to France, something precious, never to be risked save when sheer necessity demands it. That, combined with the magnificent artillery service, is the reason why the French losses in this battle have been less than half—I speak from intimate knowledge—those in any previous French offensive in proportion to the number of troops engaged."

A German correspondent, describing the battle of July 12, wrote to a leading Berlin newspaper:

"The violent English attacks that developed on Monday afternoon on the road from Albert to Bapaume, and whose principal blow was directed against our position from Ovillers to La Boisselle, at Contalmaison, the Wood of Mametz, Bazentin-le-Grand, and the woods of Bernafay and Thrones, have continued uninterruptedly for forty-eight hours, having increased to unheard-of violence. Approximately fourteen kilometers long, the attacking front presents a picture of one immense battle, swaying now one way, now the other.

"The English, who have a colossal numerical superiority, hurl attacking wave after wave, division after division, against our defenses, staking everything on a renewed embittered effort to wipe out the failure of the first offensive week by widening the strip of ground so far gained by them, in order to give the wedge driven into our lines a broader front.

"What our troops have performed in stemming this attacking flood and what they still are doing every moment belong

to the most glorious deeds of this war. Repeatedly in the course of these charges of unheard-of embitteredness, which continue day and night, the English have succeeded in temporarily getting a footing on the edge of positions they strove to take, but so far we have invariably succeeded in tearing their achieved success away from them by our counterattacks.

"The French are mainly pressing forward in the region of Estrées and Belloy, and also against Barleux—in other words, against our defensive dams on our south and southeast flanks. Here, too, the attacks follow one another like waves. A stubborn battle rages incessantly, in which the enemy's embittered passion for gaining ground and the loyal and glorious firmness of our defenders measure strength. Particularly Hill 97 and La Maisonette continue to be the favorite goal of the French. Their attempts to storm them continue to be checked by our barrier fire. Likewise, their mass storms in the sector from Belloy to Barleux collapsed, with frightful losses, in our fire.

"But the battle continues, and these two sectors in the enemy's offensive have perhaps not yet reached their last horrible climax of intensity."

In the first ten days the Anglo-French Armies had, to quote Sir Douglas Haig, "completed the methodical capture of the whole of the enemy's first system of defense on a front of 14,000 yards," and had taken 22,000 German prisoners and 104 guns. By the end of the first fortnight they had shattered the second line of German defenses and paused to fortify themselves in their new positions. At the present writing they are undergoing heavy counterattacks, but are holding most of what they have won. They are prepared to keep up a slow and steady pressure, pounding every step of the way with heavy shells if necessary.

The British method of storming trenches, which has won the admiration of French officers, is to combine the smashing of concrete shelters under heavy shell fire with a system of night raiding by scouting parties. The raiders locate hidden machine guns and finish the destruction of barbed-wire entanglements, thus opening the way for the usual charges of infantry. If Sir Douglas Haig ever breaks through into open country he will make extensive use of cavalry.

David Lloyd George, in his new rôle of War Minister, gives this explanation of the latest turn of events:

"We have crossed the watershed, and now victory is beginning to flow in our direction. This change is due to the improvement in our equipment. The British Navy has until recently absorbed more than half the metal workers of this country. The task of building new ships and repairing the old ones for the gigantic navy, and fitting and equipping them, occupies the energies of a million men. Most of our new factories are now complete, most of the machinery has been set up. Hundreds of thousands of men and women, hitherto unaccustomed to metal and chemical work, have been trained for munitions making.

"Every month we are turning out hundreds of guns and howitzers, light, medium, and heavy; our heavy guns are rolling in at a great rate, and we are turning out nearly twice as much ammunition in a single week and, what's more, nearly three times as much heavy shell, as we fired in the great offensive in September, although the ammunition we expended in that battle was the result of many weary weeks' accumulation. The new factories and workshops we set up have not yet attained one-third their full capacity, but their output is now increasing with great rapidity. Our main difficulty in organization, construction, equipment, labor supply, and readjustment has been solved. If officials, employers, and workmen keep at it with the same zeal and assiduity as they have hitherto employed, our supplies will soon be overwhelming.

"I cannot help thinking that the improvement in the Russian ammunition has been one of the greatest and most unpleasant surprises the enemy has sustained. Still, our task is but half accomplished. Every great battle furnishes additional proof that this is a war of equipment. More ammunition means more victories and fewer casualties."

Six Weeks of the Russian Drive

Written for CURRENT HISTORY

By Charles Johnston

[See Russian War Map on Page 813]

At the beginning of the drive the Russian battle front ran nearly due north and south from Riga to Rumania, not far from the 27th meridian of east longitude. Its length was about 600 miles. Of troops standing shoulder to shoulder it would take 2,000,000 to guard this line; a double row would number 4,000,000 men. The active Russian Army of the West before war broke out numbered twenty-seven corps, or 1,080,000 men, to whom probably twice as many reserve corps were added during the mobilization. It is probable that the fighting line on the Russian front contains about the same number, seventy-five to eighty army corps, with ample reserves immediately available. These men are divided into about a dozen armies of six or seven army corps (240,000 to 280,000 men) each, spread along the line from north to south.

These dozen armies are gathered into three groups—the north, the centre, and the south. General Kuropatkin, War Minister and Commander in Chief in the war of 1905-6 against Japan, commands the northern group, whose most important task is the defense of the Dwina from Riga to Dvinsk. General Evert commands the centre army group. General Brusiloff commands the group of the south, to which the most active part in the offensive has hitherto been assigned.

General Brusiloff's army group is divided into four armies. The most northern of the four, operating in the direction of Kovel and Vladimir-Volynski, (the Styr-Stokhod region,) is commanded by General Keladin; the second from the north, operating against the northeast corner of Galicia in the general direction of Lemberg, is commanded by General Sakharoff; the third from the north, which is aiming due west toward Stanislavoff, (Stanislau,) is commanded by General Cherbacheff; the fourth and southernmost is commanded by the brilliant and successful General Lechitski.

Opposed to the three Russian army groups are three Teutonic army groups. The most northern, facing General Kuropatkin, is commanded by Field Marshal von Hindenburg. The Teutonic army group of the centre, facing General Evert about the Pripet River and marshland, is commanded by Prince Leopold. The southern Teutonic army group was, when the drive began, under the command of Archduke Friedrich of Austria; he appears to have been superseded by General Linsingen, who defended the Carpathians against General Brusiloff a year and a half ago.

It is probable that each of the four armies which make up General Brusiloff's army group contains six or seven corps, or about 250,000 men, and that, whatever may be their losses, each corps will be kept continually up to its full strength. It is known that Russia recently brought to the fighting line some 3,000,000 new troops between the ages of 21 and 23. On them the brunt of the present fighting is falling, and they have done brilliantly. There is also abundance of large guns and shells.

Thus equipped, the new Russian armies began the drive in the first days of June, bringing a steady and fairly equal pressure to bear on practically the whole front from the Pripet marshes (the great swamp country about Minsk and Pinsk) southward to the Rumanian frontier. Meanwhile the two army groups further north, under General Kuropatkin and General Evert, began systematically to hammer the forces along their line, under Field Marshal von Hindenburg and Prince Leopold, with such vigor, so real a threat of immediate offensive, that there could be small possibility of withdrawing Teu-

tonic forces from any of these northern points to stiffen the lines further south, against which the real drive was directed. But we should keep clearly in mind that, should the northern Teutonic army groups show signs of weakening at any point between Riga and the Pripet, Russia will immediately start a forward drive at that point. She now has the men, the guns, and the organization to do this. Kuropatkin or Evert may at any moment receive directions to advance from General Alexeieff, Commander in Chief under the Emperor, to whom is intrusted the task of correlating the movements of the three army groups, while General Shuvaieff, as War Minister, keeps up the flow of men and munitions.

The Teutonic line did not resist the Russian line equally at all points. The Austrian armies under the Archduke Josef Ferdinand and General Puhallo, charged with the defense of Lutsk and Dubno, were driven backward, early losing both these strongly fortified towns. The Teutonic line began to bend back at that point toward Kovel and Vladimir-Volynski, and in this direction General Keladin's Russian army has just crossed the Stokhod River and is approaching Kovel. The Teutonic army below these, operating under General Boehm-Ermolli to the west of Tarnapol, held its ground more firmly, though it was also driven backward from its lines. To the south of this, again, General von Bothmer was pushed steadily back to and across the Stripa (one of the north-and-south tributaries on the east bank of the Dniester) by General Cherbacheff. At the southern end of the line General von Pflanzer-Ballin, generally spoken of in the bulletins as General Pflanzer, was caught by the brilliant strategy of General Lechitski, who was very abundantly supplied with Cossack cavalry, (not included in the system of twenty-seven army corps above described,) who are perfectly adapted to the rapidly moving warfare we have witnessed in Bukowina.

It would seem that General Lechitski so heavily attacked Czernowitz, the capital of Bukowina, from the east that the whole attention and resources of General Pflanzer were concentrated on meeting this attack. Meanwhile Lechitski sent further forces up the Pruth, just south of which Czernowitz lies, to the railroad town of Snyatin, the capture of which secured possession to the Russians of the one railroad by which General Pflanzer's forces might have got out of Bukowina and westward through the Carpathians to some Hungarian base. But General Pflanzer seems to have held on too long. Not only did he find Czernowitz taken by fierce Russian assaults across the Pruth, but when, after losing the city, he turned to escape he found the Russians had got ahead of him and were already astride of the railroad at Snyatin.

From the Czernowitz-Snyatin line, thus taken, General Lechitski opened out his forces like a fan, sweeping the pieces of General Pflanzer's army southward toward the Rumanian frontier and westward toward the Carpathian foothills, which come far forward on the Bukowina lowlands. At this stage the Cossacks began to do yeoman's service, racing after the retreating Austrians and even making their way at two or three points through the passes into Hungarian Transylvania.

General Lechitski has, perhaps, been criticised for sending his Cossacks through the passes to the Hungarian plains; but it should be remembered that there lie the most fertile wheat fields of the Central Empires, and that the principles of war impose on Lechitski the duty of destroying them if he possibly can. Hence the frenzied haste of the Hungarian harvesters recently reported from Vienna.

But much more important from a strategic point of view were the operations of General Lechitski to the north and west of Snyatin. The railroad runs northwest, up the valley of the Pruth, to Kolomea, whence one branch goes north to Stanislavoff, the base of General von Bothmer's army, while another branch goes west by Korosmezo to Hungary. By capturing Kolomea Lechitski thus cut the main artery which was feeding General von Bothmer's army. The later capture of Delatyn, on the branch line to Hun-

gary, strengthened Lechitski's command of the southern Galician railroad system, which had been feeding General von Bothmer's army.

In part this menace from behind, in part the steadily growing pressure of the Russian forces under General Cherbacheff, has been compelling General von Bothmer to retreat, first relaxing his hold on the Stripa, which he had defended with great vigor and skill. Next in order is likely to be an equally skillful and vigorous defense by his army of the Koropiec and then of the Zlota Lipa, the two next north and south tributaries of the Dniester, as he falls back westward to the Dniester, and then across it to Stanislavoff. But it is quite evident that he is in grave danger at present of holding on too long, as General Pflanzer did at Czernowitz, and allowing Lechitski's agile and athletic troops to get up behind him and cut off his retreat.

But the removal of General von Bothmer's army, or its circumvention by the fleet-footed Lechitski, would mean an exactly similar menace to General Boehm-Ermolli's army in its turn, and a dangerous threat against Lemberg from the south. And theoretically, now that the Russians have got around the Teutonic right flank, it is possible that they may continue the rolling-up process as far as Riga and the Baltic. But, needless to say, the Teutonic armies will not wait for this, but will slowly move backward, to keep their menaced right wing in safety so far as is possible.

One of the wonders of the Russian advance is, how the flying army of Lechitski is supplied; of necessity he must be holding a stiff force before General von Bothmer's right wing, to guard against a quick thrust southward at the Russian line of supplies across the Dniester. But even then the problem of transportation is a tremendous one. We may conjecture, however, that much of the food for Lechitski's army (but no part of its munitions) is coming up the railroad from Czernowitz and from Rumania, further down the line.

A danger against which Lechitski will presently have to guard is an attack directed against him by new forces coming up from Hungary through the Carpathian passes. It is even reported that Field Marshal von Mackensen, whose brilliant drive of the Spring of 1915 is now in appearance being reversed, is preparing just such a force, behind the Carpathians. But so far this is only rumor. Once Lechitski gets a firm hold on the passes, this will be vastly more difficult.

Meanwhile, the Russian drive toward Kovel is being stiffly opposed by the army of General von Linsingen with a strong leaven of German forces among the Austrian troops. But the Russian drive has already gone so far that the Teutons have been shaken out of the positions they had been all Winter preparing, the steel and concrete trenches which are the last word of modern field defense. It seems unlikely that they can extemporize further lines of defense in the rear as strong as those which the Russian big guns have already smashed. Therefore it would be logical to look for a steady Russian advance to, and then beyond, Kovel and Vladimir-Volynski. Needless to say, every foot of the way will be stubbornly contested by the Teutons; but as soon as Kovel and Vladimir-Volynski fall, there will inevitably arise the question of readjusting the Teuton lines northward from Kovel, perhaps all the way to Dwinsk and Riga. On the northern sector General Kuropatkin has begun what may be a general offensive, and General Sakharoff has driven the advance defenders of Kovel back across the Lipa.

Maximilian Harden, who has a high reputation for fearless truth-speaking, declared, in the early days of July, that Germany had thirty army corps ready in barracks, with 600,000 new recruits available each year. That Austria has any great available reserves seems unlikely. But it is quite evident that, if the German thirty corps have to be divided between the west and the east, and if the Russians have been accounting for a daily average of nearly 10,000 men, or, say, an army corps in four or five days, that part of the thirty German corps available for the eastern front may not, theoretically, go much beyond tiding over the Summer months.

War Events From Two Viewpoints

In order that no phase of the truth may be overlooked, CURRENT HISTORY offers two expert interpretations of the military events of the month, one written from the German, the other from the American point of view.

[AMERICAN VIEW]

The Month's Military Developments
From June 15 to July 15, 1916

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

[See Maps of Russian Front on Pages 812 and 813]

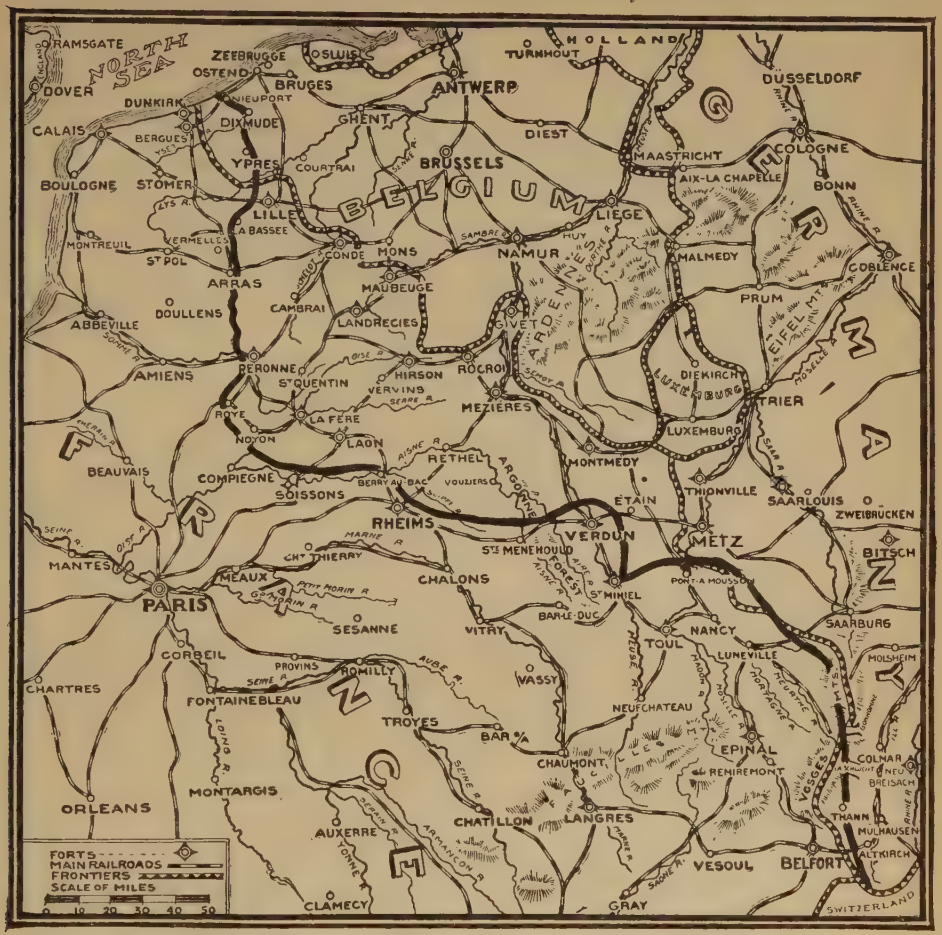
NO period of the war has been as full of interest as the month just passed. For the first time since war was declared the Allies have not only found the key to success, if such a key there is, but are using it. The German position is often referred to as an iron band within which the Teutons are fighting not only to go ahead themselves, but to keep the Allies out. This is a figure not altogether inexact. The Germans are surrounded by enemies, in contact with the Teuton forces at almost every point. Such fighting as the Allies have done heretofore, except where they were acting on the defensive against a German attack, has been on isolated sectors. There has been no attempt at a general offensive, and such attacks as have been made have been planned for with no idea of co-operation with other fronts, but have been independent of any general plan.

The present general offensive is the result of the planning of the Allied General Staff, an entirely new body which came into existence only a few months ago, but which is now directing all the Allies' moves. For the first time in the war the Allies are all under a single command, and the movements of each are subordinated to the general good.

About the middle of May last the Austrians began their offensive move against Italy, and unquestionably Italy was getting the worst of the fighting. There was but one way to stop the offense, and that was to attack the Austrians heavily in some other field. Russia waited until the Austrians had become thoroughly committed to the Italian offensive, until they had gone so far that they could not draw back, and then struck with the accumulated power of nine months' preparation. The break in the Austrians and the tremendous losses they suffered forced the Germans to their assistance, as the entire Teuton line from Riga to Bessarabia was threatened. The Germans collected men from every possible quarter, and, massing in the centre of the Russian attack—that is, west of the Lutsk salient—held up the Russian drive at the Stokhod River.

On the western front the Allies were strangely quiet. The British had not left their trenches for months, the French were resisting the German pressure at Verdun, but were not taking the initiative themselves. They waited also, waited until Germany had had time to transfer troops from the west to the east if she intended to do so, and then they struck.

Today, then, the Teutons find themselves for the first time feeling the full force of the Allies on every front. It is an entirely new experience and it is not to be wondered at that the military critics of Germany openly state that Germany's situation is one to worry about. Heretofore Germany has been able, through the "one-attack-at-a-time" policy of the Allies, to throw reinforcements at a threatened point as soon as the attack developed. Interior lines of

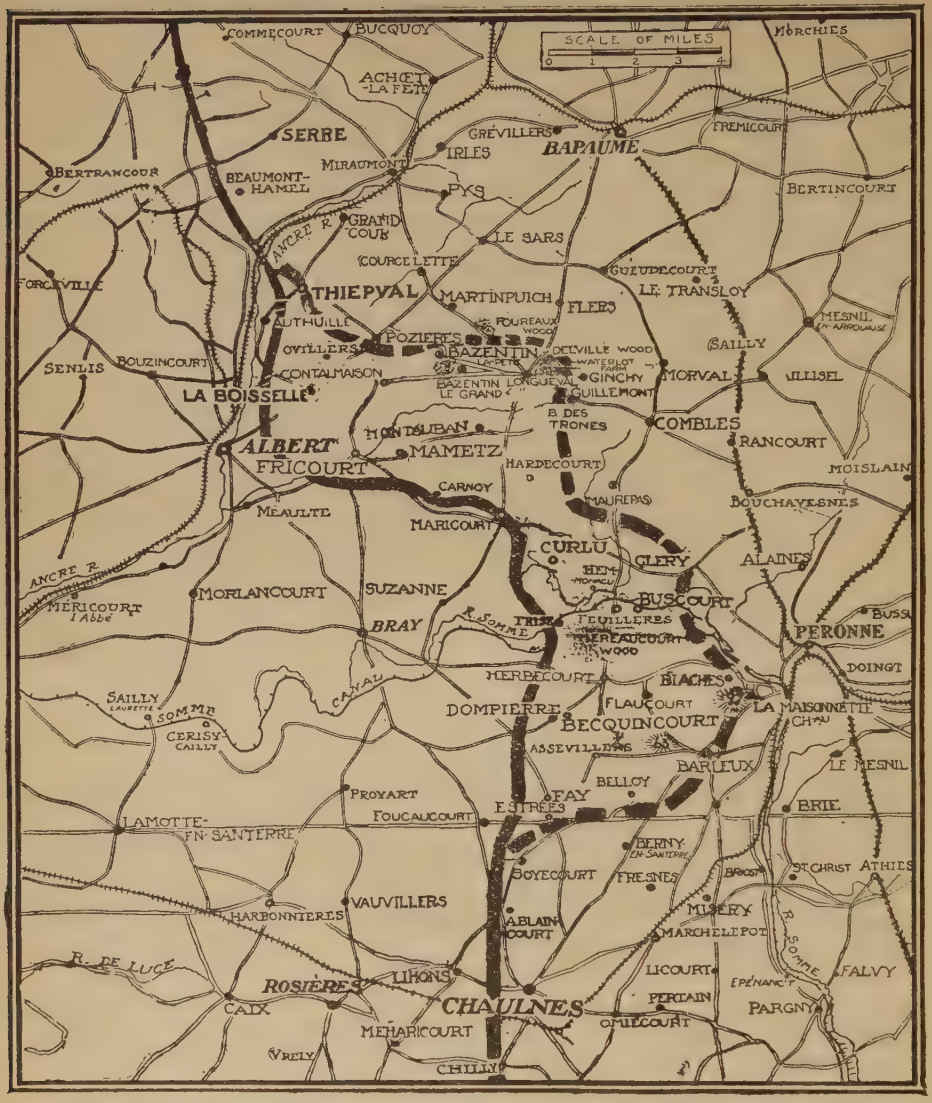


COMPLETE VIEW OF THE WESTERN FRONT FROM THE ENGLISH CHANNEL TO SWITZERLAND

communication and excellent railroad lines reduced this problem to its simplest form. But this situation exists no longer. Germany is being attacked at every point in the circle with which the Central Powers are girded. To weaken one point in order to strengthen another is now to court disaster. The war has been reduced not to a question of staying power alone, but to the question of the ability of the Germans to stand against the concentrated power of the entire Entente, applied with tremendous pressure to every point on the German front.

The Allies' attacks are just beginning, in fact are not yet six weeks old. The end is still a long way off, whichever way the tide of battle may swing. It may well be, however, that we are now seeing the beginning of the first real move toward peace.

On June 15, when last month's review was written, the Russians were conducting two offensives, one along the Rovno-Kovel railroad in Volhynia, the other against the bridgehead of Czernowitz. Beginning at the Pripet and running south, the Russian position at that time was along the east bank of the Styr as far south at Kolki, where the line broke to the west in a wide curve, reaching a point about twenty miles east of Kovel on the Kovel-Rovno railroad. From here it broke to the east again, coming back to about the original meridian in Northern Galicia, and then following the line



SCENE OF THE BRITISH AND FRENCH DRIVE IN PICARDY. THE BROKEN LINE SHOWS TWO WEEKS' ADVANCE

of the Stripa River, crossing the Dniester at its junction with the Stripa and breaking east near the Pruth at Czernowitz.

This line was one in which practically every feature of terrain favored the Teutons. The Styr is in itself not only difficult to cross but is lined throughout almost its entire length with broad marsh belts, which make it the most admirable defensive obstacle imaginable. Further south, where the line bent westward, the Stokhod, on which the Germans were resisting the Russian advance on Kovel, was also an admirable defensive screen. The western bank is lined with high hills which overlook wide stretches of country on the eastern bank, so that an attack coming from the east is visible almost from the time it starts. To the south the same general condition prevailed. Everywhere the Teuton forces were safe-

ly ensconced behind defensive screens of rivers with hills behind them.

For many days the Russians attacked fiercely along the Stokhod, where the Germans were in force, but could make no headway. In their retreat the Austrians had destroyed all the bridges and crossings over the river, and the Russians were unable to construct and maintain others in the face of the German fire. After a period of ill-success, the Russian attack shifted to the north. The principal object here was defensive. The northern side of the salient which the Russians had driven forward was a danger point. If the Germans could force it to give way, their entire movement would collapse. It was necessary therefore to straighten their line.

The attack came from a point just north of Czartorisk, and was almost immediately successful. The forcing of the river was accomplished and the Russians poured through the gaps. The great break in the line occurred where the Styr is crossed by the Kovel-Sarny railroad, and consequently it was along this line that the Russian advance was made. For fourteen miles over a wide front the German retreat continued until finally the line of the lower Stokhod was reached and the Russian advance was halted. The Russians, however, did succeed in straightening out their line as far as the Galician border, thereby eliminating all future danger of an attack from the north.

In Bukowina Russian successes were even more marked. Czernowitz fell into their hands on June 16, and the gateway to the Austrian crown land was flung wide open. The Russians crossed the Pruth, driving the Austrians in disorder before them and taking one position after another. It seemed for a time that the entire right wing of the Austrians was to be cut off from the main body and captured. In Southern Bukowina, after having been driven back to the ridges of the Carpathian Mountains, they succeeded in making good their retreat through Kirlibaba Pass. Further to the north, between the Dniester and the Pruth, the Russian progress was also unchecked. Town after town fell into their hands. Kolomea, the principal railroad centre of that section, was taken and the entire position of the Austrians along the Stripa threatened. As a matter of fact, the Russian advance carrying west of Tlumacz has already completely outflanked the Stripa line, so that, if the Austrians now holding the Russians in a temporary check along the Stanislau-Nadvorna line give way, the Austrian forces south of the Northern Galician border will be threatened with positive disaster.

The blow which the Russians have delivered to the Teutons has been one of the hardest given to any belligerent during the entire war. Not even the great German drive of last year has had the effect of the Russian offense of the past six weeks. In this case it is much more than a loss of territory; it is almost the destruction of an army. Russia had vast reserves on which to fall back.

Austria apparently has none. Austria alone of all the belligerents is practically exhausted. Only a week ago the Austrian Department of War endeavored to get the consent of the Government to call into the military service all men between the ages of 56 and 60. Nothing could show more eloquently the very dire straits into which the Austrian Army has fallen.

The Russian blow has had more to do with this state of affairs than anything any other belligerent has done. Italy has, of course, offered some contribution. But the lion's share has been Russia's. In this period of six weeks Russia has taken prisoner nearly 300,000 troops. In addition to this there have been vast captures of military supplies of all kinds, guns of all calibres, and, what the Russians most need, machine guns. It is not too much to say now that Austria, as an offensive force, has been eliminated from the war. Never again will we see an offensive movement initiated by Francis Joseph's troops. Needless to say, this is a great victory, and comes very near to being a decision.

On July 1 the long-expected offensive of the Allies on the western front started. The scene of action was from Thiepval, a few miles north of Albert, to

Foucaucourt, north of Chaulnes. This was the first serious effort the French and the British had made since last September, when they struck in Artois and Champagne. Following the lessons learned from the Germans at Verdun, however, there was no attempt made to thrust deeply into the line as before; the movement was a consistent and constantly maintained push. This necessarily imposed certain delays. The consumption of shell in preparing for the infantry attack is excessive, the avenues of supply not sufficient to maintain a steady flow of the necessary volume. Consequently, after each preparation, when the infantry has gone ahead, it is necessary to wait before sending the infantry on again until a new supply has been brought up to the new front. With this understanding it can properly be said that, in spite of all opposition, the French and British lines have moved forward uninterruptedly.

The French, who held the line south of the Somme, have, up to this writing, made the greater progress. This is probably due to the fact that the French attack was in the nature of a surprise, whereas the British offense was well advertised and was therefore expected. The French have carried the Germans back toward Peronne, almost to the banks of the Somme. They swept forward, day after day, the German resistance being totally inadequate, until they reached a point on the Somme directly across the river from Peronne, while south of that point they rested but a scant mile from the river. There they halted until the British, who had experienced the most bitter resistance, could catch up and connect the two lines.

The British attack has been successful from the outset where the lines run north of and parallel to the Somme. Along the Ancre, after some of the hardest fighting of the war, they have been able to record but small advances. At this date, however, there is every indication that the attack along the east bank of the Ancre has been abandoned, and that all future efforts, until the German salient has been cleared out, will be toward the north between Contalmaison and Hardecourt. The British move is leveled at Bapaume, the greatest railroad centre in this region. Two of the main French national systems pass through this town, and both of them are essential to the Germans if they wish to retain their present positions.

So far the indications are that the British will be able to reach their objective. Starting in low ground, with what might be termed the Plateau of Bapaume, rising almost three miles away in their immediate front, they have covered this three miles and appear to be safely intrenched on the edge of the plateau. The German first and second lines—defenses that they have had almost two years to perfect—have fallen, and the third line is now under bombardment. It is a question now entirely of shell supply. If the organization of British industry for war purposes has reached the point where the supply plus the stock equals the demand it does not seem that the Germans, with their dwindling numbers, can hold their present lines much longer. If the next month shows no material change in the relative positions, however, still another offensive at some later date will have to be undertaken before the Soisson salient has been flattened. In the other theatres the month has not produced any startling change. In Trentino the Italians, after the Russian attack on the Austrian line was well under way, seized the initiative and have, by consistent fighting, recovered at least half of the distance previously lost to the Austrians. The fighting is still going on, and the Italians seem to be gaining important local victories.

The operations in Mesopotamia have been practically suspended. The terrific heat in the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates prohibits any extensive activity. Further north, however, in the Caucasus, the Russians are again advancing with rapidity and have reached and hold strongly a point half way between Erzerum and Erzingan. This campaign has not yet reached the point where it is a menace to the Turkish arms. It is filling its purpose, however, in preventing any attempt to invade Egypt or to send the Turkish Army to other fields.

[GERMAN VIEW]

Meaning of the Two Great Drives

Written for CURRENT HISTORY

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung

[See War Maps on Pages 812 and 813]

THE events of the past month in al theatres of war have clearly demonstrated that the trench is not the last word in military science. The German campaign against Verdun and the two offensives on the southeastern and western front have substituted mobile action for position warfare. The open battle has wrested the decision from trench warfare. Destruction—no longer the exhaustion—of the enemy once more forms the keynote of strategy and the aim of all actions.

The possession of the fortress of Verdun in itself has become a purely incidental matter as far as its strategical importance is concerned. At Verdun bleeds, in heroic resistance, an open wound on the body of French military power.

The great offensive movements in the west and southeast also have the strategy of destruction as their guiding principle. The military expert of The London Times writes, "Our principal aim is to kill or wound 200,000 Germans every month," and on the eastern front the Russian steam roller has been pressed into service to "crush" the enemy.

Thus, on a wide detour, the strategy that is to determine the decision has returned to its point of inception, which was marked, immediately after the outbreak of the war, by the Russian invasion of East Prussia and the German advance on Paris. Also, the decision has returned to the same local theatres of operation on which it had struck its first blows. The driving power of the Allies has obtained a degree of additional strength that corresponds with the consolidation of the theatres of operation. Moreover, the new local concentration has made possible a closer unity of action on the part of the allied forces, as demonstrated in the simultaneous Russian, Franco-British, and Italian offensives.

Any definition of the present situation must be made with this question in view: How and how far have the actual events up to date served the ultimate aim, namely, the destruction of the enemy?

The great Russian drive on the Volhynian, Galician, and Bukowina fronts was begun with the following basic ideas: First, an advance along the Kovel-Cholm-Lublin railway; second, along the Rovno-Dubno-Brody-Lemberg railway, (right wing;) third, against Tarnopol and further along the railroad to Rohatyn across the Dniester against the Styr; fourth, via Buczacz and Stanislau against the Wyszkow Pass of the Eastern Carpathians; fifth, against Czernowitz. (Three and four form the centre, five constitutes the left wing.)

This offensive, thought out on a gigantic scale and begun over an equally gigantic area, under the command of General Brusiloff, the leading Russian adherent of the mobile strategy, was directed against four army groups of the Central Powers, from north to south, in the following order: Linsingen, Archduke Josef Ferdinand, Bothmer, and Pflanzer-Baltin. On four lines of attack the offensive was put into motion. The Russians proposed to put alongside the victorious Galician "break-through battle" of the Central Powers in 1915 a similar success on a far wider front. General Brusiloff has no smaller ambition than to achieve for Russia what the Galician battle and the subsequent Polish campaign did not achieve for the Teutonic allies.

In powerful frontal attacks, with a total disregard for sacrifices in human material and often a senseless waste of

munitions, the right wing of the far-flung Russian attacking line succeeded in occupying the Volhynian fortress triangle and in pushing ahead beyond Lutsk and from Dubno, in a northerly direction, against the railway Kovel-Chelm-Lublin, as well as in a westerly and southwesterly direction against Lemberg.

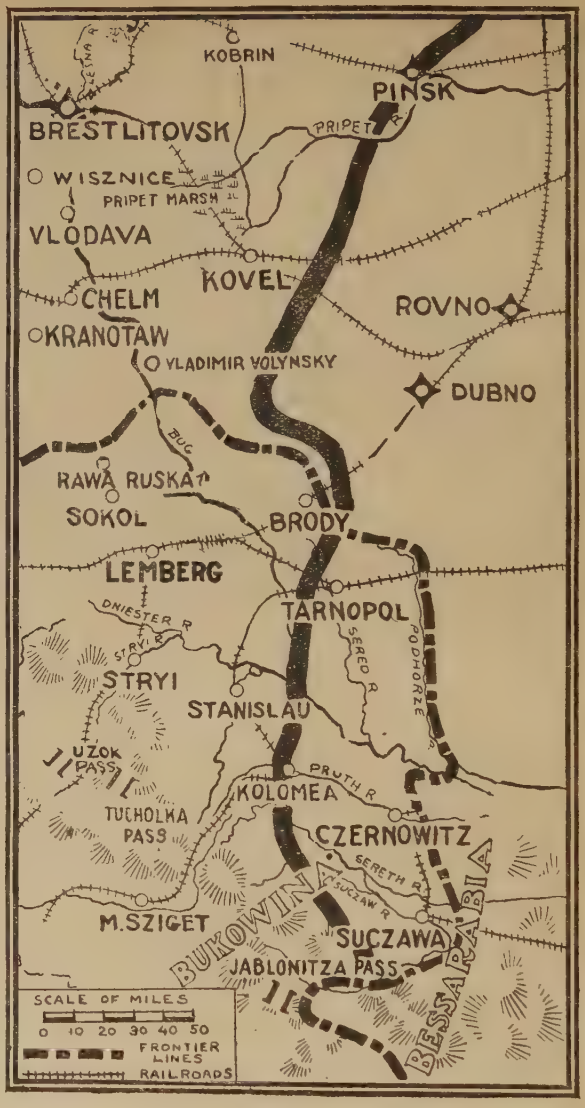
Simultaneously the Russian centre drove against Southeastern Galicia, against Tarnopol, and the Tarnopol-Lemberg railway, and further south against Buczacz and Stanislau and against the Carpathian passes that lead to the Hungarian plain.

The extreme left wing was directed against the Bukowina, with Czernowitz the chief aim, and one eye cast toward Rumania, whose border is the southeastern "fence" of this theatre of operations. The military situation then took the following course:

1. Volhynian Front: The Russian forces advancing from Lutsk in a northwesterly direction against Kovel were checked on both banks of the Styr between the Lutsk-Kovel railway and the Kolki-Torya sector as well as on the Sokul-Kolki line, by the army of General von Linsingen.

To the southwest of Lutsk the Austro-Hungarian army under Archduke Josef Ferdinand hurled itself against the advancing Russians at Gorochow, not far from Vladimir Volynski.

2. Galician Front: On the Stripa the army of the Bavarian General, Count von Bothmer, rendered successful resistance. Here the Russian attempt to break through failed in the same manner as had the effort on the Volhynian front. All Russian attacks near Przemloka, in the region of Buczacz, were beaten off.



BATTLE LINE ON RUSSIAN FRONT, JULY 15, 1916

After the steam roller's initial successes in overrunning the enemy's first lines, the "break-through battle" on the Russian right wing and in the centre was brought to a standstill. For decisive successes could be achieved only when, as in the case of the Galician "break-through battle," the initial fury and driving power did not slacken for a moment. As soon as they weakened the materialization of the aims was forthwith made doubtful. Thereupon the greatest mobil-

GOTLAND
Windau
Libau (Libava)
BALTIC SEA
COURLAND
LIVONIA
Riga
Mitau
Autz
Tukkum
Hasenpoth
Goldingen
Ratzau
Dorbinay
Polangen
Memel
Telshe
Schlock
Schonberg
Alt Sarchen
Linkovo
Birshe
Posvol
Shavli
Radziwilishki
Ponewesch
Rossieny
Touroggen
Kovorsk
Vilkomir
Urzian
Novo Alexandrovsk
Drysvaty
Dukst
Vidzy
Kosiany
Postavy
Inturki
Sventzyany
Lyntupy
Grubskoi
Miadsol
Vileika
Molodechno
Borisof
Shodin
Minsk
Koidanovo
Stolbce
Nesvij
Slutsk
Kanal
Moroch
Pinsk
Petrikof
Tarof
Swamp
Visotsk
Sarny
Rokitno
Olefsk
Shepetovka
Zhitomir
Berdichef
Konstantinof
Ostrog
Shumsk
Zuslaf
Kremenetz
Leksiniec
Vlochisk
Ostrof
Litin
Gusyatin
Husiatyn
Bar
Novo Ushitza
Kaminiets Podolsk
Mogilef
Larga
Okniza
Soroki
Bielts
Hotoushani
Vereschi
Radautz
Suczawa
BUKOWINA
Czernowitz
Kirlibaba
Delatin
Stanislau
Halicz
Buczacz
Zlocow
Brzezany
Pomorzany
Mikulajow
Lemberg
Grodek
Jaworow
Jaroslaw
Kamionka
Busk
Brody
Radziwilow
Rawaruska
Zolkiew
Rohatyn
Kolki
Kovel
Lubieszow
Lutzk
Olyka
Rovno
Dubno
Tarnopol
Berezno
Kivertz
Vladimir Volynsk
Kholm
Tomask
Krasnystaw
Hrubieszow
Zamosc
Janow
Bilgoray
Tarnogrod
Lublin
Opole
Opalin
Ivangorod
Radom
Warsaw
Grojec
Lukow
Meshirjetsche
Siedlce
Biala
Bjelsk
Pruzhany
Kuzhany
Kamenez-Litovsk
Wulka
Kobrin
Pinsk
Prypet Marshes
Brest-Litovsk
Kielbasin
Zambrowo
Zamosz
Ostrolenka
Rozan
Pultusk
Novo Georgievsk
Plonsk
Blonie
Praga
Bolimow
Lowicz
Lodz
Pabianice
Petrikau
Radom
Ivangorod
Konskie
Bzin
Opole
Lublin
Kholm
Tomask
Kovel
Lubieszow
Wlodawa
Opalin
Liubomi
Czartorysk
Kolki
Olyka
Rovno
Dubno
Tarnopol
Berezno
Kivertz
Vladimir Volynsk
Lutzk
Rawaruska
Radziwilow
Brody
Busk
Kamionka
Zolkiew
Rohatyn
Halicz
Buczacz
Zlocow
Brzezany
Pomorzany
Mikulajow
Lemberg
Grodek
Jaworow
Jaroslaw
Przemysl
Sambor
Stry
Drohobycz
Boryslaw
Dolina
Stanislau
Delatin
Kirlibaba
Czernowitz
Kolomea
Zabie
Zaleszczyki
Chotin
Larga
Okniza
Soroki
Bielts
Hotoushani
Vereschi
Radautz
Suczawa
BUKOWINA
Kaschau
Eperies
Poprad
Dobschau
Munkacs
Ungvar
Rima Szombath
Miskolcz
Tokay
Bereczasz
Nyiregyhaza
Nagy Szollos
Korosmezo
Maramaros Szigot
Nagy Banya
Szatmar Nemeti
Nagy Karoly
Debreczin
Karczag
Jasz Apati
Jasz Berany
Budapest
Gyongyos
Erlau (Eger)
Hemnitz
Schmolnitz
Kubin
Liptó Szent
Orsova
Turnu Severin
Predeal
Kronstadt
Hermannstadt
Mühlbach
Reussmarkt
Schässburg
Broos
Deva
Arad
Temesvar
Szegedin
Szabadka
Baja
Essek
Mohacs
Fünfkirchen
Pecs
Kanizsa
Steinamanger
Oedenburg
Raab
Komorn
Gran
Neutra
Trentschin
Sillein
Teschen
Bielitz
Kattowitz
Myslowitz
Sosnowice
Dombrowa
Kielce
Iwaniska
Tarnobrzeg
Olkusz
Cracow
Podgorze
Sochnia
Kalwarya
Wadowice
Andrichau
Saybusch
Neumarkt
Sandec
Gorlice
Jaslo
Krosno
Dukla
Mezo Laborcz
Homonna
Munkacs
Ungvar
Stry
Sambor
Drohobycz
Boryslaw
Dolina
Stanislau

ity of action was observed on the Russian left wing, on the Bukowina front, to which the original basic plan had assigned the least important military rôle.

Czernowitz, the Bukowina capital, was occupied. The possession of this city is of no great strategic significance. Originally we were told that the Russian objective on the Bukowina border was the Hungarian plain. Then the "Hungarian Plain" suddenly disappeared from the strategical calculations. The new assertion was that the advance of the Russian left wing was directed against the railway Czernowitz-Stanislau-Styj, and further along the Dniester against Lemberg. But in the meantime the army of Count von Bothmer had brought the offensive of the Russian centre at Buczacz, on the Galician frontier, to a standstill.

Lemberg, too, was soon eliminated from the calculations. Again the direction of the Russian advance was changed. The masses were directed southward. Radautz and Suczawa were taken, and the Russian lines were then extended along the Rumanian frontier as far as Kimpolung to the west. Now it is asserted that the Russians will from this line break through into the interior of Hungary. The way leads across the eastern Carpathians and through the Kirlibaba Pass, where the Russians were severely defeated last year when they made their first attempt to force the Carpathians.

The moment the great offensive had been brought to a standstill on the Russian right wing, in Volhynia, and in the centre, in Southern Galicia, the coherence and unity of the operations were shaken on the entire front; the offensive of the left wing assumed the character of a suddenly stopped dash, and the danger arose that the whole front might be "rolled up" by a Teuton counteroffensive, while there was also the menace of a flanking attack against the protruding Russian wing. The idea of reaching the Hungarian plain in a westward advance from Czernowitz has long since been abandoned. The occupation of Kolomea gave rise to the theory that the Russians proposed to reach Lemberg by way of Stanislau, advancing in a northwesterly direction. On this road the Russians must meet the army of Count von Bothmer, and that has meantime happened. The Bavarian General, however, did not await the enemy's approach, but seized the initiative by pushing his own army forward to meet the opponent. From the region around Buczacz, the base of his defense line, which is directed against the east, he advanced from the northeast across the Dniester. At Tlumacz, thirty-six kilometers north of Kolomea and thirty-two kilometers southwest of Buczacz, he came in contact with the Russians and attacked them. On a front of sixteen kilometers he penetrated the Russian positions to a depth of seven kilometers.

The tremendous superiority of the Russians in the Bukowina made it possible to achieve a series of successes. But even the westward advance, via Delatyn, aimed probably against the eastern passes of the Carpathians, and the northwestward drive, against Stanislau and probably against Lemberg, are already out of all connection with the original idea. The further development of the offensive is determined solely by events in Volhynia. There the army of General von Linsingen and that of Archduke Josef Ferdinand, to the south, have drawn a wide bow around the Russian right wing. This bow begins at Kolki, runs along the Styr via Sokul, to Saturze, east of Vladimir Volynski, then south by way of Lokatchi, Gorochow and Veresteschko to Radsivilow, east of Brody.

The importance of the operations on the Volhynian battlefield is evident from the tremendous efforts the Russians are making to extend this offensive. The attacks against the Pripet front of the army under Prince Leopold of Bavaria are to be taken less as an extension of the attacks to the north than as an attempt to make room north of Kovel for the offensive on the southeast front. Kovel is the converging point of two railway lines. In this area there are raging at present (middle of July) terrific battles on both banks of the Stokhod River. General von Linsingen was compelled to take his forces from the salient north of Kolki on the Styr and to consolidate

PERSPECTIVE MAP OF THE WHOLE VERDUN BATTLE FRONT

The French Left Still Rests at Avocourt Village After Five Months of Terrible Fighting, While the German Still Hold Avocourt Wood, Which They Took Almost at the Beginning. The Advance Which Gave the Germans Full Possession of Forts Douaumont and Vaux Is Indicated On the Extreme Right

PERSPECTIVE MAP OF THE SCENE OF MEXICAN BORDER TROUBLES

The Position Held By General Pershing's American Punitive Force Runs From Namiquipa to Columbus, While That of Carranza's Troops Is Along the Railroads From Minaca to Chihuahua, Thence Northward to Juarez. Our National Guard Is Being Posted At Intervals Along the Whole Frontier From Arizona to the Gulf

(*Drawing © 1916 New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial*)

them closer to Kovel. Strategic considerations had necessitated this change of front. The main task of the armies of the Central Powers on the southeastern front consists in counteracting and frustrating the Russian attempt to break through. The German and Austro-Hungarian lines are holding firm around Baronowitchi as well as on the Volhynian front to the north and west of Lutsk; they are intact on the East Galician front, on the Styr and on the Stripa, on the line before Brody and in the region of Buczacz. Even the advance of the extreme Russian left wing in the Bukowina has not been able to cut the connection between the various army groups of the Central Powers.

The Anglo-French drive at the western front, which began July 1, had as the immediate objective of the left wing, Bapaume, that of the centre, Combles, and that of the right wing, Peronne. Bapaume and Peronne are important railway points, vital to the German system of communication. They are connected by a broad road which, if seized by the Allies, would constitute an extremely favorable base for a further advance.

The offensive up to date has gone through five phases, as follows:

1.—The successful first dash of the Allies, carried out with a great initial momentum and resulting in the overrunning of the German advanced positions and in the retirement by the Teutons from their first-line positions to those intervening between the first and second lines.

2.—The beginning of the German counterattacks.

3.—The continuation of the advance by the French right wing in the direction of Peronne; the halt in the offensive on the British left wing against Bapaume.

4.—The slackening of the advance on the part of the French right wing and the heavy fighting in the centre.

5.—The dissolution of the great offensive—which originally was planned to be pushed by frontal attacks on the whole line on both wings and in the centre—into separate combats on local battlefields.

The British in their first onrush took several villages and other portions of the line from Serre to Mametz. They advanced as far as Montauban. The Germans rendered stubborn resistance on the first day in the position of Fricourt, but this position soon became entirely untenable. The main attack of the French was directed against Curlu, not far from the Peronne-Combles sector. The village fell to the French, as did the village of Frise, to the southeast, and the wood of Mereaucourt, northwest of the German line.

On the left flank of the British front, between the Ancre brook and La Boisselle, the offensive was soon brought to a standstill. The British right and the French left wings pushed back the German lines beyond Thiepval and Ovillers, as far as La Boisselle and thence to the line Contalmaison-Montauban-Hardecourt-Curlu. At that juncture the offensive came to a stop in the centre as well. Subsequently the further advance was confined to the French right wing. Thus the 33-kilometer Anglo-French front, from which the great offensive had been launched, and which was to drive the Germans out of Northern France and Belgium, had shrunk to a line of seven kilometers, from south of the Somme to Foucacourt.

Under the fury of the tremendous hostile artillery fire the German troops on the southern area of the Somme battlefield were compelled to abandon their first line of defense and the positions between that and the second. The French advanced within a few kilometers of the Peronne Railway, which runs along the Somme, and crosses the river due south of the city. In order to reach the next objective, which is Peronne itself, the French right wing must cross the Somme, and there they must meet the second main line of the German defense system.

The German counterattacks began on the evening of the day the great offensive was begun. They were directed against Serre and Montauban, the positions taken by the British, and against the French advanced positions on both

banks of the Somme. They soon brought the advance of the British left wing to a standstill. They were extended from Thiepval, in the British centre, as far as La Boisselle, south of the Ancre Brook, and from Mametz, on the right British wing, down to Barleuz and Belloy-en-Santerre, on the French front south and west of the Somme (the river makes a bend in that region) as well as around Hardecourt aux Bois, west of the railroad from Curlu to Combles.

The German counterattacks against the centre of the allied line of attack isolated the advance of the French right wing against Peronne and determined the region where the decision must fall. The decisive battle is now raging on the line La Boisselle - Contalmaison - Montauban-Hardecourt aux Bois.

The fate of the Russian offensive on the southwestern front will be decided on its right wing, that of the Anglo-French offensive on the west front in the centre. Both offensives have already lost their unity of action.

The moment the advance is brought to a standstill on a wide, separate sector of the entire front, an offensive loses its inherent military character and is dissolved into individual combats on separate battlefields. The counterattacks in such cases are always directed against that sector of the hostile front which "got stuck." In that sector the enemy suffers the severest losses, and there the counterattacking forces have the best opportunity to open the road for a general counteroffensive.

If the great allied drive on the western front was to affect the situation at Verdun, that purpose has not been achieved. The fact that the German attacks on the French fortress have lost nothing of their strength and effectiveness proves that no troops have been withdrawn from the Verdun front. The German Verdun campaign is being continued in the same old logical and systematic course. On the western bank of the Meuse the French forces continue to exhaust themselves in vain onslaughts against the German positions. On the eastern bank the inner centaine of forts already is the objective of the German attacks. Fort Vaux has fallen. The Thiaumont field work, with Hill 321, the village of Fleury, the detached works of Douaumont, all have been taken by the Germans.

From the northeast the attackers continue to batter the inner ring of forts. In a mighty onrush they debouched from Fleury village and from the woods of Vaux and Chapitre, and pushed ahead as far as Sainte Fine Capelle. This chapel lies immediately before Fort Souville, which fronts the Cote de Belleville, the last chain of hills separating the attackers from the fortress proper. Fort Souville captured, the fate of Fort Tavannes with its field work, La Laufee, is also doomed.

The simultaneous "great offensives" of the Allies in the west, southeast, and south have thrown the Central Powers on the defensive everywhere. The defensive, viewed from the angle of the hostile intentions, often is victory. Ultimate success is the more certain when the defensive tactics control the military situation and point the way to its further development, thereby frustrating the enemy's plans even before the counteroffensive has been put into full operation. That is what is happening today on the southeast front as well as in the west. Thus, even on the defensive, the initiative remains with the Germans.

These battlefields today lie quite remote from the great army road where the decisive events are on the march. The strategy of watchful waiting, to which trench warfare, too, belongs, has given way to actuality. In position warfare, which had developed into fortress warfare, the artillery spoke the decisive word. In mobile warfare and in the open field, artillery preparation today also plays an important part. But the infantry is even today still queen of battles. The events of the month past have put the crown back upon her head. In that respect the great offensive movements on all fronts of the main theatres of war have followed the example of the Verdun campaign.

TALES OF "THE TRADE"

[Submarine Adventures, Written From Official Reports in the Possession of the British Admiralty]

By Rudyard Kipling

[Copyright, 1916, by Rudyard Kipling]

"THE TRADE"

They bear, in place of classic names,
Letters and numbers on their skin.
They play their grisly blindfold games
In little boxes made of tin.
Sometimes they stalk the Zeppelin,
Sometimes they learn where mines are laid
Or where the Baltic ice is thin.
That is the custom of "The Trade."

Few Prize Courts sit upon their claims.
They seldom tow their targets in.
They follow certain secret aims
Down under, far from strife or din.
When they are ready to begin
No flag is flown, no fuss is made
More than the shearing of a pin.
That is the custom of "The Trade."

The Scout's quadruple funnel flames
A mark from Sweden to the Swin,
The Cruiser's thundrous screw proclaims
Her comings out and goings in.
But only whiffs of paraffin
Or creamy rings that fizz and fade
Show where the one-eyed Death has been.
That is the custom of "The Trade."

Their feats, their fortunes, and their fames
Are hidden from their nearest kin;
No eager public backs or blames,
No journal prints the yarns they spin
(The Censor would not let it in!)
When they return from run or raid.
Unheard they work, unseen they win.
That is the custom of "The Trade."

I.

Some Work in the Baltic

NO one knows how the title of "The Trade" came to be applied to the submarine service. Some say that the cruisers invented it because they pretend that submarine officers look like unwashed chauffeurs. Others think it sprang forth by itself, which means that it was coined by the lower deck, where they always have the proper names for things. Whatever the truth, the submarine service is now "The Trade," and if you ask them why they will answer, "What else could you call it? The Trade's 'the trade,' of course."

It is a close corporation, yet it recruits its men and officers from every class that uses the sea and engines, as well as from many classes that never expected to deal with either. It takes them; they disappear for a while and return changed to their very souls, for the Trade lives in a world without precedents, of which no generation has had any previous experience—a world still being made and enlarged daily. It creates and settles its own problems as it goes along, and if it cannot help itself no one else can. So the Trade lives in the dark and thinks out inconceivable and impossible things which it afterward puts into practice.

STAID ADMIRALTY RECORDS

It keeps books, too, as honest traders should. They are almost as bald as

ledgers and are written up, hour by hour, on a little sliding table that pulls out from beneath the commander's bunk. In due time they go to my Lords of the Admiralty, who presently circulate a few carefully watered extracts for the confidential information of the junior officers of the Trade, that these may see what things are done, and how. The juniors read, but laugh. They have heard the stories, with all the flaming detail and much of the language, either from a chief actor while they perched deferentially on the edge of a messroom fender, or from his subordinate, in which case they were not so deferential, or from some returned member of the crew present on the occasion, who, between half-shut teeth at the wheel, jerks out what really happened. There is very little going on in the Trade that the Trade does not know within a reasonable time. But the outside world must wait until my Lords of the Admiralty release the records. Some of them have been released now.

A TALE OF THE BALTIC

Let us take, almost at random, an episode in the life of his Majesty's submarine E-9. It is true that she was commanded by Commander Max Horton, but the utter impersonality of the tale makes it as though the boat herself spoke. Some time ago the E-9 was in the Baltic, in the deeps of Winter, where she used to be taken to her hunting grounds by an ice breaker.

Obviously, a submarine cannot use her sensitive nose to smash heavy ice with, so the broad-beamed pushing chaperon comes along to see her clear of the thick harbor and shore ice. In the open sea, apparently, she is left to her own devices. In company of the ice breaker, then, E-9 "proceeded" (neither in the senior nor in the junior service does any one officially "go" anywhere) to "a certain position." Here—it is not stated in the book, but the Trade knows every aching, single detail of what is left out—she spent a certain time in testing arrangements and apparatus, which may or may not work properly, immersed in a mixture of block ice and dirty ice cream in a temperature well toward zero.

This is a pleasant job, made the more delightful by the knowledge that if you slip off the superstructure the deadly Baltic chill will stop your heart long before even your heavy clothes can drown you. Hence (and this is not in the book, either) the remark of the highly trained sailorman in these latitudes who, on being told by his superior officer in the execution of his duty to go to hell, did insubordinately and enviously reply, "D'you think I'd be here if I could?" Whereby he caused the entire personnel, beginning with the commander, to say, "Amen," or words to that effect.

BAGGING A DESTROYER

E-9 evidently made things work. Next day she reports: "As circumstances were favorable, decided to attempt to bag a destroyer."

Her "certain position" must have been near a well-used destroyer run, for shortly afterward she sees three of them, but too far off to attack, and later, as the light is failing, a fourth destroyer, toward which she manoeuvres. "Depth keeping," she notes, "very difficult, owing to heavy swell."

An observation balloon on a gusty day is almost as stable as a submarine "pumping" in a heavy swell, and, since the Baltic is shallow, the submarine runs the chance of being let down with a whack on the bottom. None the less, E-9 works her way to within 600 yards of the quarry, fires, and waits just long enough to be sure that her torpedo is running straight and that the destroyer is holding her course. Then she "dips to avoid detection." The rest is deadly simple: "At the correct moment after firing, forty-five seconds to fifty seconds, heard the unmistakable noise of torpedo detonating." Four minutes later she rose and "found destroyer had disappeared." Then, for reasons probably connected with other destroyers, who, too, may have heard that unmistakable sound, she goes to bed below in the chill dark till it is time to turn homeward.

FIGHTING BALTIC ICE

When she rose she met storm from the north and logged it accordingly. "Spray froze as it struck, and bridge be-

came a mass of ice. Experienced considerable difficulty in keeping the conning tower hatch free from ice. Found it necessary to keep a man continuously employed on this work. Bridge screen immovable; ice six inches thick on it. Telegraph frozen." In this state she forges ahead till midnight, and any one who pleases can imagine the thoughts of the continuous employe scraping and hammering round the hatch, as well as the delight of his friends below when the ice-slush spattered down the conning tower. At last she considered it "advisable to free the boat of ice; so went below."

In the senior service the two words "as requisite" cover everything that need not be talked about. E-9 next day "proceeded as requisite" through a series of snowstorms and recurring deposits of ice on the bridge till she got in touch with her friend the ice-breaker; and in her company plowed and rooted her way back to the work we know. There is nothing to show that it was a near thing for E-9, but somehow one has the idea that the ice-breaker did not arrive any too soon for E-9's comfort and progress. (But what happens in the Baltic when the ice-breaker does not arrive?)

That was in Winter. In Summer quite the other way. E-9 had to go to bed by day very often under the long-lasting northern light when the Baltic is as smooth as a carpet, and one cannot get within a mile and a half of anything with eyes in its head, without being put down.

A DIVE FOR LIFE

There was one time when E-9, evidently on information received, took up "a certain position" and reported the sea "glassy." She had to suffer in silence while three heavily laden German ships went by; for an attack would have given away her position. Her reward came next day when she sighted (the words run like Marryat's) "enemy squadron coming up fast from eastward, proceeding inshore of us." There were two heavy battleships with an escort of destroyers, and E-9 turned to attack. She does not say how she crept up in that smooth sea within a quarter of a mile of the leading ship, "a three-funnel ship of either the Deutschland or Braunschweig class," but she managed it, and fired both bow torpedoes at her.

"No. 1 torpedo was seen and heard to strike her just before foremost funnel; smoke and débris appeared to go as high as masthead." That much E-9 saw before one of the guardian destroyers ran at her. "So," says she, "observing her, I took my periscope off the battleship." This was excusable, as the destroyer was coming up with intent to kill, and E-9 had to flood her tanks and get down quickly. Even so, the destroyer only just missed her, and she struck bottom in forty-three feet. "But," says E-9, who, if she could not see, kept her ears open, "at the correct interval (the forty-five or fifty seconds mentioned in the previous case) the second torpedo was heard to explode, though not actually seen." E-9 came up twenty minutes later to make sure. The destroyer was waiting for her, a couple of hundred yards away, and again E-9 dipped for her life, but "just had time to see one large vessel approximately four or five miles away."

MOMENTS OF SUSPENSE

Putting courage aside, think for a moment of the mere drill of it all—that last dive for that attack on the chosen battleship; the eye at the periscope watching "No. 1 torpedo" get home; the rush of the vengeful destroyer; the instant orders for flooding everything; the swift descent which had to be arranged for, with full knowledge of the shallow sea floors waiting below, and a guess at the course that might be taken by the seeking bows above, for, assuming a destroyer to draw fifteen feet and a submarine on the bottom to stand twenty-five feet to the top of her conning tower, there is not much clearance in forty-three feet salt water, specially if the boat jumps when she touches bottom.

And, through all these and half a hundred other simultaneous considerations, imagine the trained minds below, counting, as only torpedomen can count, the run of the merciless seconds that should tell when that second shot arrived. Then "at the correct interval," as laid down in

the table of distances, the boom and the jar of No. 2 torpedo, the relief, the exhaled breath, and untightened lips; the impatient waiting for a second peep, and when that had been taken and the eye at the periscope had reported one little nigger boy in place of two on the waters, perhaps cigarettes, &c., while the destroyer sickled about at a venture overhead.

Certainly, they give men rewards for doing such things, but what reward can there be in any gift of Kings or peoples to match the enduring satisfaction of having done them, not alone, but with and through and by trusty and proved companions?

ANOTHER BALTIC BOAT

E-1, also a Baltic boat, F. N. Laurence her commander, had her experience, too. She went out one Summer day, and late —too late—in the evening sighted three transports. The first she hit. While she was arranging for the second the third inconsiderately tried to ram her before her sights were on. So it was necessary to go down at once and waste whole minutes of the precious scanting light. When she rose the stricken ship was sinking, and shortly afterward blew up. The other two were patrolling near by. It would have been a fair chance in daylight, but the darkness defeated her, and she had to give up the attack.

It was E-1 which during thick weather came across a squadron of battle cruisers and got in on a flanking ship—probably the Moltke. The destroyers were very much on the alert, and she had to dive at once to avoid one, which only missed her by a few feet. Then the fog shut down and stopped further developments. Thus do time and chance come to every man.

The Trade has many stories, too, of watching patrols, when a boat must see chance after chance go by under her nose and write—merely write what she has seen. Naturally they do not appear in any accessible records. Nor, which is a pity, do the authorities release the records of glorious failures, when everything goes wrong; when torpedoes break surface and squatter like ducks; or arrive full square, with a clang and burst of white water, and—fail to explode; when the devil is in charge of all the motors, and clutches develop play that would scare a shoregoing mechanic bald; when batteries begin to give off death instead of power, and, atop of all, ice or wreckage of the strewn seas racks and wrenches the hull till the whole leaking bag of tricks limps home on six missing cylinders and one ditto propeller, plus the indomitable will of the red-eyed, husky scarecrows in charge.

There might be worse things in this world for decent people to read than such records.

II.

Under the Sea of Marmora

THIS war is like an iceberg. We, the public, only see an eighth of it above water. The rest is out of sight, and, as with the berg, one guesses its extent by great blocks that break off and shoot up to the surface from some underlying and outrunning spur a quarter of a mile away, so with this war sudden tales come to light which reveal unsuspected activities in unexpected quarters.

One takes it for granted that such things are always going on somewhere, but the actual emergence of the record is always astonishing.

Once upon a time there were certain E-type boats who worked the Sea of Marmora with thoroughness and humanity, for the two in English hands are compatible. The roads to their hunting grounds were strewn with peril, the waters they inhabited were full of eyes that gave them no rest, and what they lost or expended in wear and tear of the chase could not be made good till they had run the gauntlet to their base again.

The full tale of their improvisations will probably never come to light, though fragments can be picked up at intervals in proper places as the men concerned

come and go. The Admiralty gives only the bones, but those are not as dry as the boat's official story.

IN THE DARDANELLES

When the E-14, Lieut. Commander E. Courtney-Boyle, went to her work in the Sea of Marmora, she, like her sister, proceeded on her gas engine up the Dardanelles, and a gas engine by night between steep cliffs has been described by the lower deck as a full brass band in a railway cutting. So a fort picked her up with a searchlight and missed her with artillery. She dived under the mine field that guarded the strait, and when she rose at dawn in the narrowest part of the channel, which is about one mile and a half across, all the forts fired at her.

The water, too, was thick with steamboat patrols, out of which E-14 selected a Turkish gunboat and gave her a torpedo. She had just time to see a great column of water shoot as high as the gunboat's mast, when she had to dip again, as "the men in a small steamboat were leaning over and trying to catch hold of the top of my periscope."

This sentence, which might have come out of a French exercise book, is all that Lieut. Commander Courtney-Boyle sees fit to tell, and that officer will never understand why one taxpayer, at least, demands his arrest after the war till he shall give the full tale. Did he sight the shadowy underline of a small steamboat green through the deadlights, or did she suddenly swim into his vision from behind and obscure, without warning, his periscope with a single brown clutching hand? Was she alone or one of a mob of splashing and shouting small craft?

HOURS OF BLIND DEATH

He may well have been too busy to note, for there were patrols all around him, a mine field of curious design and undefined area somewhere in front, and steam trawlers vigorously sweeping for him astern and ahead, and when E-14 had burrowed and bumped and scratched through six hours of blind death, she found the Sea of Marmora crawling with craft and was kept down almost continuously, and grew hot and stuffy in consequence.

Nor could she charge her batteries in peace, so at the end of another hectic, hunted day of starting them up and breaking off and diving, which causes bad temper, she decided to quit those infested waters near the coast and charge up somewhere off the traffic routes. This was accomplished after a long, hot run which did the motors no good.

She went back to her beat, where she picked up three destroyers, convoying a couple of troopships, but it was glassy calm and the destroyers "came for me."

She got off a long-range torpedo at one transport, and ducked before she could judge the results. She apologizes for this on the ground that one of her periscopes had been damaged—not as one would expect by gentlemen leaning out of a little steamboat, but by some casualty, the shot calibre not specified, the day before, "and so," says E-14, "I could not risk my remaining one being bent."

DESTROYING A TRANSPORT

However, she heard a thud, and the depth gauges, those great clock hands on white-faced circles, flickered, which is another sign of dreadful certainty down under. When she rose again she saw the destroyer convoying one burning transport to the nearest beach.

That afternoon she met a sister boat, now gone to Valhalla, who told her that she was almost out of torpedoes, and they arranged a rendezvous for the next day, but "before we could communicate we had to dive, and I did not see her again." There must be many such greetings in "The Trade of Hy," the name which submarines go by in the British Navy under all skies. Boat rising beside boat at a point agreed upon for the interchange of news and materials, they talk and shout aloud, with the speakers' eyes always on the horizon and all hands standing by to dive, even in the middle of a sentence.

E-14 kept to her job on the edge of the procession of traffic. Patrol vessels annoyed her to such extent that "as I had not seen any transports lately I

decided to sink a patrol ship, as they were always firing on me." So she torpedoed a thing that looked like a mine layer and must have been something of that kidney, for it sank in less than a minute.

A tramp steamer lumbering across the dead flat sea was thoughtfully headed back to Constantinople by firing rifles ahead of her.

"Under fire the whole day," E-14 observes philosophically. The nature of her work made this inevitable. She was all day among patrols which kept her down a good deal and made her draw on her batteries, and when she rose to charge, the watchers ashore burned oil flares on the beach or made smokes among the hills, according to the light in either case, and there would be a general rush of patrolling craft of all kinds from steam launches to gunboats.

DID POPULAR THINGS

Nobody loves the Trade, though E-14 did several things which made her popular. She left off a string of very surprised dhows (they were empty) in charge of a tug, which promptly fled back to Constantinople and stopped a couple of steamers, full of refugees, also bound for Constantinople, who were very pleased at being allowed to proceed instead of being Lusitaniaed as they had expected.

Another refugee boat, fleeing from goodness knows what horror, she chased into Rodosto Harbor, when, though she could not see any troops, "they opened a heavy rifle fire on us, hitting the boat several times. So I went away and chased two more small tramps, who returned toward Constantinople."

Transports, of course, were fair game, and, in spite of the necessity she was under of not risking her remaining eye, E-14 got a big one in a night of wind and made another hurriedly beach itself, which then opened fire on her, assisted by the local population.

"I returned the fire and proceeded," says E-14. The diversion of returning fire is one much appreciated by the lower deck as furnishing a pleasant break in what might otherwise be a monotonous and odoriferous task. There is no drill laid down for this evolution, but etiquette and custom prescribe that on going up the hatch you shall not too energetically prod the next man ahead with the muzzle of your rifle. Likewise when descending in quick time before the hatch closes you are requested not to jump directly on the head of the next below. Otherwise you act as requisite on your own initiative.

When she had used up all her torpedoes, E-14 prepared to go home by the way she had come. There was no other, and she was chased toward Gallipoli by a mixed pack, composed of a gunboat, a torpedo boat, and a tug.

"They shepherded me to Gallipoli, one on each side of me and one astern, evidently expecting me to be caught by nets there."

She walked very delicately for the next eight hours or so, all down the strait with underrunning strong tides, ducking down when the fire from the forts was too hot, verifying her position and the position of the mine field, but always taking notes of every ship in sight till toward tea time she saw our navy off the entrance and "rose to the surface abeam of a French battleship, who gave us a rousing cheer."

DOINGS OF E-11

She had been away as nearly as possible three weeks, and a kind destroyer escorted her to the base, where we will leave her for a moment while we consider the performance of E-11, Commander M. E. Nasmith, in the same waters at about the same season. E-11 proceeds in the usual way to the usual accompaniments of hostile destroyers up the strait and meets the usual difficulties about charging up. When she gets through, her wireless naturally takes this opportunity to give trouble, and E-11 is left deaf and dumb somewhere in the middle of the Sea of Marmora diving to avoid hostile destroyers in the intervals of trying to come at the fault in her aerial.

Yet it is noteworthy that the language of the Trade, though technical, is no more emphatic or incandescent than that of topside ships.

When she goes toward Constantinople

she finds a Turkish torpedo gunboat off the port and sinks her. She has her periscope smashed by a six-pounder, retires, fits a new top on the periscope, and at 10:30 A. M. (they must have needed it) pipes all hands to bathe. Much refreshed, she gets her wireless linked up at last and is able to tell the authorities where she is and what she is after.

At this point (it was off Rodosto) enter a small steamer, which does not halt when requested, and so is fired at with several rounds from a rifle. The crew, on being told to abandon her, tumble into their boats with such haste that they capsize two out of three. Fortunately, says E-11, they are able to pick up everybody.

LO! AN "AMERICAN"

You can imagine for yourself the confusion alongside, the raffle of odds and ends, floating out of boats and the general parti-colored hurrah's nest all over the bright, broken water. What you cannot imagine is this: "An American gentleman then appeared on the upper deck, who informed us that his name was Silas Q. Swing of The Chicago Sun, and that he was pleased to make our acquaintance. He then informed us that the steamer was proceeding to Chanak, and he wasn't sure if there were any stores aboard."

If anything could astonish the Trade at this late date, one would almost fancy that apparition of Silas Q. Swing's "very happy to meet you, gentlemen," might have started a rivet or two on E-11's placid skin, but she never quivered.

She kept a Lieutenant of the name of Dontley Hughes, an expert in demolition parties, and he went aboard the tramp and reported any quantity of stores, a six-inch gun, for instance, lashed across the top of the forehatch, (Silas Q. Swing must have been an unobservant journalist,) a six-inch gun mounting in the forehold, pedestals for twelve-pounders thrown in as dunnage, the afterhold full of six-inch projectiles, and a scattering of other commodities. They put a demolition charge well in among the six-inch stuff and she took it all to the bottom in a few minutes after being touched off. Simultaneously with the sinking of the vessel, E-11 goes on. Smoke was observed to the eastward. It was a steamer that had seen the explosion and was running for Rodosto. E-11 chased her till she was tied up to a Rodosto pier, and then torpedoed her where she lay, a heavy-laden storeship, piled high with packing cases.

The water was shallow here, and though the E-11 bumped along the bottom, which does not make for steadiness of aim, she was forced to show a good deal of her only periscope, and had it dented, but not damaged, by rifle fire from the beach.

As she moved out of Rodosto Bay she saw a paddleboat, loaded with barbed wire, which stopped on hail, but "as we ranged alongside her, attempted to ram us, but failed, owing to our superior speed." Then she ran for the beach, very skillfully keeping her stern to E-11, till she drove ashore beneath some cliffs.

The demolition squad were just getting to work when a party of horsemen appeared on the cliffs above and opened a hot fire on the conning tower. E-11 got out, but, owing to the shoal water, it was some time before she could get under enough to fire a torpedo. The stern of the stranded paddleboat is no great target, and the thing exploded on the beach. Then she recharged her batteries and proceeded slowly on the surface toward Constantinople. All this was between the ordinary office hours of 10 A. M. and 4 P. M.

IN CONSTANTINOPLE HARBOR

Her next day's work opens, as no pallid writer of fiction dare begin, thus:

"Having dived unobserved into Constantinople, I observed," &c.

Her observations were rather hampered by cross tide, mud, and currents, as well as the vagaries of one of her own torpedoes, which turned upside down and ran about promiscuously. It hit something at last, and so did another shot that she fired. But the waters by Constantinople Arsenal are not healthy to linger in after one has scared the whole seafront, so "I turned to go out."

Matters were little better below. E-11 in her perilous passage might have been a lady of the harem tied up in a sack

and thrown into the Bosporus. She grounded heavily, she bounced up thirty feet, was headed down again by a manoeuvre easier to shudder over than to describe, and when she came to rest on the bottom found herself being swiveled right around the compass.

They watched the compass with much interest: "It was concluded, therefore, that the vessel (E-11 is one of the few who speak of themselves as vessels as well as boats) was resting on the shoal under Leander Tower and was being turned around by the current."

So they corrected her, started the motors, and bumped gently down into eighty-five feet of water, with no more knowledge than the lady in the sack where any bump would land them, and the next day was spent resting in the centre of the Sea of Marmora.

That was their favorite preening perch between operations, because it gave them a chance to tidy the boat and bathe; and they were cleanly people, both in their methods and their persons. When they boarded a craft and found nothing of consequence they "parted with many expressions of good-will," and E-11 had a good wash.

STEAMER TRIES TO RAM

She gives her reasons at length, for going in and out of Constantinople and the strait is all in the day's work, but going dirty, you understand, is serious. She had "of late noticed the atmosphere in the boat becoming very oppressive, the reason, doubtless, being that there was a quantity of dirty linen aboard, and also a scarcity of fresh water, a necessitated limit being placed on the frequency of personal washing."

Hence the centre of the Sea of Marmora and all hands playing overside and as much laundry work as time and the service allowed.

One of the reasons, by the way, why we shall be good friends with the Turk again is that he has many of our ideas about decency.

In due time E-11 went back to her base. She had discovered a way of using unspent torpedoes twice over, which surprised the enemy, and she had as nearly as possible been cut down by a ship which she thought was running away from her, instead of which she made the discovery at 3,000 yards—the stranger steamed straight at her. "The enemy then witnessed a somewhat spectacular dive at full speed from the surface to twenty feet in as many seconds. He then really did turn tail and was seen no more."

Going through the strait, she observed an empty troopship at anchor, but reserved her torpedoes in the hope of picking up some battleships lower down. Not finding these in the Narrows, she nosed her way back and sank a trooper, afterward continuing her journey down the strait.

Off Kilid Bahr something happened. She got out of trim and had to be fully flooded before she could be brought to her required depth. It might have been whirlpools under the water or other things.

They tell a story of a boat which once went mad in these very waters, and, for no reason ascertainable from within, plunged to deeps that contractors do not allow for, rocketed up again like a swordfish, and would doubtless have so continued till she died, had not something she had fouled dropped off and let her recover her composure.

FOULING A MINE

An hour later: "I heard a noise similar to grounding. Knowing this to be impossible in the water in which the boat then was, I came up to twenty feet to investigate, and observed a large mine, preceding the periscope at a distance of about twenty feet, which was apparently hung up by its moorings to the port hydroplane." The hydroplanes are the fins at the bow and stern which regulate submarines.

A diving mine weighs anything from hundredweights to half tons. Sometimes it explodes if you merely think about it. At others you can batter it like an empty sardine tin and it submits meekly. But at no time is it meant to wear on a hydroplane.

They dared not come up to unhitch it, owing to the batteries ashore, so

they pushed the dim shape ahead of them until they got outside of Kum Kale.

They went full astern and emptied the after tanks, which brought the bows down, and in this posture rose to the surface, "when the rush of waters from the screws, together with the sternway gathered, allowed the mine to fall clear of the vessel."

How a fool, said Dr. Johnson, would have tried to describe that.

III.

The Unkultured Deeds of E-14

NOW we will take up the E-14 on various work, either alone or as the flagship of a squadron composed of herself and Lieut. Commander N. A. Smith's boat, the E-11. Hers was a busy midsummer, and she came to be intimate with all sorts of craft, such as a two-funneled gunboat off Sar Kioi, who "fired at us and missed as usual"; hospital ships going back and forth unmolested to Constantinople, "the gunboat which fired at me on Sunday," and other old friends afloat and ashore.

When the crew of a Turkish brigantine full of stores got into their boats by request and then "all stood up and cursed us," the E-14 did not lose her temper, even though it was too rough to lie alongside the abandoned ship. She told Acting Lieutenant R. W. Lawrence of the Royal Naval Reserve to swim off to her, which he did, and, after "a cursory search"—who can be expected to Sherlock Holmes for hours with nothing on?—set fire to her, "with the aid of her own matches and paraffin oil."

Then the E-14 had a brawl with a steamer with a yellow funnel with a blue top and a black band, lying at her pier among the dhows. The shore took a hand in the game with small guns and rifles, and, as the E-14 manoeuvred about the roadstead, "as requisite," there was a sudden, unaccountable explosion which strained her very badly.

"I think," she muses, "I must have caught the moorings of a mine with my tail as I was turning and exploded it. It is possible it might have been a big shell bursting over us, but I think this unlikely, as we were submerged thirty feet at the time."

She is always a philosophical boat, anxious to arrive at the reason of facts, and when the game is against her she admits it freely.

There was a nondescript craft of a few hundred tons, who "at a distance did not look very warlike," but when chased suddenly played a couple of six-pounders and "got off two dozen rounds at us before we were under. Some of them were only about twenty yards off." And when a wily steamer, after sidling along shore, lay up in front of a town, she became "indistinguishable from the houses," and so was safe, because we do not Lowestrafe open towns.

Sailing dhows full of grain had to be destroyed. At one rendezvous, while awaiting the E-11, the E-14 dealt with three such cases and then "towed the crews inshore and gave them biscuits, beef, and rum and water, as they were rather wet." Passenger steamers were allowed to proceed because they "were full of people of both sexes," which is an unkultured way of doing business.

TWO HEADS IN THE WATER

An empty dhow is passed, which the E-14 was going to leave alone, but it occurs to her that the boat looks "rather deserted," and she fancies she sees two heads in the water. So she goes back half a mile, picks up a couple of badly exhausted men, frightened out of their wits, gives them food and drink, and puts them aboard their property.

Crews that jump overboard have to be picked up even if, as happened in one case, there are twenty of them and one of them is a German bank manager taking a quantity of money to a Chanak bank. Hospital ships are carefully

looked over as they come and go, and are left to their own devices, but they are rather a nuisance, because they force the E-14 and others to dive for them when engaged in stalking warrantable game. There were a good many hospital ships, and so far as we can make out, they all played fair.

The E-14 boarded one and reported everything satisfactory. A layman cannot tell from the reports which of the duties demanded the most work, whether the continuous clearing out of transports, dhows, and sailing ships, generally found close to a well-gunned and attentive beach, or the equally continuous attacks on armed vessels of every kind. Whatever else might be going on, there was always the problem how to arrange for the crews of sunken ships. If a dhow has no small boats and you cannot find one handy, you have to take the crew aboard, where they are horribly in the way and add to the oppressiveness of the atmosphere, like "nine people, including two very old men," whom the E-14 made honorary members of her mess for several hours till she could put them ashore after dark.

Oddly enough she "could not get anything out of them." Imagine nine bewildered Moslems suddenly decanted into the reeking, clamorous bowels of a fabric obviously built by Shaitan himself and surrounded by—but our people are people of the Book and not dog-eating Kaffirs, and I will wager a great deal that that little company went ashore in better health and stomach than when they were passed down the conning tower hatch.

AMPHIBIOUS BATTLES

Then there were queer amphibious battles with troops, who had to be shelled as they marched toward Gallipoli along the coast roads. The E-14 went out with the E-11 on this job early one morning, each boat taking her chosen section of landscape. Thrice the E-14 rose to fire, thinking she saw the dust of feet, but "each time it turned out to be bullocks." When the shelling was ended "I think the troops marching along that road must have been delayed and a good many killed." The Turks got up field guns in the course of the afternoon—your true believer never hurries—which outranged both boats, and they left accordingly. But one cannot rejoice over dead Mohammedans, and I have never met any one in the Trade who did.

Then the E-14 went back to her base. She had a hellish time among the Dardanelles nets, was of course fired at by the forts, just missed a torpedo from the beach, scraped a mine, and, when she had time to investigate, found electric mine wires twisted around her propellers, and all her hull scraped and scored with wire marks.

A NASTY ARTIFICER

But that again was only in the day's work. The point she insisted upon was that she had been for seventy days in the Sea of Marmora, with no securer base for refitting than the centre of the same, and during all that while she had not had any "engine room defect which had not been put right by the engine room staff of the boat." The commander and third officer went sick for a while, the First Lieutenant got gastric enteritis and was in bed (if you could see that bed!) "for the remainder of our stay in the Sea of Marmora," but "this boat has never been out of running order." Credit is ascribed to "the excellence of my chief engine room artificer, James Hollier Hague, C. N. 227,715," whose name is duly submitted to the authorities "for your consideration for advancement to the rank of warrant officer."

Seventy days of every conceivable sort of risk, within and without, in a boat which is all engine-room, except where she is sick-bay; 12,000 miles covered since the last overhaul, and "never out of running order," thanks to Mr. Hague! Such artists as he are the kind of engine-room artificers that commanders intrigue to get hold of—each for his own boat—and when the tales are told in the trade their names, like Abou ben Adhem's, lead all the rest.

I do not know the exact line of demarkation between engine room and gunnery repairs, but I imagine it is faint and fluid. The E-11, for example, while she was helping the E-14 to shell a

beached steamer, smashed half her gun-mounting, "a gun-layer being thrown overboard and the gun nearly following him." However, the mischief was repaired in the next twenty-four hours—hours which, considering the very limited deck space of a submarine, means that all hands must have been moderately busy. One hopes they had not to dive often during the job.

THROUGH NET STAYS

But worse is to come. The E-2, Commander D. Stocks, carried an externally mounted gun which, while she was driving up the Dardanelles on business, got hung up in the wires and stays of a net. She saw them through her conning tower scuttle at a depth eighty feet—one wire hawser around the gun, another around the conning tower, and so on. There was a continuous crack of small explosions overhead, which she thought were charges aimed by guard-boats who watch the nets. She considered her position for awhile, backed, got up speed, forged ahead and shore through the whole affair in one wild surge. Imagine the roof of a navigable cottage after it had snapped telegraph lines with its chimney, and you will get a small idea of what happens to the hull of a submarine when she uses her gun to break wire hawsers with.

The E-2 was a wet, strained, and uncomfortable boat for the rest of her cruise. She sank steamers, burned dhows, was worried by torpedo boats and hunted by Hun planes, hit bottom freely, and frequently silenced forts that fired at her from lonely beaches, warned villages who might have joined in the game that they had better keep to farming, shelled railway lines and stations, would have shelled a pier, but found there was a hospital built at one end of it, "so could not bombard"; came upon dhows crowded with "female refugees," which she "allowed to proceed," and was presented with fouls in return. But through it all her chief preoccupation was that racked and strained gun and mounting.

When there was nothing else doing she reports shortly that she "worked on the gun." As a philosopher of the lower deck put it, "It isn't what you —— know that matters; it's what you —— have to do." In other words, worry, not work, kills. The E-2 gun did its best to knock the heart out of them all. She had to shift the wretched thing twice; once because the bolts that held it down were smashed, (the wire hawser must have pretty well pulled it off its seat,) and again because the hull beneath it leaked on pressure. She went down to make sure of it, but she drilled and tapped and adjusted till in a short time the gun worked again and killed steamers as it should.

WHOLE BOAT LEAKED

Meanwhile the whole boat leaked. All the plates under the old gun position forward leaked. She leaked aft through damaged hydroplane guards, and on her way home they had to keep the water down by hand pumps while she was diving through nets. Where she did not leak outside she leaked internally, tank leaking into tank, so that the petrol got into the main fresh water supply and the men had to be put on an allowance. The last pint was served out when she was in the narrowest part of the Narrows, a place where one's mouth may well go dry.

Of a sudden here, for the moment, the records end. I have been at some pains not to pick and choose among them. So far from doctoring or heightening any of the incidents, I have rather understated them, but I hope I have made it clear that through all the haste and fury of these multiplied actions, when life and death and destruction turned on the twitch of a finger, not one life of any noncombatant was wittingly taken. They were carefully picked up or picked out, taken below, transferred to boats and dispatched, or personally conducted in intervals of business, to a safe, unexploding beach. Sometimes they part from their chaperons "with many expressions of good-will." At others they seem greatly relieved and rather surprised at not being knocked on the head, after the custom of their allies. But the boats, with a hundred things on their minds, no more take credit for their humanity than their commanders explain feats for which they won their respective decorations.

The Deutschland's Achievement

Story of the First Submarine Trader and Its Voyage Across the Atlantic

THE safe arrival at Baltimore on July 9 of the Deutschland, a German undersea vessel built wholly for purposes of commerce, furnished the most dramatic surprise of the month. Like the episode of the Appam, it had in it the thrill of romance, appealing powerfully to the imagination. The perilous feat of this new and peaceful type of submarine—its passage through the North Sea and the English Channel, beneath the very keels of the warships of the enemy, its successful journey without escort across the Atlantic in sixteen days—appeals to Americans as a greater triumph than any of the deeds of its murderous prototype.

The coming of the Deutschland undoubtedly marks a new epoch in navigation, for this is the first commercial submarine in history, and it is to be followed at once by others, which apparently will be able to keep up a more or less regular service between Germany and the United States during the remainder of the war. It also raises a number of new problems in international law.

The Deutschland is 300 feet long, 30 wide, and carries 1,000 tons of cargo and a crew of twenty-nine men. It cost $500,000 to build, and its cargo of dyestuffs on the first trip is said to have paid for the whole enterprise.

CAPTAIN KOENIG'S STATEMENT

Captain Paul Koenig, commander of the novel craft, issued an official statement, giving the following facts:

The submarine Deutschland, which I have the honor to command, is the first of several submarines built to the order of the Deutsche Ozean Rhederei G. M. B. H., Bremen. She will be followed by the Bremen shortly.

The idea of the building of this submarine emanated from Alfred Lohmann, then President of the Bremen Chamber of Commerce. He brought his idea in the Fall of last year confidentially before a small circle of friends, and the idea was taken up at once. A company was formed under the name of "Deutsche Ozean Rhederei G. M. B. H.," and the Germaniawerft, Kiel, was intrusted with the building of the submarines.

The Board of Directors is composed of Alfred Lohmann, President of the Board; Philipp Heineken, General Manager of the Nord Lloyd, and Kommerzienrat P. M. Herrman, Manager of the Deutsche Bank. Carl Stapelfeldt, Manager of the Nord Lloyd, has taken over the management of the company.

We have brought a most valuable cargo of dyestuffs to our American friends, dyestuffs which have been so much needed for months in America and which the ruler of the seas has not allowed the great American Republic to import. While England will not allow anybody the same right on the ocean because she rules the waves, we have, by means of the submarine, commenced to break this rule.

Great Britain cannot, however, hinder boats such as ours to go and come as we please. Our trip passing Dover across the ocean was an uneventful one. When danger approached we went below the surface, and here we are, safely in an American port, ready to return in due course.

I am not in a position to give you full details regarding our trip across the ocean, in view of our enemies. Our boat has a displacement of about 2,000 tons and a speed of more than fourteen knots. Needless to say that we are quite unarmed and only a peaceful merchantman. * * *

Our boats will carry across the Atlantic the mails and save them from British interruption. We trust that the old friendly relationship with the United States, going back to the days of Washington, when it was Prussia who was the first to help America in its fight for freedom from British rule, will awake afresh in your beautiful and powerful country.

The house flag of the Deutsche Ozean Rhederei is the old Bremen flag—red and white stripes, with the coat of arms of the town, the key in the corner. This key is the sign that we have opened the gates which Great Britain tried to shut up on us and the trade of the world. The gates which we opened with this key will not be shut again. Open door to the trade of the world and freedom of the oceans and equal rights to all nations on the oceans will be guaranteed by Germany's victory in this struggle for our existence.

DEFYING THE ENEMY

Still more interesting are the details of the voyage elicited from Captain Koenig

in the course of conversation. In reply to a question regarding the dodging of warships he said:

"Was it fun? Sometimes, yes. Most of it was fun in the English Channel. There we lay for ten hours on the bottom, snug and comfortable. Some of us slept and some of us read, and most of us listened to our graphophone playing a beautiful song from 'Peer Gynt,' while above us raged the destroyers and cruisers that would have thought us the very choicest of prey had they only known what lay hidden there below them. It was not a long ten hours; we drank a little champagne and we ate and we attended to the machinery. Always there was much to do, and there was a satisfaction in being just there.

"Always we saw the other ships first. It is that way with submarines; their eyes are better. But we had decided in advance that everything should have a wide berth. It seemed wiser."

Nothing more vivid about the adventure could be drawn from Koenig than the detailing of those times when "we just sank." As far as his words went, that was all there was to it. A vessel would be sighted; the Deutschland was quickly submerged; she would run along under water for a time, and then she would come up and open her hatches for fresh air, while officers and men went about their work, their rest, or their play.

ALL ENJOYED SUBMERGING

"Once each day we submerged as a practice drill," he said, "and, besides, we submerged, as I remember, five times in the North Sea, six in the English Channel, and three or four in the open water.

"Yes"—and he laughed heartily—"yes, each time there was a reason. The longest we actually stayed under was that ten hours in the English Channel, but we could stay four days. At the end of that time our batteries would be exhausted, and we would have to rise to recharge them. Resting on the bottom, we could stay just as long as we liked, at least as long as our provisions held out. During the entire trip we traveled a total of ninety miles under water.

"So far as the physical effect on the ship's company is concerned, we could remain forever. We can submerge fifty fathoms—300 feet—but, as a matter of fact, we never went nearly that deep, and probably never shall. We all enjoyed submerging. It was just like sinking into a soft blue nest. We opened the portholes, and then through the glass we could see the fishes and the formations of the sea, and always we listen, listen, listen.

"How do we listen? There are aboard two microphones, and with them we were able to hear the whistling of a buoy six miles off when we were under water. And just before we came up about thirty miles from the Virginia Capes we were able to hear the ringing of a bell buoy that, too, was six miles from us. The screw of a ship we could hear quite plainly while it was yet a safe distance from us. More than hearing it, we could tell whether it was a cruiser or a destroyer. It was quite fascinating to listen to.

"We left Bremerhaven at noon on June 18 just as quietly as possible. It was not that we feared anything in particular, but that is always wise in these days. No ship announces its going or its coming. What Germany's enemies do not know cannot help them. We didn't submerge as we left.

"We proceeded quietly to Heligoland, and there we stayed four days. No ship proceeds all the way after starting. It is too easy to calculate when she may be expected at some given place. So we lie in wait a while, and when we are ready we go.

PLENTY OF FUEL

"We carried 180 tons of fuel oil. Of that we have ninety-five tons left, more than enough to take us back, and we shall not ship more here. Then we carried many tons of oxygen and twenty tons of fresh water, of which we had ten left.

"We carried no ice. We had a great abundance of provisions, all of it in tins. There were tinned meats and tinned vegetables and tinned fruits and tinned fresh bread—in fact, we had everything to eat that you Americans

eat, only it was tinned. We have much food left, but it is well to have enough.

"After we got out of the North Sea our voyage was uneventful, except for those few times that we submerged. No ship saw us, and, as no one knew our destination when we started, we worried not at all. True, the American Consul at Bremen, William Thomas Fee, knew, for he had approved our manifest, but we knew he was to be trusted.

"So we just went along, making about thirteen knots on the surface and doing a little better than half of that under water. We had no sickness aboard, except one of the crew, who was badly sunburned and suffered quite a little. The last time we submerged was as we were nearing the Virginia Capes and we saw an American boat approaching. We thought it was a fruit boat, so we just dipped under for the last time. The men were always glad when we did that—it made such smooth traveling. The Deutschland scarcely rolls at all under water."

HERR LOHMANN'S IDEA

Alfred Lohmann of Berlin, the man who conceived and carried through this novel enterprise, told an interviewer that the Deutschland is only the first of a fleet of submarine freighters, entirely unarmed, and numerous enough to establish a weekly service eventually.

"I conceived the idea of breaking the British blockade long ago," continued Herr Lohmann, "but the project first took definite shape last Autumn, when I succeeded in convincing the capitalists associated with me—the Deutsche Bank and the Norddeutsche Lloyd—that the war presumably would last another twelve months. This was the hardest part of my task. Once this was done, the rest was easy, for our figures showed that the boats would more than pay for themselves in a single round trip.

"A company was immediately incorporated as the German Ocean Navigation Company of Bremen, with a nominal capital. Articles were filed on Nov. 8 and work was commenced on the first and second boats. The Deutschland was completed some time ago, and after successful trials in the Baltic started for America, following the usual peace route of our Bremen and Hamburg steamships."

NEW SHIP'S LEGAL STATUS

The day after the arrival of the Deutschland the diplomatic representatives of Great Britain and France filed formal protests at Washington, holding that the new craft was potentially a warship, and that it should not be allowed to sail from an American port. The State Department, however, through naval experts and the Neutrality Board, investigated the inner construction of the Deutschland and pronounced it purely a commercial vessel, unarmed, and incapable of being fitted with torpedoes or large guns. It was formally announced, therefore, that the American Government regarded the Deutschland as entitled to all the rights and privileges of a merchant vessel flying the flag of a belligerent country in a neutral port. The ruling is likely to have far-reaching effects, both in war and in peace. Naval commanders of the Allies have orders to fire upon submarines without warning. Here is a submarine merchantman that can legally claim all the benefits of the rules of visit and search, yet can evade its own legal obligations at pleasure. It furnishes a new problem, not only for the British Navy, but also for the customs officials of all countries.

At this writing a number of British vessels are hovering about the mouth of Chesapeake Bay—outside the three-mile limit—bent upon sinking the intruder, while Captain Koenig is calmly planning to pass under them as easily as he passed under the cruisers in the English Channel. As his craft can disappear in two minutes and live four days without coming up for air, he feels confident that he can go back with a cargo of rubber and nickel as easily as he came with one of dyestuffs.

THE DEUTSCHLAND AND HER CAPTAIN

First Commercial Submarine in History, Which Crossed the Atlantic From Germany, Landing at Baltimore July 9 With a Cargo of Dyestuffs. Captain Paul Koenig

(Photo by Central News Service)

GENERAL VON TINSINGEN

German Commander Who Helped to Repel General Brusiloff a Year Ago, and Is Now In Turn Being Driven Back by Brusiloff's Armies

(Photo from Press Illustrating Co.)

Sequel of the Irish Revolt

Provisional Settlement of Home Rule—Death Sentence for Sir Roger Casement

THE adoption of a provisional settlement of the Irish question, at last giving Ireland a separate Parliament, must be counted among the fruits of the Dublin outbreak no less than the tragic fate of the leaders and the death sentence now resting upon Sir Roger Casement.

Once more Lloyd George has solved a problem before which the bravest might quail. With the tactful co-operation of Mr. Asquith he has worked out a temporary plan to which he has won the consent alike of Catholics and Protestants, Nationalists and Unionists. Briefly, it consists in creating a Parliament at Dublin, made up of the present Irish members of the English Parliament; the Dublin body to have control of home affairs, but to have nothing to do with foreign relations, the army or navy, or any matters relating to the war. This arrangement is to last until one year after the close of the European war, when the whole problem may be taken up in the light of further experience.

Six counties of Ulster are excluded from this scheme by their own desire, but Sir Edward Carson, the Ulster leader, who two years ago armed his followers to fight home rule with a civil war if necessary, has now consented to sit with the Nationalists in the Dublin Parliament. The same is true of another Unionist leader, J. H. M. Campbell, Attorney General for Ireland. On June 23 at Belfast a convention of Irish Nationalist delegates from the six excluded Ulster counties, after listening to an impassioned speech by John Redmond, declared for the acceptance of the plan by a vote of 475 to 265. Ulster as a whole has 690,816 Catholics, who constitute 43.7 per cent. of the population. The plan is to include under home rule the three counties of Donegal, Monaghan, and Cavan, where the percentage is 78.7 Catholics to 21.3 non-Catholics, while the six remaining counties, with a proportion of 65.6 Protestant to 34.4 Catholic, will form the Province of New Ulster and remain under the English Parliament.

THE CASEMENT TRIAL

The conviction and death sentence of Sir Roger Casement on a charge of high treason complete the tragic chapter of the Irish rebellion. The trial was held in the Lord Chief Justice's Court in London, June 27-29, and aroused intense interest. Lord Reading presided, assisted by two other Justices. The prisoner's chief counsel was Alexander Sullivan, a brilliant Irish barrister, who labored under an intense emotional strain and fainted in the midst of his peroration, after a defense that won the admiration of every one in the courtroom, including the Chief Justice. Sir Roger was represented also by Artemus Jones and Michael Francis Doyle of Philadelphia.

The prosecution for the Crown was conducted by the Attorney General, Sir Frederick Smith, who opened the case with a narration of the prisoner's criminal acts, his doings in Germany, his attempt to organize Irish prisoners there into a rebel brigade to invade Ireland, his landing from a German submarine on the Irish coast in May, and his connection with a captured German auxiliary cruiser loaded with rifles and ammunition. He held that the prisoner at the bar, "blinded by hatred of this country, a hatred as malignant in quality as it was sudden in origin, had played his game and lost, and the forfeit was now claimed." A large amount of evidence covering Casement's past life was offered by the prosecution.

The defense introduced no evidence, depending largely upon arguments in support of the prisoner's motives, and attacks on the ancient statute relating to high treason. At one point Sir Roger made a brief statement to the jury, refuting certain minor accusations reflect-

ing upon his honor, and closing hotly with the words: "I must state categorically that the rebellion was not made in Germany, that the rebellion was not directed from Germany, that it was not inspired from Germany, and that not one penny of German gold went to finance it." He contended that he had acted throughout with motives of pure patriotism, and that if what he had done to free Ireland was treason he had no regret to die for it.

After an absence of fifty minutes the jury brought in a verdict of guilty. The eloquence of Sir Roger is evidenced in the memorable speech which he delivered just before hearing his sentence; a portion of it is printed below. The whole scene, with Casement a sombre figure in black standing in the dark shadow of the dock, and a filtering ray of sunlight shining upon the three Justices before whom he stood, was one to inspire a painter of historic canvases. The voice of the Chief Justice was firm, but his face was pale, as he spoke the sentence ending in the words "to be hanged by the neck until you are dead."

The prisoner's attorneys at once took an appeal to the Criminal Court of Appeals, but the case was dismissed by that court on July 18.

Daniel J. Bailey, the private soldier who had landed with Casement, testified that he had joined Casement's Irish brigade with the object of returning to his country and to the army. He was found not guilty and was released.

Sir Roger Casement's Last Speech

SIR ROGER CASEMENT, leader of the Irish revolt, was found guilty of high treason on June 29 in the Lord Chief Justice's Court, London. Before pronouncing sentence of death upon him, Lord Chief Justice Reading asked the prisoner what he had to say in his defense. Sir Roger, producing a bundle of papers, pronounced this memorable address:

As I wish my words to reach a much wider audience than I see before me here, I intend to read all that I propose to say. What I shall read now is something I wrote more than twenty days ago. There is an objection possibly not good in law but surely good on moral grounds against the application to me here of this English statute, 565 years old, that seeks to deprive an Irishman today of life and honor, not for "adhering to the King's enemies" but for adhering to his own people. When this statute was passed, in 1351, what was the state of men's minds on the question of a far higher allegiance—that of man to God and His Kingdom? The law of that day did not permit a man to forsake his Church or deny his God save with his life. The heretic then had the same doom as the traitor. Today a man may forswear God and His Heavenly Realm without fear or penalty, all earlier statutes having gone the way of Nero's edicts against the Christians; but that constitutional phantom the King can still dig up from the dungeons and torture chambers of the Dark Ages a law that takes a man's life and limb for an exercise of conscience.

Loyalty is a sentiment, not a law. It rests on Love, not on restraint. The government of Ireland by England rests on restraint and not on law; and, since it demands no love, it can evoke no loyalty. Judicial assassination today is reserved only for one race of the King's subjects, for Irishmen; for those who cannot forget their allegiance to the realm of Ireland. What is the fundamental charter of an Englishman's liberty? That he shall be tried by his peers. With all respect I assert that this court is to me, an Irishman, a foreign court—this jury is for me, an Irishman, not a jury of my peers. It is patent to every man of conscience that I have an indefeasible right, if tried at all under this statute of high treason, to be tried in Ireland, before an Irish court, and by an Irish jury. This court, this jury, the public opinion of this country, England, cannot but be prejudiced in varying degree against me, most of all in time of war. From this court and its jurisdiction I appeal to those I am alleged to have wronged, and to those I am alleged to have injured by my "evil example," and claim that they alone are competent to decide my guilt or my innocence.

This is so fundamental a right, so natural a right, so obvious a right, that it is clear the Crown were aware of it when they brought me by force and by stealth from Ireland to this country. It was not I who landed in England, but the Crown who dragged me here, away from my own country, to which I had returned with a price upon my head, away from my own countrymen, whose loyalty is not in doubt, and safe from the judgment of my peers, whose judgment I do not shrink from. I admit no other

judgment but theirs. I accept no verdict save at their hands.

I assert from this dock that I am being tried here not because it is just, but because it is unjust. My counsel has referred to the Ulster Volunteer movement, and I will not touch at length upon that ground, save only to say that neither I nor any of the leaders of the Irish Volunteers, who were founded in Dublin in November, 1913, had quarrel with the Ulster Volunteers as such, who were born a year earlier. Our movement was not directed against them, but against the men who misused and misdirected the courage, the sincerity, and the local patriotism of the men of the North of Ireland. On the contrary, we welcomed the coming of the Ulster Volunteers, even while we deprecated the aims and intentions of those Englishmen who sought to pervert to an English party use—to the mean purposes of their own bid for place and power in England—the armed activities of simple Irishmen. We aimed at winning the Ulster Volunteers to the cause of a united Ireland—we aimed at uniting all Irishmen in a natural and national bond of cohesion based on mutual self-respect. Our hope was a natural one, and, if left to ourselves, not hard to accomplish. If external influences of disintegration would but leave us alone, we were sure that nature itself must bring us together. It was not the Irish Volunteers who broke the law, but a British party.

The Government had permitted the Ulster Volunteers to be armed by Englishmen to threaten not merely an English party in its hold on office, but to threaten that party through the lives and blood of Irishmen. Our choice lay between submitting to foreign lawlessness and resisting it, and we did not hesitate. I for one was determined that Ireland was much more to me than empire, and that if charity begins at home so must loyalty.

Since arms were so necessary to make our organization a reality and to give to the minds of Irishmen menaced with the most outrageous threats a sense of security, it was our bounden duty to get arms before all else. I decided with this end in view to go to America. If, as the right honorable gentleman, the present Attorney General, asserted in a speech at Manchester, Nationalists would neither fight for home rule nor pay for it, it was our duty to show him that we knew how to do both.

Then came the war. As Mr. Birrell said in his evidence recently laid before the Commission of Inquiry into the causes of the late rebellion in Ireland, "The war upset all our calculations." It upset mine no less than Mr. Birrell's, and put an end to my mission of peaceful effort in America. War between Great Britain and Germany meant, as I believed, ruin for all the hopes we had founded on the enrollment of the Irish Volunteers. I felt over there in America that my first duty was to keep Irishmen at home in the only army that could safeguard our national existence. If small nationalities were to be the pawns in this game of embattled giants, I saw no reason why Ireland should shed her blood in any cause but her own, and if that be treason beyond the seas I am not ashamed to avow it or to answer for it here with my life.

And when we had the doctrine of Unionist loyalty at last, "Mausers and Kaisers and any King you like," I felt I needed no other warrant than that these words conveyed—to go forth and do likewise. The difference between us was that the Unionist champions chose a path which they felt would lead to the Woolsack, while I went a road that I knew must lead to the dock. And the event proves that we were both right. But let me say that I am prouder to stand here today in the traitor's dock to answer this impeachment than to fill the place of my accusers. If there be no right of rebellion against a state of things that no savage tribe would endure without resistance, then am I sure that it is better for men to fight and die without right than to live in such a state of right as this. Where all your rights become only an accumulated wrong; where men must beg with bated breath for leave to subsist in their own land, to think their own thoughts, to sing their own songs, to garner the fruit of their own labors—and even while they beg to see these things inexorably withdrawn from them—then surely it is a braver, a saner, and a truer thing to be a rebel in act and deed against such circumstances as this than tamely to accept it as the natural lot of men.

My Lord, I have done. Gentlemen of the Jury, I wish to thank you for your verdict. I hope you will not think that I made any imputation upon your truthfulness or your integrity when I said that this was not a trial by my peers.

[The Judges then assumed the black caps.]

Passing of the Mexican Crisis

The Fight at Carrizal

[See map of Mexico opposite Page 815]

WAR with Mexico seemed almost inevitable when the preceding issue of CURRENT HISTORY went to press. Since then the affair has passed through a still more acute stage, culminating in a bloody clash at Carrizal on June 21; yet, thanks to a sincere desire on both sides to avoid war, the dangerous strain has been lessened by mutual concessions, and at present the grievances of both countries seem in a fair way to reach a peaceful adjustment.

When General Carranza undertook, through General Trevino, to order the American troops in Mexico not to move east, west, or south, it was foreseen that a clash would be almost inevitable if an attempt were made to apply this to General Pershing's scouting parties. The situation was epitomized in Pershing's terse reply to Trevino's message: "I take my orders," he said, "only from my Government."

Early in the morning of June 21 the collision came. Troops C and K of the Tenth United States Cavalry, commanded by Captain Charles T. Boyd, found it necessary to pass eastward through Carrizal, sixty miles south of the United States boundary. The town was occupied by several hundred Carranzistas under General Francisco Gomez. Gomez refused to allow the Americans to pass, and, after a parley, Captain Boyd gave orders to advance, ignoring the threats of the Mexicans. He did not believe that they meant to fight. The American force consisted of eighty negroes, a white scout, and three white officers—Captains Boyd and Morey, and Lieutenant Adair. It was considerably outnumbered by the Mexicans in full view, who also had machine guns.

Late that evening Captain Morey, the only surviving American officer, sat hiding in a hole in the desert, wounded and suffering from thirst, and wrote:

"When we were within 300 yards the Mexicans opened fire, and a strong one, before we fired a shot; then we opened up. They did not run. To make a long account short, after about an hour's fire both troops had advanced, C Troop to position of Mexican machine gun and K Troop closing in slightly to the left. We were very busy on the right, keeping off a flank attack. A group of Mexicans left town, went around our rear, and led our horses off a-gallop."

General Gomez, the Mexican officer, was among the first to fall. One of General Funston's early reports stated these details:

After the firing began Troop C advanced 250 yards by rushes toward the Mexican position along an irrigating ditch, taking it and capturing machine guns. Captain Boyd was twice wounded, in the arm and shoulder, before reaching the Mexican position, and was killed at the irrigation ditch. Troop C continued to advance through the town under Lieutenant Adair. This was the last seen of Troop C by these men. Troop K was outflanked and withdrew a short distance and occupied an adobe house. Captain Morey was at this time wounded in the shoulder. This house was surrounded by Mexicans and was under fire for some time.

After two hours of hard fighting the surviving Americans scattered over the desert, and most of them eventually got back to the American lines. Twelve Americans were killed, and twenty-four were captured by the Mexicans and imprisoned in the penitentiary at Chihuahua. The Mexicans are said to have lost forty-six killed and thirty-nine wounded.

President Wilson at once demanded the release of the prisoners. Without this there could be no alternative but war. Meanwhile Mexican ports were blockaded by American warships, and all supplies, merchandise, and munitions were prevented from crossing the border. All Americans living in Mexico were warned to leave the country at once. Secretary Lansing sent an identical note

to all the diplomatic representatives of Central and South America, explaining that, if the situation should eventuate in war, it would not be through any desire of the United States to intervene in Mexican affairs, but solely for the purpose of defending American territory and citizens from further attacks by bands of armed Mexicans. The leading Latin-American Governments urged Mexico to avoid war. Carranza issued a foolish and discourteous "memorandum," reiterating his charge of bad faith, but on June 28 he gave proof of a genuine desire for peace by releasing the twenty-four prisoners and sending them back to the United States over the international bridge at El Paso the next day. Another crisis had been passed, and the interchange of more amicable notes (published in the following pages) paved the way for another attempt to stop the murderous border raids by means of a joint patrol of the respective banks of the Rio Grande.

Negotiations are under way at this writing for the creation of a Mexican-American commission to deal with the problems confronting the two Governments. The preliminary steps have been arranged informally by Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State, and Eliseo Arredondo, Ambassador Designate of the Mexican Government. The commission is expected to include Señor Arredondo and Henry P. Fletcher, our recently appointed Ambassador to Mexico.

Meanwhile there is no relaxation of military precautions on the border. President Wilson's call for 100,000 men of the National Guard has met with prompt response, and the quotas from the various States are being distributed by General Funston at strategic points along the whole 1,500 miles of exposed frontier. The War Department has decided to recruit the militia regiments to full war strength as fast as possible. If the recruiting campaign succeeds it will bring the total National Guard force up to 160,000, which, with the regular army, will make a border patrol of 210,000 men on our side of the river. General Pershing's expedition, it is understood, will be withdrawn from Mexican territory within a reasonable time if conditions continue to improve.

The embargo on food and clothing for Mexico has been raised, and railway cars are again crossing the line both ways, but war munitions are withheld in the absence of complete proof that they are destined for the de facto Government. This policy has been in force since last March, and officials assert that since April 1 no munitions have crossed the border. The continuance of friendly relations with Mexico depends, as in the past, upon the ability and entire willingness of General Carranza's followers to do their part toward stopping the robber raids across the border. If trouble breaks out again we shall have an adequate force on hand for any emergency.

Mexican and American Notes Regarding the Carrizal Incident

THE text of Secretary Lansing's telegram of June 25 to the special representative of the United States Government in Mexico City is as follows:

Washington, June 25, 1916.

James Linn Rodgers, Special Representative of the United States Government, Mexico City:

Mr. Arredondo yesterday delivered to this Government the following communication:

"I am directed by my Government to inform your Excellency, with reference to the Carrizal incident, that the Chief Executive, through the Mexican War Department, gave orders to General Jacinto B. Trevino not to permit American forces from General Pershing's column to advance further south or to move either east or west from the points where they are located, and to oppose new incursions of American soldiers into Mexican territory. These orders were brought by General Trevino to the attention of General Pershing, who acknowledged the receipt of the communication relative thereto. On the 22d inst., as your Excellency knows, an American force moved eastward quite far from its base, notwithstanding the above

orders, and was engaged by Mexican troops at Carrizal, State of Chihuahua. As a result of the encounter, several men on both sides were killed and wounded and seventeen American soldiers were made prisoners."

You are hereby instructed to hand to the Minister of Foreign Relations of the de facto Government the following:

The Government of the United States can put no other construction on the communication handed to the Secretary of State of the United States on the 24th of June by Mr. Arredondo, under instructions from your Government, than that it is a formal avowal of deliberately hostile action against the forces of the United States now in Mexico, and of purpose to attack them without provocation whenever they move from their present position in pursuance of the objects for which they were sent there, notwithstanding the fact that these objects involve no unfriendly intention toward the Government or people of Mexico, but are, on the contrary, intended only to assist that Government in protecting itself and the territory and people of the United States against irresponsible and insurgent bands of rebel marauders.

I am instructed, therefore, by my Government to demand the immediate release of the prisoners taken in the encounter at Carrizal, together with any property of the United States taken with them, and to inform you that the Government of the United States expects an early statement from your Government as to the course of action it wishes the Government of the United States to understand it has determined upon, and that it also expects that this statement be made through the usual diplomatic channels, and not through subordinate military commanders.

LANSING.

The answer of the de facto Government of Mexico to the foregoing telegram and to the long note of the United States dated June 20 (full text of which appeared in July issue of CURRENT HISTORY) averted the immediate danger of war between the two countries by granting the American demand for the release of the Carrizal prisoners. The full text, as translated by the Mexican Embassy at Washington, is as follows:

Washington, D. C., July 4, 1916.

Mr. Secretary:

I have the honor to transmit in continuation the text of a note I have just received from my Government with instructions to present it to your Excellency:

"Mr. Secretary:

"Referring to the notes of June 20 and 25 last, I have the honor to say to your Excellency that the immediate release of the Carrizal prisoners was a further proof of the sincerity of the desire of this Government to reach a pacific and satisfactory arrangement of present difficulties. This Government is anxious to solve the present conflict, and it would be unjust if its attitude were misinterpreted.

"It was also the Mexican Government that earnestly suggested a plan for cantonments along the boundary line during the conference of Ciudad Juarez and El Paso. The Government is disposed now, as it has always been, to seek an immediate solution of the two points which constitute the true causes of the conflict between the two countries, to wit: the American Government believes reasonably that the insecurity of its frontier is a source of difficulty and the Mexican Government on its part believes that the presence of American troops on Mexican territory, aside from being a trespass on the sovereignty of Mexico, is the immediate cause of the conflict. Therefore, the withdrawal of American troops on one hand and the protection of the frontier on the other are the two essential problems the solution of which must be the directing object of the efforts of both Governments.

"The Mexican Government is willing to consider in a quick and practical way, and prompted by a spirit of concord, the remedies which should be applied to the present situation.

"Several Latin-American countries have offered their friendly mediation to the Mexican Government, and the latter has accepted it in principle. Therefore the Mexican Government only awaits information that the Government of the United States would be disposed to accept this mediation for the purpose mentioned above or whether it is still of the belief that the same results may be attained by means of direct negotiations between both Governments.

"In the meantime this Government proposes to employ all efforts that may be at its disposal to avoid the recurrence of new incidents which may complicate and aggravate the situation. At the same time it hopes that the American Government on its part may make use of all efforts to prevent also new acts of its military and civil authorities of the frontier that might cause new complications.

"I avail myself of this opportunity to reiterate to your Excellency the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

"C. AGUILAR."

Having thus complied with higher instructions of my Government, it affords me pleasure to reiterate to your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

E. ARREDONDO.

President Wilson, through the State Department, promptly answered this conciliatory communication in a like spirit, stating that the United States was prepared for the immediate exchange of views as to a practical plan for adjusting the differences between the two countries. The note follows:

Washington, D. C., July 7, 1916.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of July 4, 1916, in which you transcribe a note addressed to me by the Secretary of Foreign Relations of your Government, and to request that you will transmit to him the following reply:

Mr. Secretary: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your courteous note, transmitted to me by Señor Arredondo on the 4th inst., in which you refer to my notes of June 20 and June 25, and to assure you of the sincere gratification of my Government at the frank statement of the difficulties which have unfortunately arisen in our relations along the international boundary, and the unreserved expression of the desire of your Government to reach an adjustment of these difficulties on a broad and amicable basis.

The same spirit of friendship and of solicitude for the continuance of cordial relations between our two countries inspires my Government, which equally desires an immediate solution of the matters of differences which have long vexed both Governments.

It is especially pleasing to my Government that the de facto Government of Mexico is disposed to give quick as well as practical consideration in a spirit of concord to the remedies which may be applied to the existing conditions. Reciprocating the same desire, the Government of the United States is prepared immediately to exchange views as to a practical plan to remove finally and prevent a recurrence of the difficulties which have been the source of the controversy.

Accept, Mr. Secretary, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration. I am, Sir, yours very sincerely,

ROBERT LANSING.

General Carranza has indicated his willingness to co-operate on the lines suggested, and at this writing informal conferences between Señor Arredondo and Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State, are believed to be paving the way for a joint patrol of the border and a peaceful settlement of the acute issue which had again brought the two countries to the verge of war.

Greece Submits to the Allies

GREECE mobilized her army on Sept. 23, 1915, two days after Bulgaria. Early in October, when the Allies landed at Saloniki, she enrolled 30,000 additional reserves, bringing her effective force up to nearly 200,000. She proclaimed absolute neutrality, but the Allies sensed a decided leaning of the King toward the Central Powers; it is supposed that this attitude is due to the influence of the Queen, who is a sister of the German Kaiser. There was considerable tension between the allied Governments and Greece throughout the recent Winter and Spring, which reached a crisis when Greece yielded without a protest to the occupation of important frontier fortresses by its old enemy Bulgaria. This complaisance to the Central Powers, followed by demonstrations on June 12 by a band of hoodlums escorted by policemen in uniform, visiting and hooting the French and British legations with the apparent approval of the Chief of Police, the offensive attitude of the Premier, and the benevolent sympathy of the Royal House toward their enemies, determined the Entente Allies on firm steps to prevent a possible back fire.

Accordingly, on June 20, the following note was handed to the Greek Government, M. Zaimis having in the meantime succeeded M. Skouloudis as Premier:

By order of their Governments, the undersigned, Ministers of France, Great Britain, and Russia, representatives of the Guarantee Powers (*Puissances Garantes*) of Greece, have the honor to make to the Hellenic Government the following declaration, which they have also been ordered to bring to the knowledge of the Greek people:

As they have already formally and in writing declared, the three guaranteeing powers do not ask of Greece that she shall depart from her neutrality. Of this they give striking proof by putting in the first place among their demands the total demobilization of the Greek Army in order to assure tranquillity and peace for the Hellenic people. But they have many and legitimate grounds of suspicion against the Greek Government, whose attitude toward them is not in conformity either with its reiterated promises or even with the principles of a loyal neutrality.

Thus the Greek Government has too often favored the actions of certain foreigners who have worked openly with the object of misleading the opinion of the Greek people, of

falsifying the national conscience, and of creating on Hellenic territory hostile organizations contrary to the neutrality of the country and tending to compromise the security of the military and naval forces of the Allies.

The entry of Bulgarian forces into Greece and the occupation of the fort of Rupel and other strategic points, with the connivance of the Hellenic Cabinet, constitute for the allied troops a new menace, which imposes on the three powers the necessity of demanding immediate guarantees and measures.

Further, the Greek Constitution has been ignored; the free exercise of the universal suffrage impeded; the Chamber has been dissolved for the second time in less than a year against the clearly expressed will of the people; the electors have been appealed to (convoqués) while mobilization was in full swing, so that the present Chamber represents but an insignificant part of the Electoral College; the entire country has been subjected to a reign of oppression and police tyranny and coerced without regard to the lice tyranny and coerced without regard to the ter have not only the right but the imperative duty to protest against such violations of the liberties of the Greek people, of which they have been the guardians.

The hostile attitude of the Hellenic Government toward the powers which freed Greece from the foreign yoke and assured her independence, and the evident collusion of the present Cabinet with their enemies make it all the more necessary for them to act with firmness, relying on the rights they hold by treaty, which were confirmed, for the safety of the Greek people on each occasion when their rights and liberties have been threatened.

Consequently the guaranteeing powers find themselves compelled to require the immediate application of the following measures:

1. Real and total demobilization of the Greek Army, which must be put with the least possible delay on a peace footing.

2. Immediate replacement of the existing Ministry by a business Cabinet, (Cabinet d'Affaires,) without political bias and providing all the guarantees necessary for the application of the benevolent neutrality which Greece has undertaken to observe toward the allied powers, and for a fresh appeal in good faith to the nation.

3. Immediate dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, followed by fresh elections on the expiration of the period specified by the Constitution, and after the general mobilization shall have restored the electoral body to its normal conditions.

4. The replacement, in agreement with the allied powers, of certain police functionaries whose attitude, inspired by foreign instructions, has facilitated the commission of crimes against peaceable citizens, together with insults directed against the allied legations and their dependents.

The guaranteeing powers, animated still by the most benevolent and friendly spirit toward Greece, but determined at the same time to obtain, without discussion or delay, the application of these indispensable measures, can only leave to the Hellenic Government entire responsibility for such events as may happen if their just demands are not immediately accepted.

(Signed) J. GUILLEMIN,
F. ELLIOT,
DEMIDOFF.

When this note was delivered, British and French warships appeared before Piraeus and a practical blockade had been established.

Matters now moved swiftly. The Greek Government the next day accepted in their entirety the demands contained in the note. Orders were proclaimed demobilizing the army on June 27; new elections were ordered within forty days, and a Venizelos adherent, Zymbrakakis, was sworn in as Chief of Police at Athens on June 28. The Allies now feel secure that Greek neutrality will be maintained throughout the war.

The Second Year of the War in Africa

[Written for CURRENT HISTORY by a Staff Contributor]

IN August, 1915, CURRENT HISTORY gave some account of the rapid alienation of Germany's colonial empire, which, at the outset of the war, measured over a million square miles. It was made up of four sections of Africa, of the northeastern third of the vast Island of Papua, or New Guinea, and of groups of islands scattered over the Pacific, from New Guinea eastward. This widely spread empire was open to attack by several of the allied nations—England, France, Belgium, Japan, and, later, Portugal—while Germany, whose fleets were swept from the open seas, was wholly unable to support her forces there.

The first colonies to go were the insular possessions in the Pacific, taken over by British colonial troops from Australia and New Zealand—the nucleus of the famous Anzac forces—to whom French colonial forces from New Caledonia were added; and also by Japan, whose captures were for the most part turned over to Australia; at the same time Togoland, on the north shore of the great Gulf of Guinea, which indents West Africa on the equator, was captured by co-operating French and British forces. All these colonies were elements in the great scheme for a German colonial empire, developed by Prince Bismarck, beginning with 1885; and Bismarckburg, in Togoland, as well as the Bismarck Archipelago, north of German New Guinea, (Kaiser Wilhelm Land,) were intended to immortalize the great statesman's name.

The campaign of General Louis Botha gave to the Allies, and, more particularly, to the recently formed Union of South Africa, of which General Botha is Premier, the great region of German Southwest Africa, which thereon became a part of the realm jointly possessed by Briton and Boer. It is noteworthy that these conquests by her dominions beyond the sea bind these new nations more firmly to Britain, since to safeguard them the protection of the British fleet and Britain's command of the sea are essential. Their acquisition, therefore, strengthens the bonds of the British Empire.

There remained two great German colonies in Africa—the Cameroon region, to the east of the Gulf of Guinea, so called by the early Portuguese navigator, Fernando Po, from the "Camerones," or "crayfish," which his sailors found in the river, an interesting etymology hidden by the German spelling, "Kamerun"; and, on the other side of Africa, the colony of German East Africa. Both these colonies are very large—larger than Germany and France combined—and much of them is covered with tropical jungle, spread over very mountainous country. In both, as events showed, the German authorities had been vigorously preparing for the expected world war, as the fact that they were able to fight continuously for many months without new supplies of ammunition sufficiently shows. They were also linked with Germany and with each other by an extraordinary system of wireless stations.

In both these German colonies fighting began at the very beginning of the war. In both there were considerable forces of German soldiers, and very much larger forces of well-armed native troops, under German officers. In both there was a network of strongly fortified German posts, with trenches, earthworks, barbed wire entanglements, (first used in Africa in the Boer war,) and the whole paraphernalia of modern warfare.

CAPTURE OF CAMEROON

The Cameroon colony was surrounded by British and French colonies—British to the northwest, French to the east and south, while on the west it was open to the sea, and therefore commanded by the allied fleets. The allied plan of campaign was to work from the circum-

CHART SHOWING LOCATION OF THE FOUR GERMAN COLONIES IN AFRICA, WITH STATUS OF EACH AT THE BEGINNING OF THE PRESENT YEAR

ference to the centre, closing in on the German forces as these were gradually driven together. Their progress was as follows:

At the beginning of January, 1915, the French North Cameroon column arrived before the German fortress of Garua, seeking to make a junction with the British forces sent from Yola (in British Nigeria) under Major Webb-Bowen. Colonel Brisset, in command of this French force, made his camp at Nassaroa, to the north of Garua, and on Jan. 10 Major Webb-Bowen joined him, bringing three three-inch guns and fifteen machine guns. In April Colonel Cunliffe arrived, and took command of the allied forces, French and British, a total of 900 combatants. Completely investing the German fortress, they began a five months' siege. Two heavy guns were later sent from Dakar, a more aggressive attack was begun, and, on the night of June 9-10, the Germans, hard pressed, tried to escape. They failed, and on June 10 hoisted the white flag. The Allies were not supplied with a truce flag to hoist in reply. One of their officers pulled off his shirt, which "looked white from a distance," and a parley was begun, Captain von Krailsheim finally surrendering unconditionally. On June 11 the allied forces entered Garua, replacing the German flag by the British flag and the tricolor.

At the close of June the allied forces, pushing on to N'Gaundere, found it evacuated. The French there celebrated the national festival of July 14. On Aug. 11 Captain Jean Ferrandi reached Kounde. From Tibati the allied troops moved against Yoko, in connection with a column which General Cunliffe was leading from Kontcha against Banyo, from which he moved on Nov. 16 against strong German positions on Mount Banyo. To the east, two columns setting out from Bertua and Dume, marched on Tina. These different forces were intended to come together in the direction of Yaunde, the last German stronghold.

At the southwest corner of the Cameroon colony, on the Gulf of Guinea, there is an "inset" of neutral territory, the Spanish Congo. Making their escape from Yaunde, the last German forces crossed the border into this neutral ground, where they were interned by the Spanish authorities. The completion of the conquest of the Cameroons was an-

GERMAN EAST AFRICA, LAST REMNANT OF GERMAN POSSESSIONS IN THE DARK CONTINENT, WHERE GENERAL SMUTS IS NOW LEADING THE FIGHTING FOR THE ENTENTE ALLIES

nounced on Feb. 18, 1916, in a cablegram from the Governor of British Nigeria, which stated that the German garrison at Mora, in the extreme north, had capitulated. Mr. A. Bonar Law, Secretary of State for the Colonies, telegraphed congratulations to General Dobell and General Cunliffe on the success of the forces under their command, and the organization of the Cameroons, under French colonial authorities, was begun. It is likely that both Togoland and the Cameroons are assigned, in the plans of the Allies, to France.

GERMAN EAST AFRICA

German East Africa, which was developed from concessions in the back country of Zanzibar, is, to a large degree, bordered by the great African lakes—Victoria Nyanza makes a deep cut into it on the north, Lake Tanganyika forms the upper half of its western frontier, while Lake Nyassa forms the lower half. On the east is the Indian Ocean. The land frontier on the north is British East Africa; the land boundary on the west is the Belgian Congo. The land boundaries on the south are British Nyassaland and Portuguese Mozambique. Thus the German colony is beset on all sides by allied possessions; now that Portugal has entered the war on the side of the Allies—following the seizure of fourteen German steamships in the estuary of the Tagus—there is no adjoining neutral territory to which the German forces can retreat as the defenders of the Cameroon colony retreated to the Spanish Congo.

We may infer the completeness of their preparation for war by the fact that the Germans in East Africa now complete their second year of fighting without having received any considerable supplies from the outside. Here, as on the west coast of Africa, they had strongly fortified posts dotted all over the colony, and strong native forces, numbering some 50,000—a very large army, considering the immense difficulties of the country, much of which is heavy jungle, on the sides of the highest mountains in Africa.

In such country all the advantage is on the side of the party which is on the defensive; one or two well-placed ma-

chine guns—and the Germans have large numbers of these—can keep back a very considerable force, where the use of artillery is almost out of the question. There is some artillery, however; the Allies have several times announced the capture of Krupp field pieces, the same 77-millimeter guns that are used against Verdun.

Until the Spring of the present year the allied campaign in German East Africa languished somewhat. General Smuts, the famous Boer leader, who is a member of General Botha's Ministry, was then sent thither, with the temporary rank of a Lieutenant General in the British Army. After his arrival things began to move, and, an interesting feature of the situation, the Belgians from the west and the Portuguese from the south co-operated vigorously and systematically with the British. Recent successes were as follows:

On May 13 General Tombeur, leading the Belgians, compelled the retreat of the German force near Lake Kivu, occupying the Kama range of hills, and capturing a Krupp 77. Toward the end of May a British force, working forward from Nyassaland under General Northey, penetrated twenty miles into German territory between Lake Tanganyika and Lake Nyassa, and compelled the Germans to evacuate Neu Langenburg, to the north of Lake Nyassa, capturing large quantities of ammunition. A nearby German garrison, at Marema, was invested. By the beginning of June the Belgians had penetrated 125 miles into German territory; their left rested on the River Kagera, while their centre had crossed the River Akanjaru, and their right was approaching the town of Usumbura. The Belgian troops were everywhere well received by the natives, and established a provisional government in Ruanda.

Meanwhile, the British troops, working inland along the Pangani River, which flows into the sea to the north of Zanzibar, had come in touch with the Germans at Mikachesi on May 22. The enemy line was astride the railroad in the narrow neck between the Pare Mountains and the Panzani, and was strongly intrenched. On May 30 these trenches were assaulted and carried. The Germans retired up the railroad to Mkomazi, with the forces of General Smuts in pursuit. At the same time the Portuguese, operating from the south, had defeated the Germans at the mouth of the Rovuma River, near Kionga.

On Lake Victoria Nyanza the Island of Ukerewe was taken from the Germans, with two Krupp guns. On June 13 General Northey's forces occupied Alt Langenburg, while the Belgians took possession of the line between Lake Tanganyika and Lake Victoria Nyanza, the British meawnhile taking Handeni. On June 22 it was announced that General Tombeur's Belgians had defeated the Germans at Kiwitawe, and had engaged them again on the road from Kiwitawe to Kitega, east of the River Ngokoma.

The allied strategy is exactly the same as in the Cameroons—to work from many points along the circumference, in toward the centre, where the end will come.

What Germany Has Lost in the Cameroons

CAMEROON, the important German colony on the central west coast of Africa, passed into possession of the Allies on Feb. 18, 1916, when the garrison of Mora, in the northern portion, capitulated. The first mention of this district is by early Portuguese navigators, who sought its shores for food and water. In drawing their nets they found them laden with prawns, and named the district River of Prawns, or Rio dos Camaröes; this was in the seventeenth century. Two hundred years later the Niger Trading Company, an English company, sent steamships to that section for legitimate commerce, although it is suspected the slave trade was surreptitiously the chief purpose. In

1857 a British cruiser, sent out to suppress the trade, while anchored in the Cameroon River, was visited by a delegation of native chiefs, who asked that England take possession of the Cameroon country, and in compliance with this request the commander hoisted the British flag and took possession. The British Admiralty revoked this action and ordered the flag hauled down. Twenty-two years later the chiefs again asked England to take possession, but no action was taken.

In 1840 Hamburg merchants opened trade relations with the natives of the West Coast, and in 1859 they had factories near the Cameroon River. In 1883 the Hamburg Chamber of Commerce recommended the annexation of the Cameroon coast, and on April 20, 1884, the German Chargé d'Affaires at London notified the British Foreign Office that the German Consul General would "visit" the West Coast of Africa with authority to conduct negotiations "connected with certain questions," and asked that the German officials be "furnished with suitable recommendations." Shortly thereafter two German warships appeared at the coast—one the Möwe, curiously enough the predecessor of the Möwe which recently made a sensational sea raid near the coast, achieving a dramatic escape from the British fleet and returning safely to Hamburg. On July 5, 1884, the German flag was raised at Togoland, and a few days later at the Cameroon River.

This was a shock to England, revealing the fact that Germany had entered the lists in the scramble for colonies in Africa. As soon as the news leaked out that Togoland and the Cameroon had been taken by Germany, British agents made treaties with native chiefs to secure the mouths of the Niger and the Oil River, which were the choice possessions of that region.

The colony was increased in 1911 to an area of 295,000 square miles by the cession of part of the Congo territory by France in compensation for German concessions in Morocco. Its length is over 700 miles and its breadth 600 miles, being twice the size of the United Kingdom.

Edward Bond, in a study of the district for the Contemporary Review, gives some interesting data concerning it. About half the country is flat, with fine agricultural possibilities. The western part from the sea northward is mountainous, with some lofty peaks, one, the Mountain of Greatness, having an altitude of 13,370 feet. The forests contain much valuable hardwood, conspicuously ebony. The natives are Moslems, with Arabic civilization. Their chief occupation is stock raising. The chief town, Duala, had a population of 25,000, including 200 Europeans. It is well laid out and sanitary. In 1913 a railway 150 miles long had been built, another was under construction, and a third under survey. The total population of the colony is 3,500,000. There are four Government schools, with 868 pupils, and four missionary schools, with 24,000 pupils. At the time of the latest figures the imports were $8,000,000 and the exports $5,600,000.

The colony has been a liability to the German Government, the latest reported deficit reaching nearly $2,500,000 per annum. However, it has the very brightest prospects, as everything that will grow in tropical Africa can be grown there and the temperate climate in the vast mountainous areas gives all the possibilities of a temperate zone.

France and Italy Reunited

By Anatole France

Foremost Living French Author

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY]

This address by Anatole France, reproduced here for its charm of style and its exquisite political tact, was delivered in Paris at a conference organized by Louis Barthou, former President of the Council, in honor of Italy's work in the war.

GATHERED here before the youth of our schools to render solemn homage to Italy, we should first salute with respectful sympathy Italy's Ambassador, [M. Tittoni,] whose presence among us brings us into the presence of his beloved land itself. Who could better incarnate that land in our eyes than the illustrious statesman whose political acts have done so much to bring about the union, consummated here today, of his country with England, Russia, and France? We acclaim him today, in this august Sorbonne, as he was acclaimed in the diplomatic tribune of our Chamber of Deputies in the historic days of May, 1915, when, on the Capitoline Hill, to the plaudits of Romans, the bell of the campanile announced to the universe that Italy was taking up arms for a just cause. * * *

I will express in as few words as possible my esteem and admiration, as a Frenchman, for that beautiful Italy which I have loved all my life; loved for her nature and her genius, loved for her cypress-crowned hills, her mountains of terebinthine shade, or, bare under the sun that gilds them, those other mountains whose very names set generous hearts a-throb; a Frenchman who has loved her for her harmonious shores, her lakes, her sea and her sky of divine smiles, her cities of marble and her villages high perched on rock, proud as citadels; who has loved her for her poets, her musicians, her artists, her historians and scholars, her deep past of thrilling grandeur, and her later past still palpitating with the struggles of the Risorgimento, which the morrow will crown with victory; who has loved her, in fine, with all the transports of passion, all the delights of the voluptuary, all the meditations of the philosopher.

It is thus that Italy is loved in France. As for the proof of this attachment, you will find it in the grieved surprise caused among us by the political and economic estrangement which in recent years had separated the two nations.

With what satisfaction, too, did we see, after the beginning of the war, that Italy, refusing to be an accomplice in an unjust aggression, and denouncing the Triple Alliance, was giving us, as a foretaste of her friendship, security on our southern frontier!

And with what joy did we learn, on May 16, 1915, that she was uniting her arms with ours! There was reason then not only to rejoice but to admire Italy, for the war was not imposed upon her as upon us, or, rather, it was imposed upon her solely by her love of justice and regard for her destiny.

Italy took up this war, not because she thought it easy and sure, but, on the contrary, because, foreseeing that it would be long and terrible, she deemed the act wise and necessary. Since then she has fought with a soul resolute and serene, with a heart immovable, in firm and sincere solidarity with us.

In December she signed the pact of London, binding herself not to lay down her arms save in co-operation with the Entente Powers, and she gave to Belgium the assurance that she would not cease to fight so long as an inch of Belgian earth was still fouled by the foot of the invader. She proclaimed through the lips of her most illustrious statesmen: "Italy is resolved to continue the struggle with all her forces, at the price of all sacrifices, until she has realized her most

sacred hopes, restored international law in concert with the Allies, and with them assured among nations the blessings of independence, security, and reciprocal respect, which alone can restore calm to the universe." This great task accomplished, peace will rise like the sun over the world, and we shall see fulfilled the prayer of the eminent man in whom we have just been saluting all Italy, M. Tittoni:

"May the peace won by victory not be a peace, but peace itself, peace free from all war germs, peace seated solidly on the principles of nationality and of international justice."

Such is the meaning of the pact that binds Italy to us. Such are the generous conditions of her generous aid. Can we wipe out our debt to her with vain praises and sterile homages? No. In calmer days, when we shall have returned to the works of earth, of industry and of art, we will remember that from the Stelvio to the Isonzo, around peaks covered with eternal snow, in gorges whipped by glacial blasts, her precious blood flowed for the common cause.

Friends of Italy in these war times, we shall remain her friends in the days of peace; fraternity in arms shall not be followed by hostility in business. We shall know how to reconcile the commercial, industrial, and financial interests of the two nations, and range into harmony the old barriers of figures, which are sometimes as cruel in peace as barbed wire in war.

Ladies, gentlemen, and you, young men, who shall long taste the fruits of this peace which shall have cost fierce labors and bloody sacrifices, remember always that your fathers, allies of this noble and fine Italy, allies of almost all civilized Europe, fought not for prey, like barbarians, not for insolent and cruel domination, like our adversaries, but for liberty against tyranny, for justice against iniquity, for the faith of treaties against perfidy, for peace against war. And let the example of the conquered (for we can regard our enemies henceforth as conquered) forever guard you from the brutal pride that has destroyed them, from their greedy desires, and from their disdain of the weak! Let their ruin teach you reason and justice, and persuade you that force without wisdom devours itself!

A German Ex-Chancellor's Comment on American War Sentiment

Prince von Bülow is the author of a book, "Deutsche Politik," in which he makes this comment upon the prevailing war sympathies in the United States:

Germany has noted with sore distress the biases and the unfriendly bearing of official and public America during the war, which are greatly to the empire's disadvantage. Such ruthlessness as has been manifested toward us by official America and by the public in the course of differences on the subject of the conduct of the submarine war we have never met with before, and it is probably unique in the history of the diplomatic relations of two great countries. The feeling of rancor at present entertained by very many Germans toward the American people, whom they so long regarded as honest friends, is but too comprehensible and is justified. This rancor is in no sense mitigated by the fact that by exploiting the present world situation America is in a fair way to become the wealthiest country on earth. * * * Such a song of triumph as that over the unprecedented economic advance made by the United States since the beginning of the war, uttered at the end of the year 1915 by the American Secretary of the Treasury with a compassionate side glance at Europe, decimated and impoverished by the world war, has seldom, if ever, been heard before.

War's Effects On the Upper Classes

By Guglielmo Ferrero

Italian Historian and Publicist

*"That in all the countries of Europe the upper classes will find themselves worse off after the war than before, all of them less rich, less powerful, less respected and less united, is one of the least fallacious predictions that can be made today. * * * And yet it was the upper classes that, in some countries willingly, in others unconsciously, brought about this war."*

DESTINY is being fulfilled; the force of events vanquishes the resistance offered by traditions, interests, and prejudices. At last England, too, institutes military service as an obligatory duty of all her citizens.

The last army of the ancient régime, that in military matters was still able to bring to mind the days preceding the French Revolution, disappears in Europe.

Military institutions are among those especially sensitive to the changes that occur in other organs of the social body, and also, by altering themselves, contribute most toward changing the others. Old England, therefore, has taken another step along the road that leads to her "continentalism," if I may be allowed to use such a barbarous word. Because the new military institutions will remain in effect after the war. A reform of this nature is not, and can not be, a mere transitory expedient; it is always the beginning of a new historical epoch. And thus once more we see confirmed that sort of iron law which appears to have dominated Europe since the time of the French Revolution, and which implies that all the other revolutionary forces that have agitated European society since the days of the French Revolution—the ideas, the principles, the interests, the parties—would have been much less active and would not have changed the face of the world so much if they had not been aided every once in a while by the shock of a great war.

There are innumerable examples of this. The abolition of serfdom in Russia was one of the many results of the Crimean war, as the constitutional régime was one of the effects of the war with Japan. The people of France received universal suffrage from the republic that was the result of a war. The people of Germany got it from an aristocracy that wished with this concession to prepare them for the bloody effort of a great war. The wars of '59 and '66 forced the haughty spirit of the Hapsburgs to compromise with the spirit of democracy and liberalism of the times by granting to the peoples of the monarchy a constitution, political liberty, and national autonomy. That facility in making democratic concessions, which little by little, from 1860 on, has tempered the vigor and mode of action of the Italian Government, has been to a large degree a compensation given to the people in connection with the military burdens imposed by the new régime, burdens much more numerous and heavy than those imposed by the old one. And this list might be extended.

In short, for a century the upper classes have lost in the midst of wars many of those privileges to which they seemed most attached and in defense of which in times of peace they had spared neither pains nor cunning. The fact is not strange in itself; what is more strange is the fact that, in general, the upper classes during the past century have been, practically everywhere, warlike, militaristic, imperialistic, and supporters of a policy which, by multiplying wars, has obliged them to make these concessions; while the masses, and the parties representing the masses, though having the most to gain by war, have been, almost always and everywhere, pacific and opposed to all forms of imperialism.

This peculiar contradiction has been made especially apparent in the European war. That in all the countries of Europe the upper classes will find them-

selves worse off after the war than before, all of them less rich, less powerful, less respected, and less united is one of the least fallacious predictions that may be made today. To what degree the middle and popular classes will profit by this weakening of the rulers would be difficult to say, and it would be just as difficult to say if this recompense will be sufficient to indemnify them for the losses inflicted upon them by the war. But it is certain that the power and prestige of the upper classes and of the institutions to which they are attached through tradition or interest will be put to a severe test by the war, while the classes more numerous and poorer will be able to obtain important political advantages. And yet it was the upper classes that, in some countries willingly, in others unconsciously, brought about this war.

In sorting over my papers the other day I found an article published by Jaurès in L'Humanité on Sept. 12, 1906. This article read, in part, as follows:

"It sees that we are acting like bad citizens * * * in admonishing the nations, all the nations, the rulers, all the rulers, to be prudent, to be moderate, to show a wise and systematic desire for peace; in demonstrating that war in Europe would provoke a terrible moral and social crisis. * * * Guglielmo Ferrero wrote, a little while ago in his 'History of Rome,' that wars precipitate social crises by causing the explosion of the contradictions latent in the States. A great European war would unchain on the one side a nationalism, instinctive and reactionary, and on the other the revolutionary spirit; it would cause the appearance on one hand of a sort of Assembly of Versailles, less monarchical, less bigoted, but just as clerical and more militaristic, and on the other a sort of Commune, more systematic, but perhaps just as impotent. The crisis, although raging in all Europe, would be more violent and more profound in the democratic countries where the clash of the classes would not be attenuated by the authority of the past. France, therefore, would be in the centre of the cyclone and of the danger. Now, we do not want to see France perish; nor do we want to see her weakened. And neither do we wish that the necessary social revolution be effected in a hurricane of blood, of fury, and of tears. For this reason we supplicate France to use for her own salvation that which may otherwise aggravate her danger and to convert into a means of salvation that force of liberty and of democracy which might, perhaps, in a day of storms, send her to the bottom in the midst of the deep abysses stirred up by the European crisis."

It would be difficult to find another page on which there could be expressed with more force and clarity the fear of war and its revolutionary energy that animated the parties considered revolutionary up to 1914. A fear which, for the rest, is not hard to explain, for the masses represented by those parties preferred peace to the benefits which might be brought to them by war, and they preferred peace, not merely because peace is more agreeable than war, but also because there never has been an instance where the multitude, the people, the many, have been revolutionary, except when there has been a lack of bread in the kneading trough or of coal on the hearth of the artisan and of the peasant. The true revolutionary spirit has never been found anywhere except among the upper and educated classes, and there never has been a revolution not set in motion by the outbreak of dissension in the centre of the governing classes. But ordinarily the upper classes attempt, or make, revolutions in their own interest, which makes it hard to understand the strange mania for committing suicide through a succession of wars, each greater than the other, that seems to have had possession of the upper classes of Europe for the last century.

The historian who could get to the bottom of this problem would perhaps be able to discover one of the essential mysteries of contemporary civilization and to decipher the meaning of all these tragedies that have ensued, one after the other, in Europe for a century.

[THIRD INSTALLMENT]

The Battle of Verdun

An Authoritative French Account Based on Official Records

By M. Ardouin-Dumazet

Military Editor of Le Temps and Le Figaro

[TRANSLATED FOR CURRENT HISTORY]

THURSDAY, May 18.—At this stage the battle of Verdun reached a degree of violence surpassing, perhaps, that which marked the worst days of Vaux and Le Mort Homme. Beginning with May 17, the conflict increased steadily, except for a short interruption on May 19. The enemy, who continued to bombard the sector included between the Avocourt Wood and Le Mort Homme, during the night of May 17-18 launched several attacks against the Avocourt Wood redoubt, but was compelled to retire after suffering heavy losses. On our side, toward 3 in the morning, we carried a trench on the crest of 287-Meter Hill, which extends toward Haucourt. On the northeast of 304-Meter Plateau, we carried a fortified position. During the whole day, on May 18, an artillery duel continued, interrupted at 5 in the evening by a general attack on our lines. Our barrier fire broke several assaulting columns. At 7 the enemy made a new effort—two divisions (40,000 men) of fresh troops were launched against the Avocourt redoubt and 304-Meter Hill; the shock was severe, but, in spite of numbers, the waves broke before the fire of our batteries; only in the centre, a small work near 287-Meter Hill was invaded.

Friday, May 19.—This fruitless attempt did not discourage the Germans; the whole day of May 19 was consecrated by them to a terrible bombardment of our trenches; their fire, this time, extended to Le Mort Homme; it continued all night long.

Saturday, May 20.—The bombardment continued throughout the morning. Our adversaries were preparing an attack even more violent than the preceding. In the afternoon four divisions, that is to say, two army corps, (80,000 men,) were thrown into the assault which had as principal objective Le Mort Homme.

A BLOODY CRISIS

Sunday, May 21.—The battle, which took on a character of extreme ferocity, was continued all night and through the whole day of May 21. Three divisions, as we have since learned, were employed in it. Ceaselessly, our artillery and machine guns mowed down the assailants, whose places were taken by others. At the price of tremendous efforts, the enemy succeeded in gaining certain trenches to the north and west of Le Mort Homme; at one time, even our second-line trenches were threatened. But the Germans, met by our fire, lost so many men that they retired in disorder.

Monday, May 22.—Night did not lessen the struggle. In spite of our barrier fire, which broke their assaults, the Germans succeeded in penetrating a first-line trench, to the north of Le Mort Homme. But they got no further. During the whole of May 21, one of the bloodiest, during which the struggle did not cease for an instant, we even succeeded in regaining ground on 287-Meter Hill. After reaching a trench on 287-Meter Hill, the enemy was driven out of it. A brigade, launched against Le Mort Homme, was crushed by our fire and an offensive by our grenadiers. Other troops were coming up to support these two regiments; our batteries dispersed them before they could get under way. Night did not lessen the struggle, but, already, the enemy seemed to have lost the biting edge of his energy; we gained certain advantages in the Avocourt Wood and on Le Mort Homme, while we were repulsing new

assaults. A counterattack permitted us to recover a part of the ground lost on May 20 and 21. We followed up this success throughout the day of May 22, at the same time driving out the Germans who, for four days, had held one of our works on 287-Meter Hill.

EAST OF THE MEUSE

On the right (east) bank the week had begun quietly; there was only artillery fire, of no great violence; but on May 21 our artillery concentrated its fire on the whole Douaumont sector. To the west our infantry attacked, in the Haudromont Woods, strongly intrenched quarries, carried them, and held their footing there, in spite of strong counterattacks. At the same time, at Vaux, we occupied a German trench.

This was only the prelude of an operation of greater scope prepared by our commanders. On the morning of May 22 powerful artillery, brought forward under cover, opened fire on the German lines from the Nawé Wood to the west of the Thiaumont farm, as far as the woods to the east of Fort Douaumont. The fire was extremely accurate and violent; trenches and barbed-wire entanglements were so pounded that our soldiers in a few minutes seized and held the enemy trenches. The assault covered a front of two kilometers, (1¼ miles,) enveloping Douaumont Fort itself, the ruins of which we carried, except one of the salients to the north of the work.

Tuesday, May 23. — Our progress on the right (east) bank, with their loss of the Douaumont lines, had the effect of bringing two furious enemy counterattacks, on both banks of the Meuse, during the night of May 22-23 and throughout the following day. To the west, 304-Meter Hill and its approaches toward Avocourt were particularly aimed at. The use of flaming liquids made it possible for the assailant to invade our trench for a brief period; our soldiers, coming forward again, drove him out. In the direction of Le Mort Homme he was not able even to get near our lines; all the troops that showed themselves were immediately dispersed by our fire. Then the bombardment was resumed along the whole of this sector, with large-calibre shells; throughout the morning projectiles rained upon it. This terrible fire was the preparation for a new assault against the two flanks of Le Mort Homme, the valley of Esnes and the direction of Cumières. The first waves were mowed down by our artillery and machine guns without reaching our trenches. At nightfall, a second rush, not less violent, at one time reached our shelters. There, also, a vigorously conducted counterattack cleared the ground and threw the Germans back into their lines.

GERMANS IN CUMIERES

Wednesday, May 24.—But on the night of May 23-24 the enemy returned to the assault, aiming against Le Mort Homme, and, by a powerful effort, after very heavy losses, they got a footing in the village of Cumières. On Wednesday they tried in vain to come forward from this position; we even retook trenches on the south edge of the village.

Yet more violent and savage was the German counteroffensive against the woods of Haudromont and Fort Douaumont. During the night the enemy multiplied his assaults in thick masses, on which our fire inflicted terrible losses.

On May 23 and during the night of May 23-24 the enemy manifested increasing violence; his artillery reached an extraordinary power, but without succeeding in making us give up the ground we had gained. At intervals the guns ceased firing to allow of infantry assaults; these were at first repulsed; on the morning of May 24 Fort Douaumont remained in our hands, except for the northern projection and certain elements on the east. But during May 24 two new Bavarian divisions (40,000 men) were sent to the attack, and succeeded in reoccupying the ruins, pushing us back to the approaches, that is, to about the point we occupied before our attack of May 22. At the Caillette Wood the enemy was not even able to get near us.

Thursday, Friday, May 25-26.—On the evening of May 26 our troops, suddenly coming forth from their trenches, in turn attacked Cumières and the positions as far as Le Mort Homme, after a pro-

longed bombardment of the enemy lines. Led with skill and vigor, the assault brought us immediately to the first houses, whose ruins were at once defensively organized. In spite of the resistance of the Germans, our men made their way into the streets, and, house by house, carried the whole eastern quarter. On their left other elements took the trenches to the north of the Caurette Woods. Soon the whole Cumières position was half surrounded. The enemy made a vigorous counterattack; several waves broke under our fire. Finally, we retook half of Cumières and surrounded the other half. We had made 100 prisoners and captured two machine guns.

On the rest of the sector on the left (west) bank of the Meuse we had, during the night, carried with grenades several elements of trenches on the approaches of 304-Meter Hill.

Saturday, May 27.—On May 27 we gained a like success to the southwest of Le Mort Homme, where our soldiers took fifty prisoners. The enemy appeared to be passive.

Sunday, May 28.—At nightfall an attack was prepared in the Corbeaux Wood, directed against Cumières; our fire cut it short. At midnight the effort was renewed, with the same lack of success.

Monday, May 29.—On the morning of May 29 an intensive bombardment with heavy guns began, and continued with increasing energy until 1 in the afternoon. At that moment masses of the enemy appeared—a whole division (20,000) men came forth from the Corbeaux Wood, moving against Cumières and Le Mort Homme. Broken by our fire, a first wave recoiled; others came on, meeting the same fate; the assailants took cover in shell craters, but, when they came out to rush forward, our machine guns and rifles cut them down. These repeated assaults at last won for the enemy 300 meters of trenches. On the same day two violent attacks against 304-Meter Hill were stopped by our fire.

Tuesday, May 30.—At nightfall, after a bombardment even more violent than the preceding, a new assault was launched by the enemy from the eastern slopes of Le Mort Homme to Cumières. A division which had recently arrived before Verdun took part in it. It had no better fortune than the troops sent forward on the day before. To the east of Le Mort Homme the assailants were mowed down; at Cumières, they failed to force us out of the southern edge of the village. Only in the centre, at the Caurette Wood, our front line was compelled to retire to the south of the Béthincourt road.

Wednesday, May 31.—The struggle was continued during the night of Tuesday to Wednesday. The first-line trench to the south of the Caurette Wood, leveled by the bombardment, had to be abandoned. The edge of Cumières, again furiously attacked, was taken from us. A counterattack pushed the enemy back to the edge of the village. Groups of Germans, taking advantage of the night mist which floated over the Meuse, advanced 1,200 meters from Cumières toward the Chattancourt station; they were met by so hot a fire that all were annihilated.

The enemy, succeeding at last in reaching the 295-Meter summit of Le Mort Homme, had been able to organize a strong work on the southwest slope. This we took on Wednesday, making 220 prisoners, including five officers. On the southeast slope we also took prisoners.

On the right (east) bank the assault of Fort Douaumont by two Bavarian divisions, previously related, had cost the enemy dear, for a slight gain which we reduced, on the morning of May 26, by retaking a trench. On the afternoon of the same day the Germans tried to dislodge us from the approaches to Fort Douaumont; two successive attacks were repulsed. Thereafter, the struggle was confined to persistent artillery fire.

WEST OF THE MEUSE

On the left (west) bank of the Meuse, where, up to May 31, such violent fighting had taken place, the stress of the struggle continually decreased. The enemy confined himself to frequent and furious bombardments of 304-Meter Hill and Le Mort Homme. But the principal offensives were made by us. To our successful attack on the slope of Le Mort

Homme, in the direction of Cumières, which gave us 220 prisoners, the enemy replied with a bombardment of very great violence, followed by a fruitless attack on the eastern slope. We then penetrated for 100 meters (328 feet) into the connecting trenches to the south of the Caurettes Wood, and on June 4 we halted, before it was clearly marked, an attack prepared against our new positions on 304-Meter Hill.

EAST OF THE MEUSE

Thursday, June 1.—On the right (east) bank of the Meuse there were events of quite other significance. After a bombardment which grew continually more violent, on May 31, on the following night, and on June 1, our whole front, from the Thiaumont farm to Douaumont and Vaux, was assaulted. The assaults were repeated, and were everywhere repulsed except between Fort Douaumont and Vaux Pond; that is, in the Caillette Wood, where the enemy succeeded in getting a footing in some of our trenches. The struggle continued throughout the afternoon and the whole night with extreme violence, extending toward Woevre as far as the village of Damloup at the foot of the eastern slope of the Vaux ridge.

The enemy, driven back, returned ceaselessly to the charge, sending forward on a narrow sector more than a division of fresh troops, launched with veritable fury. A document found on a prisoner proved that General Falkenhayn (Chief of the German General Staff) had given the order to advance at all costs, without regard to losses. The objective was Fort Vaux. The Germans succeeded in making their way forward only in the Caillette Wood, from which they reached the south of the pond; this conflict lasted five days.

DAY OF FURIOUS FIGHTING

Friday, June 2.—The artillery contest reached an exceptional degree of violence on June 2. Our reply was effective, for they failed to force the Vaux-Damloup sector; enemy masses which tried to take advantage of the bombardment were severely cut up. In spite of these losses, the Germans returned with increasing fury; throughout the whole day their waves succeeded each other, especially those directed against the steep escarpments of the fort.

The Bavarian division, which led the principal attack, fought furiously. Our cannon and machine gun fire swept them away in masses, but others came on unceasingly. They could be seen on the open plain; our artillery found them out, hurling disorder among them. The troops thus scattered retired toward Dieppe-en-Woevre. The enemy's sole gain was the capture of a position among the first houses of Damloup.

Night did not stop the carnage. Through the sacrifice of their men the Germans were finally able to penetrate the northern ditch of the fort, but without being able to enter the work itself. We maintained our hold there.

Saturday, June 3.—Our exhausted adversaries did not seek to extend their success. Toward 8 in the evening, when the ground had been cut up by a prolonged bombardment, the enemy attempted to surprise the fort on the southeast, coming up the ravine which indents the ridges of the Meuse near Damloup. The masses launched in the assault, compact and vigorous, succeeded in penetrating the trenches; a counterattack immediately retook the ground lost and pushed the assailants back along the slopes.

Sunday, June 4.—In the morning they returned to the charge; our artillery forced them to retire. Then the bombardment began again with particular violence, especially against Fort Vaux. At 3 in the afternoon several German battalions, starting from Vaux Pond, tried to make their way up to the Firmin Wood, which carpets a slope representing a difference in level of 80 meters, (262 feet.) The fire of our machine guns broke down all these attempts. During the evening and night, from the Firmin Wood to Vaux and Damloup, violent attacks were resumed. They were unable to take the Firmin Wood. Violent attacks against the fort and village of Damloup were broken by our fire. The enemy then had recourse to flaming liquids; in the middle of the night they

tried to sprinkle the defenders of the fort with these. But, in spite of cruel injuries, our soldiers held firm and retained possession of the work.

Monday, June 5.—Bad weather and perhaps the weariness of the troops stopped the struggle on June 5.

Tuesday, June 6.—The German artillery continued to cover the fort with shells, rendering the approaches impassable for relieving troops; within the work our resistance had not grown weaker. The French Chief Command decided to reward the heroic defenders, in the person of their chief, Major Raynal, who was promoted to Commander of the Legion of Honor. He had to repulse a new and powerful attack on Tuesday evening, at 8, throwing back the enemy once more.

LOSS OF FORT VAUX

Wednesday, June 7.—On the night of June 6-7, as a result of the violence of the bombardment, all communication with the fort became impossible. Shortly before 4 in the morning, it was still in our possession. As early as March 9 the enemy had falsely announced that he had taken Fort Vaux by assault. But the conquest was still to cost him many thousands of lives.

As was foreseen, Fort Vaux, completely isolated because of the violence of the bombardment, fell into the hands of the Germans. But even then it was not taken by assault. The heroic garrison, having exhausted their ammunition, without water and without food, was compelled to capitulate. From German sources of information it was learned that Major Raynal was authorized by the Crown Prince to retain his sword, in recognition of his splendid defense. He has been interned at Mayence.

Thursday, Friday, June 8, 9.—During the night of June 8-9 two attempts to storm 304-Meter Hill, on the left (west) bank of the Meuse, met with failure. On June 9 the enemy made another series of attacks, directing his principal efforts against the west and south of the hill. In spite of the use of flaming liquids he was not able to get close to our trenches; our barrier fire was able to stop him.

Saturday, June 10.—Two further assaults on June 10 were not more successful.

THE THIAUMONT FARM

On the right (east) bank of the Meuse the Germans continued to direct the fire of their artillery on the whole front stretching between Thiaumont farm and Fort Vaux, the sector occupied by the southern extremity of the Caillette Wood, Chapitre Wood, and Firmin Wood. Their gunfire, carrying beyond that line, reached the forts of Tavane and Souville, which join the batteries of the tunnel with those of the hospital. Our batteries replied energetically to this fire, under shelter of which, on several occasions, the Germans tried to get into our trenches.

On June 8 the two flanks of the Thiaumont position were reached; these attacks, although stopped by our barrier fire, permitted the enemy to penetrate into one of our works between Thiaumont and the Caillette Wood; their other assaults were broken.

Sunday, Monday, June 11, 12.—The Germans returned to the charge on the night of Sunday-Monday, to the west of Fort Vaux. Repulsed, they resumed the bombardment of the Thiaumont front, which seemed to be their principal objective. A gain at this point would allow them to reach the plateau of Fleury, facing our Souville works. An entire division was launched against the positions which cover the Thiaumont works to the north. In spite of repeated assaults, the regiments which took part in it were everywhere held back, the assailants suffering heavy losses.

During Monday evening, June 12, another assault was directed against the sector to the west of Thiaumont, in the direction of Bras. The Germans were repulsed, but succeeded in gaining a foothold in certain elements of trenches covering the slopes of a ravine between 321-Meter Hill and 316-Meter Hill, on the edge of the Navé Wood.

The Appalling Struggle at Fort Vaux

By Lieutenant C.

This letter, written by a French officer who took part in the last days' fighting before the fall of Fort Vaux, gives a glimpse of the heroism of the defenders and the awful nature of the combat.

WE had scarcely arrived at the right of Fort de Vaux, on the slope of the ravine, when there came an unprecedented bombardment of twelve hours. Alone, in a sort of dugout without walls, I pass twelve hours of agony, believing that it is the end. The soil is torn up, covered with fresh earth by enormous explosions. In front of us are not less than 1,200 guns of 240, 305, 380, and 420 calibre, which spit ceaselessly and all together, in these days of preparation for attack. These explosions stupefy the brain; you feel as if your entrails were being torn out, your heart twisted and wrenched; the shock seems to dismember your whole body. * * * And then the wounded, the corpses!

Never had I seen such horror, such hell. I felt that I would give everything if only this would stop long enough to clear my brain. Twelve hours alone, motionless, exposed, and no chance to risk a leap to another place, so closely did the fragments of shell and rock fall in hail all day long. At last, with night, this diminished a little. I can go on into the woods! The shells still burst all around us, but their infernal din no longer makes any impression on me—a queer trait of the human temperament. After that we are lodged in fortified caves where we pass five days in seclusion, piled on top of each other, without being able to lie down.

I bury three comrades in a shell hole. We are without water, and, with hands that have just touched the poor mangled limbs, we eat as if nothing were wrong.

We are taken back for two days into a tunnel where the lacrymal shells make us weep. Swiftly we put on our masks. The next day, at the moment of taking supper and retiring to rest, we are hastily called into rank; that's it—we are going to the motion-picture show. We pass through an infernal barrage fire that cracks red all around in the dark. We run with all speed, in spite of our knapsacks, into the smother of broken branches that used to be a forest. Scarcely have we left a hole or a ditch when shells as big as a frying pan fall on the spot. We are laid flat by one that bursts a few yards away. So many of them fall at one time that we no longer pay any attention to them. We tumble into a ravine which we have named Death Ravine. That race over shell-swept, open country, without trenches, we shall long remember.

At last we enter the village—without suspecting that the Germans are there! The commanding officer scatters us along the steep hill to the left and says: "Dig holes, quickly; the Boches are forty yards away!" We laugh and do not believe him; immediately, cries, rifle shots in the village; our men are freeing our Colonel and Captain, who were already prisoners. * * * Impossible! Then there are no more Frenchmen there? In two minutes the village is surrounded, while the German batteries get a rude jolt. It was time! All night long you hear tools digging from one end to the other; trenches are being made in haste, but secretly. After that there is a wall, and the Germans will advance no further.

The next morning a formidable rumor—the Boches are coming up to assault Fort de Vaux. The newspapers have told the facts; our 75s firing for six hours, the German bodies piling up in heaps. Horrible! but we applauded. Everybody went out of the trenches to look. The Yser, said the veterans, was nothing beside this massacre.

That time I saw Germans fleeing like madmen. * * * The next day, the same thing over again; they have the cynicism to mount a battery on the slope; the German chiefs must be hangmen to hurl their

troops to death that way in masses and in broad daylight. All afternoon, a maximum bombardment; a wood is razed, a hill ravaged with shell holes. It is maddening; continuous salvos of "big chariots"; one sees the 380s and 420s falling; a continuous cloud of smoke everywhere. Trees leap into air like wisps of straw; it is an unheard-of spectacle. It is enough to make you lose your head, yet we patiently wait for the outcome.

The barrage fire cuts our communication with the rear, literally barring off the isthmus of Death Ravine. If the attacks on our wings succeed, our two regiments are prisoners, hemmed in, but the veterans (fathers of families) declare that we shall not be taken alive, that we will all fight till we die. It is sublime.

"Keep up your courage, coolness, and morale, boys, and we will drive them back in good time."

It is magnificent to see that our last recourse is a matter of sheer will; despite this monstrous machinery of modern war, a little moral effort, a will twenty years old that refuses to weaken, suffices to frustrate the offensive! The rifles do not shoot enough, but we have machine guns, the bayonet, and we have vowed that they shall not pass. Twenty times the alarm is given; along the hillside one sees the hands gripping the rifles; the eyes are a little wild, but show an energy that refuses to give way.

Suddenly it is already night. A sentinel runs up to the outposts: "There they are! Shoot!"

A whole section shoots. But are the outposts driven in? Nobody knows. I take my rifle to go and see. I do not catch a ball. I find the sentinels flat on their faces in their holes, and run to the rear gesticulating and crying out orders to cease firing. The men obey. I return to the front, and soon, a hundred yards away, I see a bush scintillate with a rapid line of fire. This time it is they. Ta-ca-ta-ca, bzzi—bzzi. I hold my fire until they approach, but the welcome evidently does not please them, for they tumble back over the ridge, leaving some men behind. One wounded cries, "Frantchmen!"

I am drunk, mad. Something moves in the bushes to the right; I bound forward with set bayonet. It is my brave Sergeant, who has been out to see whether the Boches have all run away. * * * These are truly the most interesting moments of war; no longer the waiting, the anguish of bombardment, but the thrill of a free march into a glorious unknown—oh, that intoxication! I sing the "Marseillaise," the boys jubilate, all the successive attacks have failed. After this evening the offensive is going to slacken for several days.

The next day we are relieved at last. Another race with death, this time with broad daylight shining upon the horrible chaos, the innumerable dead, and a few wounded here and there. Oh! those mangled bodies, still unburied, abandoned for the moment. The danger excites us. A shell falls squarely among us, jarring us and bathing us in flame. My knapsack gets a sliver of shell; I am not touched; it is a miracle. In the evening we arrive at the ford of D. and have another race. The next day, at Verdun, the Germans are still shelling us at the moment when we mount the auto trucks. In the course of all these actions our losses certainly have been high, but they are nothing compared with the frightful and unimaginable hecatomb of Germans I have witnessed.

Sir Edward Grey's Diplomacy

By George Bernard Shaw

Famous Irish Author and Playwright

The widely debated utterance by Sir Edward Grey which furnishes Mr. Shaw with his text for the present article was published in full in the June issue of CURRENT HISTORY.

IT cannot be too clearly understood that, for the ending of the war as for its beginning, England is entirely in the hands of her Foreign Office, and that as long as Sir Edward Grey remains Foreign Secretary her interests, her honor, and, indeed, the future of Europe, as far as her diplomatic action can affect it, are absolutely at the mercy of Sir Edward's capacity and character.

This is a serious responsibility; and on the most favorable estimate of Sir Edward's genius the British Empire will be taking more chances than can be heartily enjoyed by any one but a confirmed gambler or a fanatical devotee of British junker government. That is why it is so startling to read, in an utterance of his which must be presumed to be as closely up to date as any utterance during war time can be, assumptions, and statements which have dropped out of currency among serious students of the war since public opinion began to steady itself toward the middle of 1915.

Sir Edward, it apears, is still going to negotiate on the assumption that he is engaged in a crusade against certain sentences written by Treitschke, for which the German Government and the German Nation are no more responsible (having mostly never read them) than the British Nation and the British Government are responsible for precisely similar sentences written by General Butler and other English militarist writers. And if the Imperial Chancellor should take it into his head to negotiate on the assumption that Germany is engaged in a crusade against Lord Roberts's British "will to conquer" and his aspiration to save the world by bringing it under the rule of gentlemen educated in the public schools of England, we can imagine what sort of understanding is likely to be reached on these lines, and how long it will take to reach it.

Sir Edward is still under the impression that when Belgium appealed to Germany, France, and Britain for a pledge that her neutrality would be respected, Germany refused it and Britain and France gave it. This delusion may have helped out our recruiting at a moment when recruiting was the supreme consideration; but now that we have compulsory military service, and can afford to employ 200,000 soldiers as officers' valets, and are therefore sure of as many men in the army as we can prudently spare from civil industry, it is no longer necessary to resort to such expedients. The truth is, as Sir Edward can easily ascertain from his own White Papers, that each of the three powers consented to respect the neutrality of Belgium only on condition that the other two did so as well, which meant in effect on condition that the war did not occur. We must look this Belgian question straight in the face. The independence of Belgium is as much out of the question as the independence of Ireland, and always has been since she was set up as a buffer State between the great powers of the west of Europe. Unless and until Belgium can be placed under the protection of a supernational organization stronger than any of the national powers or their militant alliances, Belgium must fulfill her present destiny of being, as both Sir Edward and the Imperial Chancellor quite accurately call her, "a bulwark" for England and France against Germany. England is our castle; but Belgium is its barbican; and we cannot allow Belgium to surrender the barbican, nor can we hesitate, if she cannot hold it against Germany, to throw in our troops and defend it as if it

were Portsmouth, no matter how vigorously Belgium may protest.

That is our position and also the French position; and everybody in Europe knows it except the subscribers to the London one-cent illustrated dailies. Sir Edward and his colleagues secured popular support at the beginning of the war by holding up the neutrality of Belgium as something so sacred that only the very vilest of Huns would raise a weapon against it or march a regiment across a Belgian field. I ventured to differ with Sir Edward to the extent of saying that if our own military success were at stake we would violate the neutrality of heaven itself rather than give a German soldier half a chance of setting his foot in a Kentish lane; and what has happened in Greece has shown that I was precisely right, even to the very instance I gave of the landlocked country (Serbia) which might put us to the test.

Now, Sir Edward still insists that Germany must come to judgment on the neutrality question, even at the cost of giving away our own position in Greece as morally indefensible. Fortunately I, having in 1914 heroically resisted the temptation to use The Hague Conference and the 1839 treaty as a stick to beat Germany with, am now able to say, without making myself publicly ridiculous, that military necessity justified Britain in seizing the Greek islands and in claiming a right of way for her ally Serbia over the Greek railway through Athens, and to repeat that the German attack on France, a quite unnecessary breach of the peace of Western Europe, is the true Achilles heel of Germany's moral position. My fear is that any plenipotentiary of ours who goes into this difficult business with his judgment obscured and his attention distracted by pious horror at the short work which war makes of the moral recriminations of the military pot and the military kettle will have no chance against the German statesmen, who, though apparently no cleverer than our own, yet secure a considerable economy of discussion and directness of aim by hacking their way through moral humbug, and discarding, for European as distinguished from domestic consumption, the Pecksniffian airs which impose on nobody outside their own constituencies, and only on the stupid and ignorant inside them.

The point is of cardinal importance because, I repeat, we cannot be too clear about the Belgian question. Our position is that until the present military basis of international relations is underpinned by a basis of supernational law, Belgium must be independent of Germany. The German position is that Belgium must be independent of France and Britain. What both belligerents really mean is that Belgium, though nominally independent of them, and indeed really so in peace, must in war side with one or the other of them; and naturally each desires the power of compelling her to side with it against the other. Now if this difference is to be settled by the belligerents only, it must be settled by blood and iron and not by Christmas cards and governesses' lectures. Germany being in possession of Belgium, and therefore in a position to say, with Wagner's dragon, "Ich liege und besitze," Britain must drive Germany out by fighting her or starving her. And Germany must hold Belgium tooth and nail against us to the utmost effort short of suicide she is capable of.

There is, however, a possible alternative. If the so-called neutral countries were to step in for the sake of putting an end to the intolerable situation that will arise (if it has not already arisen) from the establishment of a deadlock on the western front in which, though both sides may keep feeding in fresh drafts of men to be slaughtered every year, neither can shift the other, and were to make Belgium really independent both of Britain, France, and Germany by themselves combining to guarantee her soil against invasion, the belligerents would eagerly accept the guarantee the moment they became convinced that they were engaged in a Kilkenny cat fight; for both sides could claim to have achieved the independence of Belgium by a chivalrous feat of arms.

The initiative in such an intervention should come from America. A month

ago Britain had bright hopes of America coming in on her side. Those hopes have been shot away by General Maxwell in Ireland for the present; and in spite of the powerful war interests which exist in America, and which were revealed to London by well-circulated reports of the action of Mr. Tavenner in Congress last December, London and Washington are now back at the point reached in 1914, when I appealed through the press to President Wilson to come to the rescue of Belgium, and incidentally of the peace and order of Europe, by interfering on her behalf in the name of outraged humanity, without waiting for any specifically American grievance or leaning to either the British or the German side. Now that the Lusitania case is settled, the United States is again in the strong moral position of having no axe of her own to grind nor wrongs of her own to avenge. And I still believe that she must settle the Belgian question by moral force if neither the British nor the Germans can settle it by force of arms. Indeed, she ought to settle it anyhow in the interests of civilization; but as things are I must not pretend that the belligerents would unanimously welcome her interference if either saw its way to a victory that it could afford. The Imperial Chancellor is right when he says that there can be no status quo ante; but the substitution of a guarantee of Belgium by the comparatively disinterested powers for the present guarantee by powers who guarantee her only to have a grip on her throat would not be the status quo ante; and an acceptance of it would be a concession to the public opinion of the civilized world and not to the threats of a foe in arms. Sir Edward Grey's reply to the Chancellor that without the status quo ante "Belgium's independence is gone, as Serbia's and Montenegro's is gone, unless the Allies can get them up again," will not stand half an hour's consideration. The world, let us hope, is not yet so completely bankrupt that nothing good can be done unless the Allies do it.

When Sir Edward forgets that he is Foreign Secretary and remembers only his political idealism he speaks like a man in a trance, the world forgetting, but unfortunately not by the world forgot. No doubt he is quite right in advising the Germans to make a revolution. The Germans not only gave the same advice to the Irish, but contributed rifles and ammunition as well. For that matter, there is not a country in the civilized world that would not be the better for a revolution once a fortnight or so. But I confess I wish Sir Edward would not call himself "we" when he is speaking for himself and his dreams alone, and is ignoring the most glaring facts of the situation. It would not matter if, like so many of our patriotic tub thumpers, his words traveled no further than the circulations of a cheap illustrated paper, or the walls of a public hall in England, or the railings of a London park. But Sir Edward, like myself, is quoted throughout Europe and America; and he should be more careful than I am, because he is the uncontrolled agent of Britain's foreign policy, instead of which he recklessly says things that would destroy my credit forever.

We all know that he was not prepared for war, because he never is prepared for anything that actually happens in the crude concrete world, even when it is thundering down on him like a mad motor bus; but when, in the teeth of the assurances of the British Admiralty and the British War Office, through his own Ministerial colleagues, that the command in Flanders was settled five years before the war began and that the British commander was studying the field during that period, and that the navy was fully prepared with five years' accumulation of ammunition, not to mention the fact that it would have been grossly dishonorable and criminally negligent of Britain if, after her understanding with France, she had neglected these precautions, Sir Edward declares that "we" were not prepared for war, the impression he produces on Europe is that the Machiavellian Grey of the German imagination answers to the reality. Again, when he says that "poisonous fumes were rejected by us as too horrible for civilized people to use," the amazed foreigner asks whether the British Foreign Secretary can really be unaware that Britain has-

tened to use them the moment the Germans demonstrated their practicability.

Surely, the foreigner thinks, Britain should blame herself for letting the Germans anticipate her lazy conservatism, as in the case of the Zeppelins, rather than plume herself on an affected humanity, of which war can know less and less until science reduces it to impossibility.

As to Sir Edward's fine old Whig dreams of nationalism and political freedom, and his "We want a Europe free," "France, Russia, and Italy are in the war to preserve everything that is precious to nationality," what effect must they produce on the neutral world, to say nothing of our highly critical enemies, when they see that national independence is now an impracticable superstitution, and that France in Morocco, Italy in Dalmatia, and Russia in Poland are no more aiming at freedom and national independence than Austria in Bohemia, Germany in Posen and Schleswig-Holstein, Britain in Egypt, India, or Ireland, or the United States (if they are wise) in Mexico? What sense is there in saying these things now to a world which can see nothing in them but the celebrated British hypocrisy which The London Times confesses and defends with affectionate pride as the homage Englishmen pay to virtue, and at a moment, too, when every ear is strained to catch the words of the autocrat of our Foreign Office?

And, oh! will Sir Edward never forgive or forget that rude omission of the Central Empires to come and talk it over quietly with him when the fat was in the fire, and every moment's delay, if there was to be a war, was adding an ounce to the weight of the threatening Russian steam roller? The Balkan difficulty proved how soothing the conversation of Sir Edward can be to men who do not mean to fight; but when their minds changed, and they were prepared to fight in certain contingencies, all Europe shrieked to Sir Edward Grey that straight question as to whether in these contingencies he was going to fight or not. Professor Gilbert Murray had written a most conclusive book, with all the quotations from Sir Edward in italics, proving that he replied that peace was the immediate jewel of England's soul. When popular pugnacity revolted against this view, Mr. William Archer wrote another book proving up to the hilt that Sir Edward had, on the contrary, thrown his blood-stained sword in thunder down, and left no possible doubt as to our bellicose intentions. In short, Sir Edward having thought it best to shilly-shally, one of his two ablest literary friends collected all the shilly and the other all the shally, leaving the world to judge what the Germans were likely to have made of it when the one chance of averting war was to convince them bluntly that if they took on the French Republic they would have to take on the British Empire, too.

It may be that this was good statesmanship and that it was better to lure Germany to her doom and have it out with her once and for all. Or it may be that if the Germans had accepted that invitation to confer Sir Edward would have soothed them, and we should now all be taking our stalls for Bayreuth and our circular tickets for the Black Forest. But what is the use of going back to all that now? The Germans did not walk into Sir Edward's parlor; and by this time his obsession with their unkindness has worn out its interest. The Allies have now either to win the war or at least prevent Germany from winning it; and the old moralizings and recriminations of 1914 will not help us—will, in fact, hinder us most dangerously if our statesmen keep chewing them over instead of tackling the problem in front of them and dealing with it in terms of the strictest objectivity. Sir Edward's column and a half of assurances that the English are the natural administrators of Divine justice and that the Germans must be classed with "footpads, safe-breakers, burglars, and incendiaries," will not put a single German gun out of action, and may strain the patience of the neutrals with British self-love and their faith in British statesmanship to the point of doubting whether any material advantages can secure success to a side which talks like that, not only under the first

shock of war, but after nearly two years' reflection.

As I write these words the world is all discussing Sir Edward Grey's very latest utterance. The Imperial Chancellor has said that Sir Edward threatened war when Austria violated the treaty of Berlin by practically annexing Bosnia. The obvious reply to that was, "The Imperial Chancellor has paid me a compliment I do not deserve." The reply actually made by Sir Edward is, "That is a first-class lie." This is a very typical sample of Sir Edward's temper and manners. When Turkey threw in her lot with Germany in the war the Foreign Office announced that fact in a document which described our former protégés as "the degenerate Turks." And the Foreign Office would probably have been just as rude if it could have foreseen Gallipoli and Kut. Apparently it has not character enough to observe even the scrupulous civilities of a common duel, much less a conflict of empires. What likelihood is there of any negotiations turning out happily if this is the style in which they are to be conducted? Already the Chancellor has been able to compel Mr. Asquith to climb down by saying, "If you take that tone, negotiations will be concluded before they have been begun." Yet Mr. Asquith was not personally offensive, and readily explained when the remonstrance came to hand. Sir Edward Grey has thrown in the Chancellor's face a personal insult for which, according to the Continental code, he ought to offer "satisfaction," (with pistols.) We may have an extra month of war because Sir Edward has lost his temper.

As long ago as 1906, in referring to a very horrible episode in the history of our occupation of Egypt, I expressed my opinion that Sir Edward Grey was unfitted by his character and the limitations of his capacity for the highly specialized work of a Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Nothing that has happened since has shaken that opinion.

An Austrian Reply to Sir Edward Grey

By Baron Burian

Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs

In a letter read by Count Tisza, Prime Minister, before the Hungarian Parliament on June 14, Baron Burian asserted that Serbia had been a tool of Russian aggression, and that Austria-Hungary was "drawn into this world war by the menace to the foundations of its existence." Baron Burian continued:

THE British Foreign Secretary denies the assertion of the Imperial Chancellor that, during the crisis in Russian policy after the annexation of Bosnia, England did not side with the parties striving for a settlement, but endeavored to aggravate the differences between Russian and Austria-Hungary and Germany. The British statesman calls this a first-class lie, and denies that England endeavored to stir up war over Bosnia. What Sir Edward Grey wanted he must know best himself, but it is certain, as Dr. Bethmann Hollweg proved, that in Petrograd the British representative, who was a confidential adviser of the Russian Government, tried by every means in his power to stir up the differences that had arisen about the Bosnian question between Russia and us, and finally he expressed his disapproval and disappointment that the Russian Government had at last yielded to the accomplished fact, owing to the firm attitude of the monarchy and Germany. This is also confirmed by the report of our Petrograd Ambassador on March 6, 1909, in which he said that the British Embassy and its satellites showed great zeal in assisting M. Isvolsky in his policy of bluff.

When St. Petersburg again listened to

common sense and the inclination to stir up war had decreased in Russian circles, owing to the firm attitude of Austria-Hungary and Germany, the recognition of the situation was forced on M. Isvolsky, as stated by our Ambassador on April 4, and without listening to the British the Czar's advisers went to Tsarskoe Selo and informed the Czar of the critical situation, whereupon approval was given to the abolition of Article 25 of the Berlin Treaty. The same day our Ambassador reported that the change had been accomplished, which did not escape the vigilance of the British diplomacy, and it endeavored to utilize this change for its final aims.

The British Ambassador, Sir Arthur Nicolson, now experimented with sentimentality, and attempted in this manner to widen the differences between the Central Powers and Russia. It is known how the English press assisted the British Ambassador at Petrograd. From the reports of our foreign representatives and those of Germany we perceive how little reliable they considered the peace policy of England.

[Baron Burian then dwells on the Balkan conference in London, and says that Sir Edward Grey's attitude was well intentioned in so far as he endeavored to further the solution of pending questions. Grey also was well meaning when, in dealing with a diverging standpoint, he did not conceal that close political relations with Russia did not allow England complete impartiality.]

At that time none of the great powers was openly challenged. But at the end of July, 1914, it was England alone, if she had really cared to maintain the peace, that could have saved it, if she had not backed up Russia when the latter opposed our justified attitude toward Serbia, and had declared her neutrality.

But today the causes of the world war are of no practical importance, but only the question—and therein I completely agree with the English Foreign Secretary—of who is responsible for the further prolongation of the war. Sir Edward Grey says the war will not come to an end because the Central Powers consider themselves the victors and the Entente defeated, but that the Entente will not be defeated. Of course, we cannot order the Entente to admit its defeat, or to abandon hope of a favorable change in the situation. But in face of the clear facts things cannot be turned upside down.

If Sir Edward Grey believes that the Entente is not defeated, the Central Powers, with all due respect, can point out that they are still less defeated. A glance at the war situation decides the question of which party is taking up a standpoint quite out of keeping with the real situation. The reality is that, as the reward of our just cause and the superhuman efforts of our heroic troops, the scales of the world war in all the war theatres are in favor of our Quadruple Alliance, and that we shall not allow success to be snatched from us. We were dragged into war by force and in self-defense. This we shall never forget. After our splendid victories our aim in the war is to strengthen and make lasting our safeguards against repetitions of such malicious attacks. We make no exaggerated demands, but these safeguards we shall forge hard in the fire of battle and our holy enthusiasm.

Heaven alone knows how many hammer blows will still be necessary before we can rest on this new foundation for our Fatherland. In co-operation with her faithful allies, Austria-Hungary will not stop on the toilsome road of the development of our heroic strength before the final victory is attained. As is well known, our enemies expect the turning point in the fortune of war to come from those great and united efforts which they have already prepared long since, and from our exhaustion in all directions. We have done everything, and will do everything, without hesitation, that is necessary for the frustration of their intentions, and, relying on God's help, we hope that these expectations of our enemies will meet with complete disappointment. By prolonging the war they can only cause more suffering, but they will not be able to arrest the iron tread of fate. The peaceable dis-

position of the monarchy cannot be doubted, but, adopting Sir Edward Grey's words of May 10, we also can say that Austria-Hungary and her comrades in arms cannot "suffer a peace which would not make good the crime of this war."

The Mistakes of the Allies

By Count Julius Andrassy

Hungarian Deputy and Former Minister

Count Andrassy was asked recently by a representative of the Tägliche Rundschau of Berlin if he thought that the present war might have been avoided. His reply, translated for CURRENT HISTORY, is embodied in this article.

NEITHER Austria-Hungary nor Germany wanted the war. Austria-Hungary, however, was obliged to insist that Serbia's intrigues be punished and atoned for. Austria did not wish to give up its political rights. The Austro-Hungarian Government did not believe that the Czar of Russia would play the rôle of protector of assassins, but was firmly convinced that Russia would abandon Serbia and hand it over. The very fact that the Czar protected Serbia and the Serbian instigators of assassination showed that Russia had decided upon war long ago. The defense of Serbia at all hazards started the war, a war which once begun was in the nature of things bound to develop into a world conflagration. After the deed at Serajevo Austria could no longer allow Serbia to menace the stability of Austria-Hungary and promote, both openly and in secret, the ideas of the South-Slavic Pan-Slavists.

But the friends of Serbia made a grievous mistake. When our enemies, be they called Frenchmen, Englishmen, Italians, or anything else, even today, after the sword of the Central Powers has administered to them one severe defeat after the other, keep their mouths filled with talk of confidence in victory, it is mere phrase making. A glance at the present military situation is enough proof of the truth of these words.

Let us take, for example, the French. To me it seems indisputable that France will and must bleed to death at Verdun. That France entered into the war at once is politically comprehensible and intelligible. The thought of "revanche" had lain in the Frenchmen's blood since Sedan. And, believe me, France would have drawn the sword still sooner if she had felt herself strong enough to do so alone. Already in the 80s Bismarck laid stress upon the fact that, despite mutual attempts at understanding, despite the cooling off of the idea of "revanche," France would attack Germany the moment she became possessed by the delusion that she would be the victor in this bloody passage at arms. This fact has not been changed an iota by all the efforts for peace made by individual statesmen and parties, nor by all the agitation in favor of living side by side in peace.

In July, 1914, Russia shielded murderous Serbia, the war began, and, politically, it was a matter of course that France fell upon Germany in an attack that she had secretly longed for during many years.

And today? After such a long world war? I go so far as to declare that we can no longer be defeated on the field of battle, neither in the West nor in the East, neither in the Southeast nor in the South.

And just because of this in March last year the English declared the economic war that scoffs at every article of international law. England and Germany. There is a chapter of world politics in itself. Germany did not hate England, nor did Germany seek England's life; just the reverse. When the world was still in complete peace the spectre of in-

vasion was raised again and again in England. In England, through word and pen and picture, the great mass of the people had been forced into the delusion that Germany wanted a war with England, that Germany wanted to swallow up England. Germany would appear on English soil some day with its armies and destroy everything.

Consequently it is the biggest kind of a political lie when the English statesmen continue to assert that England was forced to take up arms in order to protect Belgium. Oh, no! the constant and long-continued open and secret incitation of hatred against Germany in England was the only thing that made it possible for the English Government to take a hand in the war, not to protect Belgium, but to destroy Germany's dreaded and annoying competition. Or does any sensible man really believe that the year-long anti-German agitation and, I might say, cultivation of the spectre of invasion, was, or could have been, unknown to the English Government? Impossible, for the gentlemen of the English Government surely know how to read, and they are very shrewd.

England, too, has made a mistake regarding this war. To be sure, we hear the old phrases repeated in the speeches by Messrs. Grey and Asquith, but their words lack substance. The broth is still there, but the bits of meat, that is, the demands for the destruction of militarism and the smashing of Germany, are all missing. They still talk about the salvation of Belgium. That England really entered the war for that purpose is certainly no longer believed by any one. But because England, in order to destroy Germany, brought upon itself all the sacrifices entailed by the world war, and now, after twenty-two months of fighting, finds itself in the position of the worried tanner whose hides have floated beyond his reach, England is really the most undeceived of all the belligerents. Besides the ridicule, there is naturally the damage which will result from England being compelled to pay very dearly for having played the fool.

The only thing to be said about the Italians is that they have cut themselves to the very quick by committing treason and breaking faith. Italy could have had everything for nothing, and now all she will get for nothing will be blows, and nothing else. The results of this world war for Italy will be the following: The loss through her own folly of the friendship of the Central Powers, the odium attached to treason, and failure to win the genuine friendship of her new allies. Italy followed the same policy as before.

Germany does not pursue a policy of conquest. The aim in the East and in the West is not the acquisition of land or an increase in territory, but the securing of the safety of the borders. In the West, as well as in the East and South, there must be a guarantee against a hostile attack. What is necessary will probably have to be annexed, but nothing more. So far as Poland is concerned, I have already declared openly on several occasions that a partition of Poland would be the greatest mistake. The war must not bring a realization of the shibboleth: "The fourth division of Poland." The Poles would regard that as annihilation.

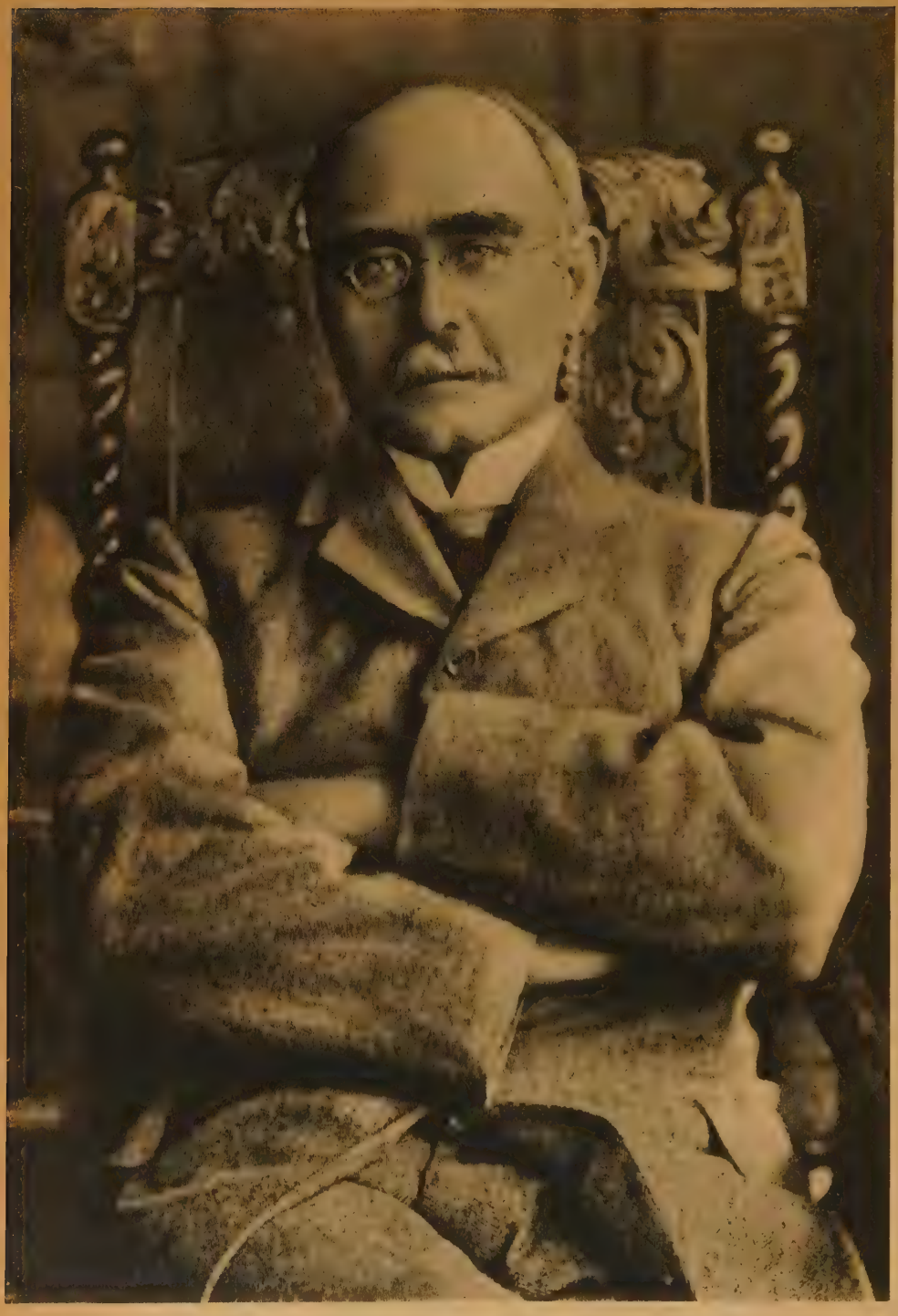
As for the Entente talk of disrupting the Hapsburg monarchy, Austria-Hungary is not so divided politically as her enemies pretend. In our internal affairs we, too, have our battles and our feuds, but unity has always prevailed in the foreign policy of Austria-Hungary. Neither is it true that enmity existed between Austria and Hungary. I personally am the leader of a party that has already had the sharpest conflicts, but in the matter of foreign policy we were always guided by nothing but the interests of the common monarchy. Austria-Hungary will also hold out economically during the war, and the world will witness our economic collapse just as little as it will that of Germany.

The end of the war will be coincident with the arrival of the moment when our opponents recognize this, when they finally become honest and admit to themselves that they had lost their reason in deluding themselves with the idea that they were able to smash Germany to pieces. This recognition will come. It must come. Then we shall have peace again.

H. R. H. EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES

Prince Edward, Now 22 Years Old, Is Captain of the Grenadier Guards and Is Called in England "Our Soldier Prince"

RUDYARD KIPLING



The Most Popular English Poet of Our Day, Whose Thrilling Account of British Submarine Achievements Appears in This Issue of Current History

(Photo made for The London Sphere)

Lest We Forget

Who's Responsible for the World's Greatest War

By Richard Dobson

[A look backward at the end of the first two years of war]

ON the 23d day of June, 1914, Francis Ferdinand, Archduke and nephew of the Emperor of Austria, also Commander in Chief of the Austro-Hungarian Army and heir to the throne, left Vienna to review army manoeuvres in the Province of Bosnia. On Sunday, the 28th day of June, he visited Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The Archduke and his wife, the Duchess of Hornberg, rode in their automobile through the streets of Serajevo, and at a certain point of their progress they were fired upon by an assassin and both were killed.

Few crimes have aroused deeper horror throughout Europe and the world at large. Public opinion and the Governments of Europe were ready to uphold Austria-Hungary in any measure, however severe, that the Austrian Government might think necessary for the punishment of the assassin and his accomplices.

It was immediately apparent from the reports of representatives from the various capitals of Europe that the public of Austria-Hungary, as represented through the press, attributed the greater part of the responsibility of the dastardly crime to the Serbian Government, which, they said, had encouraged a revolutionary spirit and thus brought about a revolutionary movement among the Serbian population of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

There is no question that there had been a strong Serb agitation for years previous to the murder of the Archduke and his wife, in the two provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This same agitation and revolutionary movement swept the provinces, (antedating the rule of Austria, and while they were yet a part of the Turkish Empire,) during the early seventies, followed by the war of 1877-1878 between Turkey and Russia. At the treaty of Berlin, in 1878, Austria was given the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Austria gave her pledge to Turkey that her occupation of the provinces should not interfere with the sovereignty of the Sultan of Turkey over them.

In 1908 Austria suddenly proclaimed the annexation of these provinces. On Oct. 7 of that year the annexation was celebrated at Serajevo—the city which, nearly six years later, was to witness the murder of the heir to the Austrian throne—by the firing of salutes and the ringing of the great cathedral bells, amid scenes of official rejoicing, but of popular indifference and apathy.

The Serbian Government at the time protested to the powers of Europe against the annexation as an insult and injury to the rights of the Serbian people. A war cloud loomed up ominously. Russia and several of the powers showed resentment, but after six months' tension Serbia was induced to abandon her claim and promised to live on good terms with Austria.

But Serbia was dissatisfied. Her national aspirations were not quenched, and were strengthened by her successes in the Balkan war of 1912-1913, a success which was, however, restrained by Austria in her opposition to Serbia's territorial expansion. As Serbia grew Austria's jealousy and suspicion of Serbian designs grew also.

The assassination of the Crown Prince sent a wave of anti-Serbian passion over Austria. Mobs in Vienna threatened the Serbian Legation. The entire Austrian press used severe and unbridled language, calling for quick punishment of the Serbian people. Rioters at Sera-

jevo and Agram demanded vengeance on the Serb population, and the members of the Serb party in the Provincial Council of Croatia were assailed by their colleagues with cries of "Serbian assassins." Signs were strongly in evidence that the popular resentment was encouraged and shared by the Austrian Government.

In view of these conditions, the disinterested powers sought to wield their influence in the direction of reconciling justice with peace. Though the attitude of public opinion in Austria, and perhaps to a less degree in Germany, was very plain, the intentions of the Austrian Government remained obscure. The Austrian Foreign Office was exceedingly reticent, especially with the British and Russian Ambassadors.

On July 7 the Austrian Government announced that the joint meeting of Austro-Hungarian Cabinets which had just taken place was only concerned with the question of domestic measures to repress the Pan-Serb propaganda in Bosnia. On the 8th day of July the Hungarian Minister, President of Hungary, made a pacific speech in the Hungarian Parliament defending the Serb subjects of the empire and eulogizing their loyalty.

July 11 the Serbian Minister at Vienna said that there was no reason to anticipate a threatening communication from the Austrian Government, and as late as July 22, 1914, the day before the ultimatum of the Austrian Government was received at Belgrade, the Minister-President of Hungary stated in the Hungarian Parliament that the situation did not warrant the opinion that a serious turn of events was necessary, or even probable.

It was known that Serbia had made known her readiness to accept any demands compatible with the sovereignty of an independent State. It was also known that the French, Russian, and German Governments held to the belief that the Serbian Government was not to blame for the crime, but that she must be ready to investigate, as well as put an end to, the murderous propaganda that had led up to it. It was also believed that it originated, partly, at least, on Serbian soil.

Sir Edward Grey, the English Foreign Secretary, advised Serbia to conduct herself in a spirit of moderation and conciliation. He also promised the German Ambassador at London to use his influence in the same way with the Russian Government. What more could be done at the time? There was no actual evidence that Serbian territory had been made the base of revolutionary operations against Austria-Hungary. The Serbian Government also stated that the two assassins implicated were both Austrian subjects, and that on a former occasion the Austrian Government had informed the Serbian Government that one of the assassins was perfectly harmless and was under their protection.

It was generally assumed that before Austria took any definite action she would disclose to the public her case against Serbia.

The Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente remained just as they had been for years. Said Sir Edward Grey to the German Ambassador: "We have been quite recently assured that no new secret element had been introduced into the Triple Alliance, and that the Triple Entente remained unchanged so far as England was concerned, and with France and Russia also, so far as we know." As late as May 23, 1914, the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs had reaffirmed that the policy of the Russian State was as before, the Balkans for the Balkans, and it was known that any attack on a Balkan State by any great European power would be regarded as a menace to that policy.

As late as June 29, 1914, the Austrian Ambassador said to the English Foreign Secretary that "Serbia was regarded by them as being in the Austrian sphere of influence." Sir Edward replied: "If Serbia is to be humiliated, then most assuredly Russia could not remain indifferent and would not."

Sir Edward Grey said further: "It was not a question of the policy of Russian statesmanship at St. Petersburg, but of the deep hereditary feeling for the Balkan populations bred in the Russian

people for more than two centuries of development." This was known in European diplomacy in the past; it was one of the facts of the European situation, the product of the centuries. Patient work for years might change it, but you couldn't push it aside in a day.

On July 23, 1914, Austria showed her hand. She delivered an ultimatum at Belgrade, the capital of Serbia, and required an answer absolute within forty-eight hours. Ten demands were made on Serbia, as follows: The suppression of newspapers and literature, the suppression of nationalist societies, a reorganization of Government schools, the dismissal of officers from the army, the participation of Austrian officers in judiciary proceedings in Serbia, the prevention of all traffic in arms across the frontier, a full explanation of anti-Austrian utterances, immediate notification of the enforcement of these measures, the Serbian Government to publish on the front page of the official journal a prescribed statement amounting to a full recantation of her alleged errors, and a promise of amendment.

To these ten demands was annexed a very brief summary of the secret trial at Serajevo, without any corroborative evidence attached.

What independent nation could accept such an ultimatum and be worthy of independent national existence? Only twelve days intervened between this ultimatum and the declaration of war between Great Britain and Germany. In the whirl of negotiations which ensued there was scarcely time for pondering.

When Sir Edward Grey learned of the ultimatum through the Austrian Ambassador at London he expressed grave alarm. There was no time to advise Russia or to influence Serbia. At this critical moment everything depended on Germany. Great Britain during those momentous forty-eight hours made three attempts at peace for Europe. Above all things the time limit of the ultimatum must be extended. Russia and Great Britain urged this at Vienna. Great Britain also urged Germany to join in pressing the matter on the Austrian Government. Berlin simply consented to "pass on" the British message to Vienna.

Sir Edward Grey then urged that Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy should work together at Vienna and St. Petersburg for conciliation. France assented. Italy assented. Russia declared herself ready to compromise, and Germany said that she had no objections, if the relation between Austria and Russia became threatening.

Then the Russian, French, and British representatives at Belgrade were instructed to advise Serbia to go as far as possible to meet Austria. But it was too late. Austria would not extend the time limit. Serbia, however, anticipated the advice of Russia, France, and Great Britain, for on the afternoon of the 25th of July, 1914, several hours before the time limit had expired, Serbia made reply to the Austrian ultimatum. The reply was an entire acceptance of the Austrian demands, subject to the necessary delay in passing new laws and the amending of her Constitution, and subject also to an explanation of Austria-Hungary as to her precise wishes with regard to the participation of Austro-Hungarian officials in Serbian judicial proceedings.

Serbia's reply went far beyond what any of the great powers, not even excepting Germany, had thought possible for Serbia to submit to. The same day, the 25th of July, the British Ambassador at Vienna reported to his home Government that the tone of the Austrian press left the impression that a settlement was not desired, and he later reported to his home Government that the impression left on his mind was that the Austrian note was so drawn up as to make war inevitable.

In spite of the conciliatory nature of Serbia's reply, the Austrian Minister left Belgrade that very evening, July 25, 1914. Serbia then ordered a general mobilization of her army. The Serbian reply to Austria had been wired to Sir Edward Grey at London, and he immediately wired Berlin that he hoped Germany would urge Austria to accept. Germany again contented herself with merely "passing on" the expression of Sir Edward's hope to Vienna through the German Ambassador there. The

fate of such a message "passed on" may be guessed from the fact that the German Ambassador told the British Ambassador shortly afterward that Serbia had only made a pretense of giving way, and that all her pretenses to concession were a mere sham.

Austria declared war on Serbia July 28, 1914; on July 29, Russia ordered partial mobilization, and Austrian troops were bombarding Belgrade, Serbia's capital. On the 29th of July, Sir Edward Grey, at about 4 o'clock P. M., wired to Berlin once more on representations more favorable made by the German Ambassador in London, and also in accordance with a request from the Russian Government, "Urging the German Government, if they did not like the Ambassador's conference, to suggest any other form they pleased. Mediation," said Sir Edward Grey, "was ready to come into operation by any method that Germany thought proper, if only Germany would press the button in the interests of peace."

About midnight of the 29th day of July a telegram was received at the British Foreign Office from the English Ambassador at Berlin. He said: "The German Chancellor sent for me late at night and propounded the following question: Would Great Britain promise to remain neutral in a war, provided Germany did not touch Holland and took nothing from France but her colonies?" The German Chancellor refused to give any undertaking that Germany would not invade Belgium, but promised that, if Belgium remained passive, no territory would be taken away from her.

Sir Edward Grey's answer was a flat refusal, but contained the following exhortation: "The business of Europe was to work for peace; and that was the only question with which Great Britain was concerned. If Germany would now prove by her actions that she desired peace, Great Britain would warmly welcome a future agreement with her whereby the whole weight of the two nations would be thrown permanently into the scale of peace in years to come."

Up to and including the 29th day of July the only conflict had been on the frontiers of Serbia and Austria; the chief fear was an outbreak between Russia and Austria. Russia had declared that she desired nothing greater than a period of peace to work up her internal improvement and advancement. Germany had declared that her interests were for peace, and France said that she would not fight except to help her ally.

There seemed, on the face of things, no insuperable difficulty in keeping the peace of Europe. But the inquiry of the German Chancellor let the cat out of the bag. Great Britain now knew that Germany was contemplating an attack on France. She knew also that the independence of the Low Countries, Belgium, Holland, and Denmark, had for generations been considered one of the greatest obstacles to a general war, a strong lever for the peace and good-will of Europe. The neutrality of Belgium had been devised and consecrated as a safeguard by two international treaties signed by all the great powers of Europe and recognized by at least two generations of European statesmen. Germany had shown her hand and was ready to smash the main pivot of the concert of Europe. Having decided upon a war with France, Belgium was of supreme importance to Germany. She undoubtedly assumed that if she failed to occupy Belgium, France would, most likely, do so. Acting on that suspicion, Germany took the initiative; but the neutrality of Belgium had not been devised as a pretext for war, but to prevent war.

The British Government therefore on July 31 asked the German and French Governments for an agreement to respect Belgian neutrality, and the Belgian Government for an engagement to uphold it. France gave the necessary engagement the same day, Belgium the day after; but Germany made no reply. Silence was the gauntlet of defiance thrown down. German designs were alarmingly apparent. Late on the evening of July 29 Russia had offered to stop all military preparations if Austria would recognize that her conflict with Serbia had become a question of general European interest and would eliminate from her ultimatum

the points which involved a violation of Serbian sovereignty.

On the 31st day of July Russia informed the British Government that Austria had at last agreed to discuss the whole question of her ultimatum to Serbia, a thing that she had refused to do in the early days of the crisis. For a time there was a gleam of hope. It was suddenly quenched, however, when Germany on that very day dispatched an ultimatum to Russia that she must countermand her mobilization within twelve hours. (Yet at that very time mobilization had proceeded much further in Germany than in Russia, though general mobilization was not publically proclaimed in Germany until the following day, Aug. 1.) France began to mobilize on Aug. 1. The last proposal made by Sir Edward Grey that joint action should be taken between Germany, France, and Italy until Russia's answer should be received, was refused by Germany, and on that selfsame day the German Ambassador at St. Petersburg presented a declaration of war.

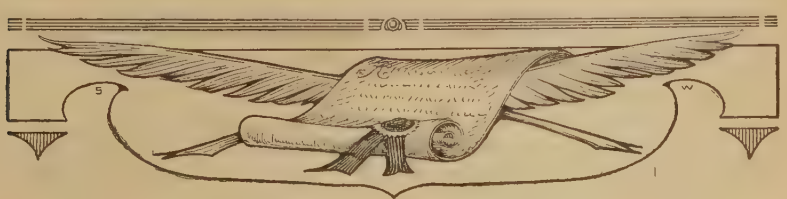
Yet on this same day, Saturday, Aug. 1, Russia assured England that she would on no account commence hostilities if the German army did not cross the frontier, and France also declared that her army should be kept six miles from her frontier so as to prevent collision. This was the situation de facto when very early on Sunday morning, Aug. 2, 1914, the German troops invaded Luxemburg, a small independent State, which had been guaranteed by all the powers the same neutrality as Belgium. The die was cast and the great war begun.

Intercourse between Germany and Great Britain continued for two days, but the crisis was reached in a heated interview between the German Chancellor with Sir Edward Goschen, the British Ambassador at Berlin, over the word "neutrality," and the phrase "scrap of paper," which was followed by Germany's refusal to withdraw her troops from Belgium, by Belgium's appeal to England for aid under the treaty, and then by the declaration of war between Germany and Great Britain.

More Than 700 Graveyards in Galicia

Referring to the battlefields of Galicia and the efforts of the Austrian Government to bring some sort of order into the conditions prevailing in military burying grounds, the Berliner Vorwärts estimates that between the town of Gorlice and the heights of Tarnovo no fewer than 419 graveyards have been cleared of their unsightly surroundings, and says that wherever possible natural beauties in the landscape have been utilized to lend dignity to the enormous cemeteries.

All along the Dunajec graveyards are thickly strewn over the entire countryside. Russians, Austrians, Germans, Hungarians to the number of 40,000 are buried in the cared-for graveyards, a number which does not include those buried in masses in one grave. In West Galicia alone about 600 graveyards exist, and in other parts more than 100. From the Dunajec eastward the multitudinous graves of the Russians are seen stretching away into the eastern plains, an awful record of the death grapple of last year.



Germany Long Planned the War

As Evidenced by an Official German Report Issued in March, 1913

Written for CURRENT HISTORY

By William E. Church

Judge Church is an attorney and recognized publicist of influence. He entered the Union Army in 1861, and was Adjutant General on the staff of General Sheridan. Later he became Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Dakota, and in 1890 moved to Chicago, where he now resides.

IT has been announced that the Prussian Government, with that characteristic regard for efficiency which not only overlooks no details but anticipates their probable usefulness well in advance of the event, has already prepared for presentation to any council or tribunal which may be formed at the close of the present war to discuss terms of settlement a compendium of official documents designed to clear Germany from responsibility for bringing on the war, and even from the odium incurred by violation of Belgium's neutrality.

It will perhaps contribute somewhat to a better understanding of the merits of Germany's pretensions on this subject to call special attention to a remarkable document which, although published in connection with the French Yellow Book, seems to have attracted little or no general public notice.

On April 2, 1913, the French Minister of War transmitted to the Minister of Foreign Affairs a copy of a document which he said he had just received from a reliable source and which he designated "An Official Secret Report Concerning the Strengthening of the German Army," dated at Berlin, March 19, 1913.

The immediate occasion of this report seems to have been the then recent enactment by the German Parliament of a law increasing the German Army. The document consists of several sections, of which the first is entitled "General Memorandum on the New Military Laws." The second, from which the following extracts are taken, is entitled "Aim and Obligation of Our National Policy, of Our Army, and of the Special Organization for Army Purposes":

Our new army law is only an extension of the military education of the German Nation. * * * We must allow the idea to sink into the minds of our people that our armaments are an answer to the armaments and policy of the French. We must accustom them to think that an offensive war on our part is a necessity, in order to combat the provocations of our adversaries. * * * We must so manage matters that under the heavy weight of powerful armaments, considerable sacrifices, and strained political relations, an outbreak should be considered as a relief, because after it would come decades of peace and prosperity, as after 1870. * * * We must not arouse the distrust of our financiers, but there are many things which cannot be concealed.

We must not be anxious about the fate of our colonies. * * * On the other hand, we must stir up trouble in the north of Africa and in Russia. It is a means of keeping the forces of the enemy engaged. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that we should open up relations, by means of well-chosen agents, with influential people in Egypt, Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco, in order to prepare the measures which would be necessary in the case of a European war.

Risings provoked in time of war by political agents need to be carefully prepared and by material means. They must break out simultaneously with the destruction of the means of communication. * * * The Egyptian school is particularly suited to this purpose. * * *

However this may be, we must be strong in order to annihilate at one powerful swoop our enemies in the east and west. But in the next European war it will also be necessary that the small States should be forced to follow us or be subdued. In certain conditions their armies and their fortified places can be rapidly conquered or neutralized; this would probably be the case with Belgium and Holland, so as to prevent our enemy in the west from gaining territory which they could use as a base of operations against

our flank. In the north we have nothing to fear from Denmark or Scandinavia, especially as in any event we shall provide for the concentration of a strong northern army, capable of replying to any menace from this direction. In the most unfavorable case, Denmark might be forced by Great Britain to abandon her neutrality; but by this time the decision would have already been reached both on land and on sea. Our northern army, the strength of which could be largely increased by Dutch formations, would oppose a very active defense to any offensive measures from this quarter.

In the south, Switzerland forms an extremely solid bulwark, and we can rely on her energetically defending her neutrality against France, and thus protecting our flank.

As was stated above, the situation with regard to the small States and our northwestern frontier * * * will be a vital question for us, and our aim must be to take the offensive with a large superiority from the first days. For this purpose it will be necessary to concentrate a large army, followed by strong Landwehr formations, which will induce the small States to follow us or at least to remain inactive in the theatre of operations, and which would crush them in the event of armed resistance. If we could induce these States to organize their system of fortifications in such a manner as to constitute an effective protection for our flank we could abandon the proposed invasion. But for this, army reorganization, particularly in Belgium, would be necessary in order that it might really guarantee an effective resistance. If, on the contrary, their defensive organization was established against us, thus giving definite advantages to our adversary in the west, we could in no circumstances offer Belgium a guarantee for the security of her neutrality. * * *

*The arrangements made with this end in view allow us to hope that it will be possible to take the offensive immediately after the complete concentration of the army of the Lower Rhine. An ultimatum with a short time limit, to be followed immediately by invasion, would allow a sufficient justification for our action in international law.**

The attentive reader of these paragraphs will perhaps find occasion in them to doubt the entire ingenuousness of the German Chancellor's so-called "confession" made to the Reichstag of the wrong done by Germany in violating Belgium's neutrality and to conclude that perhaps he was merely following the familiar dictum that "the use of language is to conceal thought." To my mind they disclose these very significant particulars:

1. That war against the Triple Entente was definitely determined upon a year and a half before it was actually begun.

2. The recognition by the German Government of the necessity for persuading its people that, while apparently offensive, the war would really be one of defense.

3. That the idea of "an ultimatum with a short time limit" subsequently applied in the correspondence with Serbia, with Belgium, and with Russia, immediately preceding the outbreak of hostilities, seems to have been deliberately adopted as a part of the plan of campaign, and, since no particular ultimatum to anybody on the subject was just then contemplated, it would seem fairly obvious that the questions as to the subject of the proposed ultimatum and the country to which it should be addressed were left open for future consideration and determination, as the occasion might require.

4. That it was originally intended to embroil Holland as well as Belgium in the general mêlée, doubtless with a view to acquiring complete control of the Scheldt and the protection of Essen. Why this part of the scheme was abandoned is not yet perhaps entirely clear.

5. That the real purpose of the proposed invasion of these neutral States was not to gain a short cut to France at its most vulnerable point, but to compel them to join Germany in an offensive and defensive campaign against France which would assure protection to the German flank. This view is emphasized by the proviso that if Germany could induce these States to organize their defenses in such a manner as to constitute an effective protection to the German flank the proposed invasion could be abandoned.

For a clearer understanding of an incident to which I propose now to advert I here reproduce the famous "Confession" in full:

Gentlemen: We are now in a state of necessity, and necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and perhaps have already entered Belgian territory. Gentlemen, that is a breach of international

*The italics are not in the original document.

law. It is true that the French Government declared at Brussels that France *would respect Belgian neutrality* as long as her adversary respected it. We know, moreover, that France stood ready for an invasion. [A statement which, so far as the present writer is informed, is unsupported by any proof, and has been authoritatively denied.]

France could wait; we could not. A French attack on our flank on the Lower Rhine might have been disastrous. Thus we were forced to ignore the rightful protests of the Governments of Luxemburg and Belgium. The wrong—I speak openly—the wrong we thereby commit we will try to make good as soon as our military aims have been attained. He who is menaced as we are and is fighting for his highest possession can only consider how he is to hack his way through.

It has remained for an American editor to evolve the startling proposition that, after all, Germany did not violate Belgium's neutrality, but that her action was strictly in accordance with the accepted principles of modern civilized warfare.

Briefly stated, the contention is that Germany cannot justly be charged with violating neutral territory by her invasion of Belgium contrary to the provisions of The Hague Convention of 1907, because, prior to such invasion, she had declared war against Belgium by the delivery to it of an ultimatum which, in effect, demanded of Belgium its permission for free and unobstructed transit of Germany's armies, with all their munitions and equipment, en route to France, under penalty of being regarded and treated as an enemy in case of refusal, and that upon Belgium's rejection of this demand a state of war immediately existed, which ipso facto destroyed Belgium's character as a neutral and transformed her into a belligerent.

The argument certainly has the merit of novelty. It does not even seem to have occurred to the German Chancellor when he made the memorable address above quoted, although he himself was the author of the rejected ultimatum.

To fully understand the situation it is necessary to recall that by the provisions of The Hague Convention defining the rights and obligations of neutrals in case of war on land (Convention V.) not only were belligerents forbidden to move troops or convoys of either munitions of war or supplies across the territory of a neutral power, but neutral powers were expressly forbidden to allow any of the prohibited acts to occur on their territory.

Now, it is of the utmost importance to observe that in its "ultimatum" to Belgium Germany not only announced its intention of deliberately violating this solemn convention, to which both, in common with some forty or more other powers, were parties, for the purpose of enabling it more surely to reach the throat of its adversary, France, also a party, and with whom Belgium was at peace, but also demanded that Belgium should itself violate that convention and become a co-conspirator with Germany and facilitate its attack on France by doing one of the very things which Germany, as a signatory to the convention, had expressly forbidden it to do.

Thus Germany's own gross wrong is sought to be made the basis for an argument in justification of all the enormities since committed by it on the ground that a state of war existed, the character of which is quite similar to that which occurs when a householder is trying to eject a burglar.

Conceding that one nation may have the abstract right to declare war against another for any, or even for no, assigned cause, yet, in the forum of the civilized world's conscience, there should be at least some plausible excuse, and that, in the present instance, is wholly lacking. The argument relies upon Belgium's answer to Germany's ultimatum as a technically sufficient casus belli, and this, it will be noted, according to the plan of campaign above set forth, is just what Germany was looking for. The German Chancellor, however, characterizes it as Belgium's "rightful protest." Doubtless it served his then present purpose to appease the natural scruples of some of his worthy fellow-citizens not yet educated up to a just appreciation of the Prussian war doctrines.

The proposition amounts to this: That Belgium could preserve her neutral character only by consenting to and participating in the violation of her neutrality, and could continue to be entitled to the protection of The Hague Convention only

by conspiring with one of the signatory parties to violate it, to the prejudice of another signatory!

The solution of the problem is that Germany's demand upon Belgium, (reminding one forcibly of that made by the wolf upon the lamb he intended to devour, "How dare you muddle the water I am drinking!") made with the obvious purpose of either bullying her into a violation of her treaty obligations or putting her in a position of hostility to Germany, was itself a gross violation of her neutrality, involving an utter disregard of the express provisions of a convention in which every signatory nation had a vital interest.

NOTE.—"The Secret Report" referred to in this communication, portions of which are therein quoted, will be found on Pages 130-133 of a volume entitled "Collected Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Outbreak of the European War," published in London in 1915, and characterized on the second page of its preface as "A Government Publication."

Two Irish Mothers

By MARY FLOYD McMULLEN

"Mother, I hear the bugle's voice,
The roar of throbbing drums—
And I hear a struggling Country call
To all her fighting sons."

"By the blood of an ancient race
And the pride of an ancient name,
I would not have thee bide at home
Though my heart should break in twain."

That night I heard the banshee wail—
The night he marched away—
My eldest son, my gallant lad,
Through lanes all sweet with May!

They have brought a bright blade home!
O Mother Mary, ease my pain!
Far in an alien land he lies
Who ne'er will come again!

* * * * *

"Mother, I hear a mystic voice
Whispering imperiously:
'Arise and cast the Tyrant off—
Thus Erin shall be free!'"

"My son, my son, my only son,
'Tis the voice of death and shame,
That strives to lure thee from the love
Of loyalty's fair name."

Again, again the banshee wails!
God, have pity! Pity and save
The soul of one who passed tonight—
Who fills a traitor's grave!

Magazinists of the World on the War

Condensed From Leading Reviews

In the excerpts printed in this department of CURRENT HISTORY will be found examples of current thought in all the warring countries, as represented by their leading writers and more influential periodicals.

The Working Classes in the War

By Dr. Lensch

Socialist Deputy in the Reichstag

Extracts from a noteworthy article in Professor Delbrück's monthly review, Prussische Jahrbücher.

IT is to be assumed without fear of contradiction that the present world war is in reality a duel between Germany and England. Another fact, which is none the less true, but which has not been fully recognized, is that this war is the first in history in which the working classes represent a determining political factor. To a very considerable degree the outcome of the war depends upon their attitude, and this is true above all of the working classes in the two principal hostile countries. For many decades past the English working classes have been held up to their German confrères as a model. They have been acclaimed as sober, practical, non-revolutionary, out and out patriots, and absolutely non-international.

It is worth while in the light of the latest experiences of this war to examine whether this diagnosis of the British workman is really true, and whether it is desirable to hold up their attitude as an example to German proletarians.

England's security has depended upon the supremacy of the seas and made the establishment of a strong standing army superfluous. This meant that England lost that organizing influence which a conscript army exercises upon the entire national organism. The defect produced by the absence of universal service is one of the essential causes why England today represents the oldest social system in the European States. Right down to our day English individualism characterizes the trade unionism of that country and has robbed it of a great part of its natural strength.

The absorption of the individual into a great central organism such as distinguishes the German unions is antagonistic to the English idea of freedom, hence England's trade union movement is split up into a large number of small groups: In Germany 2,750,000 workmen are organized in forty-eight societies, while in England 3,300,000 workmen are "united" in 1,153 different unions. The working classes in England are the governed classes in the State, but in a State which rules the world. This remarkable position has created a curious psychology in the English workman. That he is able to lead a better mode of life in comparison to the Continental workman is merely a reflex action of England's world position. The preservation of English world supremacy is the unconditional assumption of all English workingmen politics. That is to say, the English working classes wish to shake off the supremacy which the English classes exercise over them, but at the same time they desire to see the supremacy which their aristocracy exercises over the world continued. It is obvious that such a remarkable conflict of interests should bring the English working classes into antagonism with those of other countries. It is hardly necessary to mention the contempt which they feel for the workers of other countries, and which they do not

take the trouble to conceal. The English trade unionists have never shown any interest in the workmen's battles of other lands. When some years ago a general strike was fought out in Sweden German workmen contributed $430,000, but the English only $17,000.

This double-sided, contradictory constellation of interests has brought the English working-classes into a state of intellectual dependence upon the aristocratic classes, and greatly deprived them both of capacity and inclination to independent policy. A drastic example of the depressing helplessness with which they meet the great decisive questions of today is afforded by their attitude toward the introduction of universal service.

What has been the attitude of the Labor Party toward the introduction of universal service? It is sufficient for us to indicate that the working classes, in a crisis which means a turning point in world history for England, were without ideas and just as helpless as children in a dark room. Their helplessness can find no more grotesque expression than the catchword which leads them, and according to which their army of hirelings is the Palladium of English liberty; while, on the other hand, universal service is a monstrosity born of absolutism.

The English working classes have never been obliged to wage class warfare with the bitterness and energy such as, for example, has been the fate of the German workman. Nobody desires to depreciate the severe struggles which English proletarians have waged to obtain recognition as the fundamental of their social rise, but in comparison to the working classes of other countries their lot has been much easier, and it was in the very nature of things that in Germany, which as a competing State has had to work its way upward under the greatest difficulties against the overwhelming superiority of the ancient Queen of the Seas, the social antagonisms have taken a more acute form. For the English aristocracy this was a pleasant fact, just as it was unpleasant for the ruling classes in Germany.

The absence of social strife in England has led to that intellectual poverty which has been revealed in glaring colors during the war. National conceit, political helplessness, and a total absence of intellectual interests, these are the consequences of England's historical development.

By the relative absence of a proper class feeling and the discipline of class strife, the laboring classes have missed a great number of social elements which make for their good. Class warfare is by no means an invention and a catchword of the devil, but it means that social democracy possesses a powerful nationalizing force, and is aware of it. By it the lower strata of society are aroused to life and consciousness. In all previous social communities they have been nothing other than a dead, heavy mass. They took no part in the life of the nation; they were not really living members of the nation; but only its rump, on whose back the upper classes fought out their struggles. In modern democracy arose for the first time a substratum, in which the call to class feeling found an echo, and in that it criticised the form of existing society, it learned to feel itself a member of that society; yet it has only been able to attain its present position by a constant fight against the ruling classes. The three great democratic institutions of modern society—compulsory school attendance, universal service, and universal suffrage—have contributed essentially to the organization of the class war and to the building up of a national cultural community. That which the school begins in the child is continued in the youth by the service of arms, and the democracy of public life completes it in the man.

The inestimable progressive influence of class warfare in the cultural-national sense has fallen in a far less degree to the good of the English proletarian. It is true that in one way he stood less in need of it than the German. The insular world-controlling position of the empire has concerted exceedingly favorable conditions for cultural and national exclusiveness, and yet the terrible intellectual damage which England's working classes have suffered through their favorable social position is enormous. The absence

of intellectual interests is perfectly horrifying, and, in fact, is characteristic of all classes of English society. Roughly, only half of the English workmen have the right to vote. The Labor Congress in 1882 and 1883 voted with a great majority against the introduction of universal suffrage. The upper strata of skilled workmen would not share a common vote with the badly paid mass of workmen for whom they had no interest. Hence this great mass in England today is still intellectually dead and without political influence. The real position of things will only appear after the war. If England does not succeed in preserving her world rule undiminished, then the promise of a labor policy has vanished. Even now it is quite obvious to the Englishman that after the war tremendous social struggles will commence. The shaking of England's world power means the undermining of the entire social organism, and the consequences of this it is impossible to foresee.

But with the downfall of England's world supremacy an obsolete type of society goes under. England has already fought for her supremacy in the wars against the French Republic and the First Empire. France stood for the same historical type as England. The societies of both empires were founded on individualism. England, who was at the height of her development, was victorious. Today England is fighting against another enemy whom she has not been able to defeat, an enemy which represents a more progressive historical social principle—that of social organization. What individualism has contributed to the inward enrichment of humanity will not be lost, but the wars of our time require forces which the nations cannot mobilize on the basis of a society composed of individuals. Only socialized nations can do that, but out of it a new principle arises which is directly opposed to that prevailing in England. We are approaching a turning point in the world's history not less historically important than that on whose threshold England stood 300 years ago. At that time a new type of man of world-historical importance came into being in England—the free individual; and now history is at work to evolve gradually a new type — the social-communal organized man. The creation of the necessary conditions for this higher evolutionary type is the historical work which Germany is about to achieve.

Is the War Making Russia Poor or Rich?

By Z. Katzenelenbaum

Russian Financial Writer

[Translated from Russkia Vedomosti, Moscow, for CURRENT HISTORY]

A YEAR and a half ago it would have seemed strange to ask whether the war could bring any financial benefits to Russia. At the end of 1914 it seemed clear that war carried with it ruin and impoverishment for the belligerents. Economists and the general public agreed in that view. There may have been a difference of opinion on the degree of the effect on each of the warring countries, whether it would be felt more sharply in Russia or in Germany, for instance, and how long one or the other would be able to stand it economically; but the thought that a country may prosper through war had never been entertained then by anybody.

The war dragged on, continuing much longer than expected, demanding more powerful exertions than anticipated. It seemed that the ruin caused by the war should have grown more extended every day. But in actuality something very different is taking place. The impoverishment of the belligerents has not only not grown more and more marked with every new day of the war, but, on the

contrary, there have arisen doubts in the minds of the public as to the correctness of the original prognosis regarding the economic effects of war.

And the facts are indeed such as to support grave doubts of the old-established view, not only in the mind of the general public, but even in the mind of the financial expert. The war is now costing Russia more than 30,000,000 rubles daily, and up to date it has eaten up about 20,000,000,000, i. e., more than the entire annual income of the whole nation. These sums have been expended, from the economic point of view, nonproductively. New material values have not been created as a result of that expenditure. The Government debt has more than doubled, having increased by 13,000,000,000 to 14,000,000,000. Would this not indicate the impoverishment of the country?

But, on the other hand, a country cannot be called impoverished if its inhabitants are not. The growth of the Government debt, if it is not followed by a series of other phenomena, may mean, in the worst case, only the disorganization of the Government finances, the illness of the State Treasury. But disorganized finances do not indicate the impoverishment of a country. The two things may often go together, but they are by no means identical. One can imagine economic prosperity under a demoralized financial system, and such instances in economic history are not unknown. Only when the population of a country is impoverished can one speak of the ruin and impoverishment of the nation.

But has the population of Russia grown poor during the present war? The commercial-industrial classes in all countries, in belligerent as well as neutral, are jubilant over the profits caused by the war. After a momentary confusion the world's industrial class adapted itself very rapidly to the new conditions. Forging the plows into swords, they have become the suppliers of swords to the fighting nations. Also Russia's commercial-industrial class is prospering, and one hears no complaining from it. Russian industries, in nearly all branches, are being run at high profits. There are, of course, exceptions. The brewing industry has suffered, but the sad voices of the brewers are drowned in the chorus of the whole class. As to the merchants, their profits have risen with the steady rise in the prices of all articles. A higher price is of advantage to big, middle, and petty business alike.

Have Russia's land owners suffered through the war? There have seemed to exist certain circumstances justifying such an assumption. The scarcity of labor for agricultural purposes, the rise in wages, could result only in a decrease of the arable land area. The land leased from owners by peasants has grown much smaller in area, as the rural population had its hands full with its own land. Then the manufacture of alcohol, a considerable source of income for the land proprietors, has stopped. Nevertheless, one hears no complaints from that quarter. The agrarian banks report that the payments are coming in very regularly this year, which proves the sound condition of the land-owning class. It would appear that the very profitable realization of the crops has covered the deficit due to the decrease in the amount of arable land.

Let us turn to the main part of our population—the peasantry. Has the village become impoverished through the war? Quite the opposite view has come to be generally held. Not only persons who come in accidental contact with our village report prosperity, but the country press is reporting the same. The village drinks no more, it is receiving pensions, it sells profitably its bread, cattle, and dairy products. The signs of its prosperity are the increase in the deposits in our savings banks and the frequently noticed reluctance of our rural population to dispose of its accumulated products.

As to the labor class, matters are not so brilliant. Some canvasses show that labor conditions have grown worse during the war. But Russia's labor class is indeed not very large, and a rise in wages has come through the war in

every branch of labor. Some of the more qualified lines of labor receive wages higher than ever before.

There remains the suffering middleman of the town, where the high cost of living is so keenly felt. But this group is largely distributed among the classes just named. Then there are the *intelligentsia* and some groups of officials; but, being in such a minority, how could these affect the general picture of the economic condition of the country? With the industrial, commercial, land-proprietary, peasant, and even labor classes prospering, it is evident that the general condition of the country is prosperous.

German Scholars Explain Their Manifesto

By Dr. Max Planck

Professor in the University of Berlin

Speaking for the ninety-three German scholars and artists who signed the famous appeal to the "World of Culture" at the beginning of the war, Professor Planck addressed this letter to Professor H. A. Lorentz of the University of Leyden, who in turn forwarded it to Sir Oliver Lodge:

Berlin, March, 1916.

HONORED COLLEAGUE: The well-known appeal to the "World of Culture," which was signed by ninety-three German scholars and artists and published in August, 1914, has, owing to the terms in which it was drawn up, led to mistaken conceptions as to the attitude of the signatories, as I have repeatedly discovered to my regret. According to my personal view, which, as I know, is in all essentials shared by many of my colleagues, (for example, by Adolf von Harnack, Walter Nernst, Wilhelm Waldeyer, Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff,) that appeal, which reflects in its composition the patriotic excitement of the first weeks of war, was intended to signify and could signify nothing but an act of defense—above all of protection of the German Army against the bitter accusations brought against it, and an explicit declaration that the scholars and artists of Germany refuse to separate their cause from the cause of the German Army. For the German Army is nothing but the German people in arms, and the scholars and artists are, like all other classes, inseparably bound up with it.

That we cannot, of course, be responsible for every single action of every German, whether in war or in peace, I am glad to assert again with emphasis, although I regard this as no less obvious than that we are not as yet in a position to pass a final judgment in any scientific sense of the term on the great questions of the history of the present day. Only a subsequent, many-sided, and objective examination can decide in which quarters will be finally fixed the primary responsibility for the failure of the efforts for peace and for all the human suffering which has been caused—an examination whose results we await with a quiet conscience.

For the moment we Germans have only one task, so long as the war lasts—to serve our country with all our powers. But what I specially desire to insist on to you in particular is the firm conviction, which even the occurrences of the present war can never shake, that there are regions of the intellectual and moral world which lie outside the struggles of nations, and that an honorable co-operation in the maintenance of these international cultural values, and also no less a personal respect for members of an enemy State, are not inconsistent with glowing love and energetic work for one's own country. Your always devoted,

Dr. MAX PLANCK.

Germans in the United States

By A. Schalck de la Faverie

Principal Librarian of the National Library of France

[Translated from La Revue, Paris, for CURRENT HISTORY]

AN efficient and enduring Germanic régime in the United States would be absolutely opposed to the very principle which serves as a basis of the Constitution. It would falsify all the movements of interior policy and the Federal Administration. It would bring out at every instant the incompatibility which separates the two countries. * * * To try to reconcile tendencies so contradictory would lead to a rupture; either the German-Americans would proclaim themselves straightout Germans and would seek to cut a breach in the State, or the Americans, denying the fundamental principles which presided over their establishment in the New World, would find that they had risen in vain against the tyranny of George III., only to end by bowing before the colossal fantasies of Wilhelm II.

Everything proves that the campaign set in motion by the Germans of Germany with a view to drawing into their orbit the Germans of the United States will bear no savory fruit. It can create troubles, as it has already done, setting in motion a movement more or less fraught with the menace of war, bringing into play the largest financial and economic interests; but it will not be able to inflict a vital injury on a young nation whose ideals are absolutely opposed to those of Germany.

In the United States, in spite of present appearances, in spite of the data of statistics, Germany's hour is past.

While Spain, France, and England were striving and struggling together, paying with their blood for the organization of a new continent, what was Germany doing? Through innumerable trials, beneath the blows of internal and external attacks, she was tearing herself to pieces during a century, and during the next century seeking to find herself. Her poverty-stricken children went to beg for shelter and bread from America.

While ancient France sought to found on the shores of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi a new France, while the Anglo-Saxon Puritans, long our rivals, then our allies, to fix their establishment and proclaim their independence have by turns struggled against and beside us, the Germans brought to America nothing but the small change of their thwarted wishes and of their complaisant aptitude for small jobs. They worked on a margin for the common good. The concession of their devotion was always exercised with the private thought of working for their own interest. They never felt the spirit of solidarity which, from the least to the greatest, animates all the workers in the same patriotic task. So that in the United States they have received more than they have given, and, having had no share in the first battles fought to establish a new nation, the German-Americans have had the dangerous idea of playing a subversive rôle which has all the appearances of treason.

It is hardly probable that such methods of action will lead to an immediate war, but they are preparing war for the future. The menace of German militarism imposes the necessity of American militarism.

Such will be the most important consequence of the present crisis in the United States: The Germans, in return for the hospitality which they have received, will have taught the citizens of the United States the urgent need of creating, with little delay, a standing army, of consecrating immense sums to perfected armaments, of applying, in a word, the best of their activity to the madness of military exigencies.

And when the laborious and peaceful

hive which is the United States shall have changed itself into a vast munition factory, turning out rifles, cannon, shells, a new era will open for the New World which will astonish the half-ruined Old World.

It will be the triumph of the doctrine to which Monroe attached his name. After Pan Germanism and Pan Slavism we shall see Pan Americanism obliged to pass from the defensive to the offensive, from business to conquest, under the urging of an irresistible militarism inspired by Prussian militarism.

Germany's Shortage of Daily Bread

By Dr. Paul Michaelis

This study of the food situation in Germany was written for the Berliner Tageblatt by Dr. Michaelis shortly after the organization of the War Food Bureau, with Adolf von Batocki at its head, and is speically translated for CURRENT HISTORY.

THE new President of the War Food Bureau has surrounded himself with a board of extremely expert persons, who may be expected, in theory, to be in a position to make a survey of the vast food question. But one could wish that he had also assured himself of the advice of an intelligent housewife, who perhaps could best tell him where the shoe pinches the consumer. For people have gradually become somewhat doubtful of all the fine measures adopted by the governing classes, who stick our economic life into the stocks without, despite the enormous display of ingenuity and labor, accomplishing that which in normal times is taken as a natural presumption, namely, that the individual housewife receives at the right moment and without loss of time what is necessary to enable her to satisfy the needs of her family.

Of course it must be admitted that in the present circumstances the individual must retrench. We cannot increase our very scanty supplies at our pleasure, and therefore we must cut our coat to suit our cloth. This is gradually becoming apparent to everybody, and there surely is no lack anywhere of a hearty desire to adapt one's self to conditions. The only thing that arouses resentment is the fact that even the minimum allowance of what could be supplied often is not available, and that, furthermore, even the work of distributing the quantities of foodstuffs on hand is accompanied by endless circumlocutions and wasteful losses of time.

To date there have been things in the official regulation of the market for foodstuffs that have not functioned well. Not only has the mass of the people been aware of this for some time, but also in the governing circles this faulty distribution has been recognized. If this were not the case there would be no sense now in creating the War Food Bureau in addition to all the existing war organizations. The question is merely: Is there really nothing there, for even the Kaiser can't get blood out of a stone? If, however, this decisive question can be answered in the negative on good grounds, then it is to be hoped that Herr von Batocki will do better than his predecessors.

Bad as last year's harvest was, it would have been sufficient to supply the entire German people with bread and potatoes in quite a different manner from that used in the harvest year of 1915-16. We can talk this over quite openly, now that the final figures on the results of last year's harvest have been made public. It is true that we had a bad harvest last year in the case of the most important kinds of grain. Nevertheless, something more than thirteen million tons were harvested of the principal grains, rye and wheat. If, immediately following last year's harvest, the entire crop of grain had been made available for the maintenance of the people, a much higher bread ration could have been given to the individual inhabitant than in reality was granted.

Women in Trousers Are Doing Men's Work All Over England

Women Malsters at Burton-on-Trent
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood)

Market Gardeners Loading Tomatoes
(Photo © Topical Press Agency)

Girl Millers in Nottingham
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood)

A Girl Who Cleans Ashes From Furnaces
(Photo from Underwood & Underwood)

How War Has Transformed the Dress of English Women Workers

Women Shipwrights Working for the Navy

Girls Doing the Work of Railroad Men

"Lady Workers" On the Land at Evesham

Women Doing Heavy Work As Carters

Thirteen million tons equal 260,000,000 "zentner" [a "zentner" is 110 pounds] of grain fit for bread. If we subtract from this some 50,000,000 "zentner" for seed and similar losses, there still remains 210,000,000 "zentner" of grain available for human consumption. Properly ground a pound of grain will turn out a pound of bread. So, if we take the high estimate of 70,000,000 souls as the population of Germany, every individual could have received a yearly allowance of three "zentner" of bread, which figures out about six pounds a week, without, be it well noted, there having been any necessity for "stretching" the flour with an addition of potatoes, and without any of the bran having been baked up in the bread.

And the fact has not been included in this estimate that we also imported a not unimportant quantity of grain from Rumania, a quantity that at first was something less than 100,000 tons a month, but that rose to more than 200,000 tons a month by April. As the military authorities need more than the average amount of grain for the maintenance of the troops in the field, we may allow them all the imports from Rumania. It may also be admitted that it was not possible or necessary to divide the entire crop of grain among individuals. But all this does not explain why, during the last year, there were only about 200 grams [about 7 ounces] of flour available per capita per day. The bread ration, even without the admixture of potatoes and despite the poor harvest, could have been materially larger than it really was.

The anomalous relation of the grain harvest to the bread ration has also been verified in the Budget Committee. Dr. Wendorff, a Deputy who is exceptionally well posted on this subject, has estimated that 2,200,000 tons of grain have simply disappeared. That means 44,000,000 "zentner." It is true that this calculation has been disputed on the part of the Government, but it doesn't impress us that the objections raised on that side have sufficiently explained the deficit that has actually been found. It is very likely that Dr. Wendorff was right when he said that the millions of tons that were missing had been thrown into the feed troughs. It must also be admitted that the individual cattle raiser is sorely tempted to feed up grain that is fit for bread when his stock is hungry and other fodder is scarce and dear. In such cases it doesn't do much good for the newspapers constantly to repeat: "The man who uses grain fit for bread as fodder sins against the Fatherland."

It is not necessary to throw stones at any individual or any class, but especial stress must be laid upon the fact that so long as it is indispensable for the nourishment of the people anything like the using of grain for fodder dare not be repeated under any circumstances. It was the business of the authorities to prevent this misuse of a supply of food that could not be replaced. They have not understood how to set aside the entire harvest of grain at the proper time for the nourishment of the people. It is possible that this was due to their lack of jurisdiction. In this matter, too, it is not our desire to make additional reproaches. The one thing that we must demand in the present circumstances is that it must be done better this time.

Fortunately the harvest outlook is materially better this time than it was a year ago. It is to be hoped that we shall harvest a much larger crop of grain than we did during last year's poor harvest. But nothing could be more serious than, in the confidence of a larger crop, to slacken the reins and again to fail to understand how to prevent great quantities of grain from disappearing without leaving a trace. The President of the War Food Bureau, with his extremely broad powers, is in a position to make sure of the grain supply. We may expect that he will avail himself of this liberty of action in such a way as finally to relieve us from the necessity of eating potato bread and to provide every individual member of the empire with a sufficient amount of bread.

In the case of other articles of food last year conditions were almost worse than in the matter of the bread supply. It will always remain incomprehensible

how, with a record crop of potatoes that was far above 50,000,000 tons, we were finally compelled to cut down the consumption of potatoes to an insufficient ration. It is just as incomprehensible how sugar, something that the German Empire has in superabundance, could suddenly become scarce. We shall finally be obliged to state that the supply of milk, butter, and meat has been far below the quantity available according to statistical calculations. Of course, drastic action will have to be taken at last in this sphere, too. But bread still remains the most important and most necessary article of food. It must be supplied to the people in sufficient quantity and in a more efficient manner than formerly after the coming harvest. That even with the poor harvest of last year it would have been possible to increase the bread ration materially is indubitably shown by statistics. That in the future the nation shall again be assured of its daily bread is the greatest task involved in the feeding of the German people.

"If You Desire War, Embrace Pacifism"

Under the signature of "Grosclaude," a French publicist utters this warning in Le Figaro of Paris:

OUR country has been invaded for twenty months, hundreds of thousands of our brothers and sons are dead or mutilated, ruins have accumulated, sacrileges been endured. It is the expiation for the negligence of loyal and trusting people who refused to see Germany in arms planting her heavy guns on our frontier and silently pushing to the very bases of our fortresses the formidable vanguard of her military spies and commercial agents.

Two millions of barbarians in pointed helmets have flung themselves upon our land. If Paris was saved from their profanation, it is because a Gallieni rose before them, as a St. Genevieve had risen in the past. If they are breaking themselves upon our lines of defense it is because, under the direction of the Joffres, Castelnaus, Fochs, Pétains, Gourauds, Mangins, Marchands, and other war leaders, our whole nation is enriching with its blood the furrow of victory which, tomorrow, will be dug onward to the Rhine. Nobody doubts this any longer in France, and beyond the border they are becoming resigned to it.

The sublime serenity of martyrdom for the faith of right and fatherland adorns the faces of our heroes in their sufferings, and this darkness of a dying world is illumined by the most radiant hope. We do not wish to be pitied, and we feel ourselves loved. Permit our solicitude, in return, to voice its alarm if you do not perceive close to you the peril beneath which we have almost succumbed.

Two million helmeted Germans are less to be feared on our soil—you will realize it soon—than fifteen million masked Germans on your own. You are only in the "before the war" stage. We went through that stage—without recognizing it. Be less blind than we; defend yourselves before it is too late. If you let your German millions submerge your commerce, strangle your industries, manipulate your politics, and dominate the choice of your public officials; if they succeed, in short—a thing that would be more frightful than all else—in beclouding your conscience, hitherto so free and forthright, then, woe to you, noble America, lost through the most fallacious illusion!

A few years ago—on the eve of the Agadir incident—a little book, admirably fashioned to penetrate into all minds and hearts, was published simultaneously in France, England, America, Denmark, Norway, Spain, Finland, Holland, Italy, Japan, Sweden—and even in Germany. It was Norman Angell's "The Great Illusion." What Mr. Angell designated by this title was the fear felt by all nations, including ours, of seeing the peace of the world disturbed to the detriment

of quite nations by their bellicose neighbors. That book did its work—its poison achieved its evil mission. The most frightful of wars has been let loose upon nations enervated by the mental opiates of that false prophet. Is it necessary to write a volume crammed with arguments and figures, and to put it on sale on the same day in all countries still belonging to the civilized world, to show how fatal to us has been that "great illusion" which veiled the dark design of the ravening colossus bent upon enslaving and debasing the world; an object which it has not yet despaired of attaining by ways the most abominable: —by Zeppelins that bombard the civil population, by submarines that sink steamers laden with women and children, by suffocating gases, by floods of burning benzine hurled against loyal defenders, by the blowing up of factories in neutral countries, by diplomatic treachery, and, in addition, by intruding in the domestic politics of nations for which if professes friendship?

Brother Americans, you whose sense of "struggle" has taught you the advantage of marching straight at a peril without turning away your face, look at us, meditate on our lot, and consider what that execrable, stupefying drug, pacifism, has made of our Europe.

The wisdom of the ages has declared, "Si vis pacem." ("If you desire peace, prepare for war.") Our wisdom of today tells you with the same certitude, "If you desire war, embrace pacifism." I offer that motto to your illustrious Roosevelt. It is with emotion that we see him urging upon you an active prudence. We are counting upon him to put before your eyes the lesson of our dreadful example. And, fallen into the ambuscade whither we were traitorously attracted, we raise out of the night the saving cry of the chevalier: "On guard, America! The enemy is upon you!"

The Heart Cry of England's Women

By Flora Annie Steel

Author of "On the Face of the Waters" and other novels

WHAT can we do for thee? England! Our England! Through the hearts of how many British women have not those words echoed during the last nineteen months of war! In that first rush of almost overwhelming desire to be at work for her, somewhere, somehow, to take our part with the men who were flocking to the colors, they beat in on our brains with almost maddening force; for we could do next to nothing. We were told, in so many words, to sit at home and spin or knit! So we sat and we knitted; aye! even those of us who felt that we could do some things better than they were being done by men.

Then, more than a year ago, came an appeal for workers from the Board of Trade. Those of us who think, those of us who are keen, cabled "victory" to each other. But a year has passed, and victory has not come. Application after application for definite information has been met by evasion, by statements that the time was not yet ripe, that trade unions stood in the way, that the age limit must be enforced. That sort of thing takes the heart out of humanity. I know thousands of women into whose souls the iron has entered. I am one of them. Two years ago it hurt me to be told I was too old to work. I was keen as mustard; strong beyond compare. Now I am growing blind, perhaps with unshed tears; anyhow, I am past hard manual labor.

And it is just because this is so, just because I have missed my chance, that at this present time I am appealing to other women who are not quite so old to forget everything save the fact that they are British women.

Let the dead past bury its dead. For of a surety if we women do not come forward now in our thousands, nay! our

millions, our nation will as surely go under, as a great nation, as the green Spring leaves pass to their Autumn grave. There is no question of this.

After months of procrastination, months on months during which the writing on the wall was visible day and night, we are at last waking up to the need for combined national action, we are at last beginning to read our doom if we do not act at once. In this great crisis of our nation it must not be said that the women hung back, that they would not lend a hand.

Millions of men have gone to the front; under 200,000 women are as yet employed in making munitions. This low figure is not the woman's fault; the whole organization for tapping the supply of female labor is beneath contempt; on all sides rank prejudice and crass selfishness stand in her way. But what of that?

She is British born. Say what men will, the traditions of her country are her traditions; its courage, its tenacity, aye! everything it has is hers in that they are mother-born.

It is not, my sisters, that we have not been patriotic. We have been abundantly so. But we have possessed our souls in patience, we have taken the lowest place, we have done as men have bidden us to do—we have kept the home fires burning.

But now, when every available man will be fighting, when there shall be no fear, no favor in the citizen's first duty of defense, we women have more to do than boil the kettle against one man's return. Yes, even if it comes to communal fires, we must keep the credit of our country fair and square. Her industries are being depleted of their men; we must renew their vigor—nay, we must increase it!

Why? Because we hold the future in the hollow of our hands! Because the unborn millions to come will be born of us! Ours is the part to see to it that the future generations shall live in liberty; so ours is the duty to work our hardest now for the freedom of the world.

Not only because we are patriotic, not only because these fair islands of ours are heart-dear to us; but because deep down in every woman's heart—aye, even, in the girl child's—there lies the instinct of the future, the vision of a Promised Land, where there shall be no more strife, but peace unutterable.

War, Peace, and the Future

By Ellen Key

The noted Swedish champion of woman's rights in a recent pamphlet discusses the European situation and the outlook for the future.

HOW is mankind to prevent wars from occurring? Is it at all possible to bring this about, and what may be the means? My conviction that war can be abolished is as firmly rooted in my mind as is my belief that it will also be possible some day to humanize what we term humankind. But we must first make some radical changes in our ways of looking at this matter. For instance, so long as the pulpit and the leaders in the educational world proclaim that it is entirely consistent with the plans of Providence to carry on war, and that Christianity can go hand in hand with warfare, just so long will it be useless to advocate peace in home or school.

I am convinced that one of the instruments for making war less of a possibility in the future would be the nationalizing of all those industries that are essential to military and naval mobilization. In this way there will be removed certain temptations of individuals to profit by the carrying on of war.

Any alliance between nations for the purpose of making common cause in war is bound to prove disastrous finally, because almost always the independence

of the smaller countries is at stake. Peace treaties that tread on the sovereignty of other nations invariably lead to war at some future time.

The art of statecraft has deteriorated in Europe since 1870. Militarism depresses the free will and the political and economic development of the people. War is only to be prevented where the higher statesmanship is given unhampered opportunity, where an idea and an ideal are afforded the chance to foster and bind closer the interests of the masses.

The motive that should have obtained in Europe and should have actuated the political leaders is a kind of co-operation for the purpose of erecting a barrier against the barbarism of the East. Instead of this the lesser statesmanship succeeded in sundering the real culture bearers of western Europe. No other remedy seems to be logical for future peace than that the advanced European nations bury their own differences and stand like a wall against that barbarism which fundamentally does not have its home among them.

That many generations may yet have to succeed each other before this light can rise for the nations of western Europe there can be little doubt. I am far from believing, as many do, that the present war will increase the possibility of peace in the future. It may be that greater political activity on the part of European women and the working classes will influence the existing understanding of what constitutes national power, honor, and glory. But notwithstanding all this, it may take hundreds of years before the insanity of the world war will see itself conquered by the common sense policy of world organization through reason.

German Defeat Through Exhaustion

By H. G. WELLS

[From his new book, "What Is Coming?"]

After a long war of general exhaustion Germany will be the first to realize defeat. This does not mean that she will surrender unconditionally, but that she will be reduced to bargaining to see how much she must surrender, and what she may hold. It is my impression that she will be deserted by Bulgaria, and that Turkey will be out of the fighting before the end. But these are chancy matters. In the character of the settlement much will turn upon the relations prevailing between Germany and her present rulers. All Europe outside Germany now hates and dreads the Hohenzollerns. No treaty of peace can end that hate, and so long as Germany sees fit to identify herself with Hohenzollern dreams of empire and a warfare of massacre and assassination, there must be war henceforth, open, or but thinly masked, against Germany. It will be but the elementary common sense of the situation for all the Allies to plan tariffs, exclusions, special laws against German shipping and shareholders and immigrants for so long a period as every German remains a potential servant of that system.

Human Documents of the War Fronts

Behind the dry official reports of military events is a vast fund of emotional human interest. It is the aim of this department of CURRENT HISTORY to give the best available glimpses of that side of the war, as found in private letters, personal experiences, and thrilling episodes of courage, humor, or pathos.

Killing the Slightly Wounded

By A. Pankratoff

[Translated from the Russian for CURRENT HISTORY]

THE other day, quite unexpectedly, I ran into Lieutenant X., better known as the Junior Subaltern.

This was the fourth time I had run across him since the beginning of the war—at Insterburg, where the Junior Subaltern was leading his company toward Königsberg; then in the trenches beyond Tarnovo; then in the vicinity of Lublin, during the great retreat; and now, the fourth time.

"I am stationed twelve versts from Czernowitz," he went on to explain. The Junior Subaltern is really so young that you can't help envying him. His face shines with health. His eyes are always laughing. His speech is very simple, but impressive; but he does not like to talk; he would rather listen, and laugh responsively with his eyes.

Fortune had brought us together; several men sitting down to a common meal. We talked freely about everything. The conversation turned to the German habit of finishing all the wounded enemies they find after a successful battle. During the forest fighting last August one of us had come across sixty Cossacks who had been but slightly wounded, and whom the Germans had hanged on the trees.

"We avenged them, however; the Germans got something to remember!" said the narrator.

Lieutenant X.'s eyes sparkled with animation.

"Well," he said, "of course they deserved it! Of course it is a crime to kill the wounded. But, gentlemen, there are cases when it is impossible not to kill the wounded."

"What on earth do you mean?"

"Just what I said! There is such a thing as rightful killing of the wounded!"

We insisted, and the Junior Subaltern narrated a recent experience of his, "somewhere in Bukowina." He had been in command of a party of scouts. His regiment had just arrived to take the place af another infantry regiment. And the first thing to do was to become acquainted with the locality and to learn the dispositions and intentions of the enemy. The Junior Subaltern was sent out with his company. At one place the opposing armies were separated by a ravine, which forked out toward our trenches. Lieutenant X. knew that the men of the regiment his was replacing had become acquainted with the Austrians, and that the enemies by day came together at the bottom of the ravine by night, entertained one another, and gossiped.

"War is burdensome, gentlemen!" explained the Junior Subaltern, "and we all long for even the semblance of human intercourse with the other chaps. * * * And there happened to be a prolonged and tiresome spell of calm between battles, and so the men of the regiment we were replacing and the Austrians had long smokes together, exchanging pipes. But every one remembered—and nobody held it against any one—that the course

of cigarettes must be closely interwoven with the course of bullets on the morrow. * * * Yet, yet—oh, if we were only chivalrous knights, conducting a picturesque tournament, instead of common Russian cannon fodder fighting common Austrian cannon fodder. * * *"

Of course our young friend wanted to do the magnanimous thing by the enemy, sending round word to them, "Here we come! Get ready!" But what he did do was to take advantage of the quiet exchange of the two Russian regiments and the total ignorance in which the Austrian members of the nightly smoking club in the ravine still remained, and to creep noiselessly forward to the spot where the friends of the night before were on guard. The Austrian sentinels—three of them—dozed, wrapped in their blankets. The Russians crept stealthily forward. * * *

"What else could we do?" asked the Junior Subaltern. "Humanitarian ideas are in blank contradiction to the present war. Civilians at home may try to judge everything in accordance with these ideas. Well, we know they are mistakēn. Oh, they are simply ridiculous!" ended the Junior Subaltern, his good-natured, broad face blushing at making such a bold statement in company.

"Such nonsense!" he went on. "Of course, at the back of our minds the horror of it is always present. But what else can you do? Standing in blood up to your throat, and knowing that you have to protect your men, to protect yourself. * * * And what difference does it make to them whether you shoot them or throttle them? * * * About a hundred paces from those three sentinels there were at least a hundred others, and two hundred yards off were the Austrian trenches. The least noise, a groan, the stifled cry of a wounded Austrian would be the end of everything for my scouts; and there were only thirty of us. That was when I gave the order not to leave any wounded alive. * * *"

It was an evident relief to him to be interrupted.

"Oh, yes, I remember!" said one of us. "I was in camp when the Austrian officer, routed out in his sleep, was brought in on the run in his nightshirt. The whole thing went rapidly and well, and you took a machine gun from the Austrians!"

Another of us said:

"I don't see what you are driving at! There's no analogy at all! What you did was no hitting of those who were down already. All sorts of conventions and international law would justify you!"

"Well," answered the Junior Subaltern, "did I not say that there was such a thing as justifiable killing of the wounded, for us as for the Germans? Besides, I got decorated for the job! Ouch! It is going to thaw! I know, because my wounded leg aches!"

His smile was so frank and his face so full of the bloom of youth as he thus changed the subject that it was quite evident that he did not change it from any false modesty, but simply because the subject—including his own distinguished part in it—had no further interest for him.

"You have been wounded?"

"Yes. Two bullets in my leg, one in my arm, one in the abdomen."

"And you are still alive?"

"As you see! It was that devilish machine gun! The bullet that entered my abdomen cut through the intestines, touched my stomach, and came out by my back. When I regained consciousness I heard the doctor saying: 'Put this one aside; he will die in a minute or two!' And some of my men dug a nice grave for me and wrote my name and the date on a board, and sat down patiently to wait for my funeral. But I didn't die. So the surgeon had to send me to hospital. But when the ambulance was starting I heard him say: 'It's not a bit of use! He'll die on the way there!' But I cheated the doctors. I'm quite a rare specimen!"

"You are indeed!" And we all laughed, so contagious was Lieutenant X.'s laughter.

"The Medical Council," he went on, "explained it by the fact that, for two whole days previously, I had had nothing to eat * * * hadn't had time! It was on the Stripa. The moment our regiment arrived at —— we had to fight."

Heroism and Pathos of the Front

By Lauchlan MacLean Watt

This touching bit of genuine literature, penned by a poetic Scot "somewhere in France," deserves to rank as a classic among war letters.

OUT here in the land of war we sometimes feel very far from those we love; and then, as though we had walked somehow right through reality, our thoughts are lifted oversea, and the mirage of home floats like a dream before us. The magic stop is touched in many ways. Little do the brave lads speaking to us in camp or hospital know how often they have brought us underneath its spell.

Just a week ago, in a tent where the wounded lay, I was beside the bed of a fine young Scottish soldier, stricken down in the prime of his manhood, yet full of hope. The thought of the faces far away was always with him upholdingly. In fact, the whole tent seemed vibrant with the expectation of the journey across the narrow strip of blue which sunders us from home. This Scottish youth had been talking, and it was all about what tomorrow held for him. His mother, and the girl that was to share life with him—these were foremost in his thought. His face shone as he whispered, "I'm going home soon." Everything would be all right then. What a welcome would be his, what stories would be told by the fireside in the Summer evenings!" But he made the greater journey that very night. We buried him two days later, where the crosses, with precious names upon them, are growing thick together. Surely that is a place most holy. There will be a rare parade there on Judgment Day of the finest youth and truest chivalry of Britain and of France. Soft be their sleep till that reveille!

We got the Pipe Major of a famous Highland regiment to come over; and when the brave dust was lowered, while a little group of bronzed and kilted men stood around the grave, he played the old wail of sorrow of our people, "Lochaber No More." I heard it last when I stood in the rain beside my mother's grave; and there can be nothing more deeply moving for the Highland heart. The sigh of the waves along Hebridean shores called to me there, among the graves in France.

The men who lie in this hospital are those who could not be carried further meanwhile, and they have been dropped here, in passing, to hover between life and death until they make a move on one side or other of the Great Divide. So it is a place where uncertainty takes her seat beside the bed of the sufferer, watching with ever unshut eye the fluctuating levels of the tide of destiny. It is a place where the meaning of war gets branded deep upon you. The merest glimpse solemnizes. Of course, the young may forget. The scars of youth heal easily. But the middle-aged of our generation will certainly carry to the grave the remembrance of this awful passion of a world.

Here, of course, you meet all kinds of men, from everywhere. They were not forced to come, except by duty, in their country's need. They were willing in the day of sacrifice, and theirs is that glory deathless.

One has been burned severely. How he escaped at all is a miracle. But they are all children of miracle. Death's pursuing hand seems just to have slipped off some as he clutched at them. This man looks through eye-holes in his bandages. He is an Irishman, and the Irish do take heavy hurts with a patient optimism wonderful to see.

There is also a fine little Welshman, quite a lad, who has lost his leg. He has been suffering continually in the limb that is not there. Today he was lying out in the sun, and he looked up cheerily at me. "Last night," he said, "for about half an hour I had no pain. I tell you I lay still and held my breath. It was so good I scarcely could believe it. I thought

my heart would never beat again, at the wonder of it."

The usual picture postcard of the family is always close at hand. One North of Ireland man, up out of bed for the first time, was very full-hearted about his "missis and the childer." Said he with pride, "She's doin' extra well. She's as brave as the best of them, and good as the red gold—that's what she is."

Another poor fellow, in terrible pain, asked me to search in a little cotton bag which was beside him for the photograph of his wife and himself and the little baby. "It was took just when I joined," he whispered. "Baby's only two months old there."

One day those who were able were outside, and a gramophone was throatily grinding the melody out of familiar tunes, with a peculiarly mesmeric effect. Suddenly the record was changed to "Mary of Argyle." The Scotsman by whose bed I was standing said: "Wheesht! D'ye hear thon? Man, is it no fine?" And the tears ran down his cheeks as he listened. It was a poor enough record. In ordinary times he would have shouted his condemnation of it. But he was now in a foreign land—a stricken, suffering man. And it made him think of some woman far away beside the Forth, where he came from. And his heart asked no further question.

At the head of the bed of some of them you will see a blue paper. "You're looking grand today," said I to a young fellow. And he replied, "Is there anny wonder, Sir, wid that scrap o' paper there?" For it was the order for home on the first available opportunity. "Sure, won't the ould mother be glad to see me?" he continued. "The sunshine here is beautiful, but sunshine in the ould country is worth the world."

"Good-bye, Sir!" they sometimes cry. "I'll be away when you come round again." But perhaps next time a sad face looks up at you, for the day so eagerly anticipated has been again postponed.

It is always home, and what the dear ones there are like, and what they will be thinking yonder, that fills up the quiet hours toward restoration, as it strengthened the heart and arm of the brave in the hour of terrible conflict.

The endurance, patience, and courage of the men are beyond praise—as marvelous as their sufferings. I can never forget one who lay moaning a kind of chant of pain—to prevent himself screaming, as he said.

Last night we had a very beautiful experience. We were searching for a man on most important business, but as the wrong address had been given, that part of it ended in a wild-goose chase. Nevertheless we were brought into contact with a real bit of wonder. It was an exquisite night. The moon, big, warm, and round as a harvest moon at home, hung low near the dreaming world. The trees stood still and ghost-like, and the river ran through a picture of breathless beauty. We had got away beyond houses, and were climbing up through a great far-stretching glade. The road before us was a trellis of shadow and moonlight. Suddenly we had to stand and listen. It was the nightingale. How indescribably glorious! The note of inquiry, repeated and repeated, like a searching sadness; and then the liquid golden stream of other-world song. How wonderfully peaceful the night lay all around—the very moonlight seemed to soften in the listening. And yet again came the question with the sob in it; and then the cry of the heart running over.

The valley lay lapped in luminous haze, a lake somewhere shining. But there was no other sound, no motion, no sign of life anywhere—only ourselves standing in that shadowy glade, and that song of the beginnings of the world's sadness, yearning, and delight, somewhere in the thicket near.

It was difficult to believe that we were in a land of war; that not far from us lay ruined towns of ancient story; that the same moonlight, so flooded with delight for us, was falling on the unburied, the suffering, and the dying, and the graves where brave dust was buried. It was all very beautiful. And yet, somehow, it made me weary. For I could not help thinking of the boy we had laid down to rest, so far from home, and the piper playing "Lochaber No More" over his

grave. And of the regiment we had seen that very day, marching in full equipment, with the pipers at the head of the column, so soon to be separated from the peat fires and the dear ones more widely than by sundering seas. And we hated war. God recompense the cruel ones who loosened that bloody curse from among the old-time sorrows which were sleeping, to afflict again the world!

A Day in a German War Prison

By Wilhelm Hegeler

Popular German Novelist

The strange mixture of races on the western front is here depicted by a noted German author in the form of a prison guard's narrative of his daily life.

THERE they lie in a gloomy room of the railroad station, the English prisoners, together with their allies from the Old and New Worlds. The room used to be the waiting room for non-smokers, and it is no darker or uglier than any of the other rooms, only it seems so because of its occupants.

"Service at the Zoo." Every one of us knows what this means—duty with the prisoners. Our soldiers have invented good-natured nicknames for the Turcos, Indians, and Algerians that they meet here: "The men from the monkey theatre," "The Masqueraders," "The Hagenbeck Troop." But they walk past the Englishmen in silent hatred. A little sympathy is needed, even for banter.

The prisoners' room is empty, except for a few inmates who for various reasons could not be sent away. I am on duty here today. Crumpled forms squat on mattresses along the wall like multicolored bundles of clothing. Not much is to be seen of their faces. Only a black arm, a lank yellow hand, a gaudy blue sash, a pair of wide red trousers stand out. There they crouch in the same stoical calm as they did before their houses in the distant Orient, with the exception that they, with the instinct of wounded animals, hide their faces.

An Englishman lies on a bed opposite them. He looks at me expectantly as if he wants to say something. But although I am not forbidden to talk with the prisoners, I feel no necessity for doing so.

An hour goes by. From time to time I give a drink to the Orientals who ask me for it through gestures. At last the Englishman can keep silent no longer and asks:

"Will they treat us very severely?"

I shrug my shoulders. "People feel angry at the English. Our soldiers assert that they waved white flags and then threw hand grenades."

"I don't know anything about that. That may have been the case earlier, but I have been in the war only eight days. A week ago I was in Newcastle with my wife."

He takes a tin case from under his shirt, opens it, and looks at it for a long time. Then he shows me the case, which contains the picture of a woman, his wife. Then he takes a piece of paper from his trousers pocket and shows me that, too. A name and address are written on it.

"That is the man who bound up my wound on the field of battle. He was very good to me. After the war I shall write to him."

After a long period of silence he begins to talk again. But I do not think further conversation timely. I only pay attention once and that is when he explains to me his grade in the service and his rate of pay. He is something like a Sergeant and says, pointing to his insignia: "A common soldier gets only so much; with this insignia he gets so much more, and when he has both, as I have, he gets so much." He names the munificent sum with visible pride.

Then the door opens and my comrade announces in a tone that implies something unusual: "A Belgian in a German uniform." I look at the man in astonish-

ment. Why is he allowed to run around without any guard in particular? The expression of his face is rather stupid. He sits down near the stove and crosses his legs comfortably. I ask him how he got the uniform. He answers in Flemish. Before an explanation is possible the hospital corps men bring in six or seven Englishmen on stretchers. Now quick work is necessary. Mattresses must be spread out on the floor and the people changed from bed to bed. The room is filled with inquisitive hospital corps men and soldiers. I shove them all out. When the door is finally closed again I count my prisoners and find the Belgian is missing. I rush outside to look around the station platform. There stands my Belgian on the doorstep. I seize his arm in an almost friendly manner and invite him to come inside again. At last he tells me how he got the uniform. He insists he got it in the hospital in the place of his own tattered one. I shake my head incredulously, but the chaffeur who brought the prisoner hurries up and verifies the story.

Now the station commandant comes along and is also of the opinion that the prisoner must get some other kind of clothing. "But," he orders, "first ask the staff doctor if his uniform can be taken off without any danger to his wounds." I don't have to do this, because the wound is on his upper thigh. I hunt up an unclaimed English cloak and, with visible relief, the Belgian warrior crawls out of the German lion's skin.

New prisoners are brought in—Frenchmen, Scotchmen, and Canadians. Many of the first-named cough frightfully. When they are asked where they got that, they answer that they have had it the whole Winter long. There is a lank, powerful-looking noncommissioned officer among them. He makes a sign to me and confesses confidentially that he is very hungry. I tell him he must have patience, as there will soon be coffee and bread given out.

"Bread? Black bread?" He curls up his nose. "May I not have a little pastry, perhaps?"

"You just try our black bread," is my reply. "It is the same as we have ourselves. We are better than we are supposed to be in France."

"Yes, that's true," he agrees. "They told us that the prisoners were badly treated in Germany. Now I see that such is not the case. Besides, they tell you the same thing about our prisoners in France. But they, too, do not have it so bad. On the contrary. I have seen some of them myself in Brittany. They get a quart of cider a day. There was an enormous crop of apples last Summer. And there is enough to eat. And besides that, they are allowed to stroll through the city a couple of hours every afternoon."

I permit myself to make a mental reservation regarding the last assertion, but a Frenchman brought in a little later makes the same statement.

A fairly educated and intelligent Canadian joins in the conversation and puts the question that occupies all of them the most: "What sort of a fate awaits the prisoners?"

"You will have to work a few hours a day. Still, you are paid extra for that."

"It is tough to have to sit in close rooms all the time."

"No," I answer, "the wooden houses are surrounded by broad, open places. I, myself, have seen Englishmen playing football in a prison camp."

Then his eyes sparkle and he lets slip the remark: "That is certainly better than in Canada." Presumably he refers to the camp of the civilians interned there. I ask him why he enlisted. He colors up and answers, with a somewhat embarrassed smile: "Well, I knew that my country was in danger, so I wanted to aid it." And this smile seems to me to betray less the embarrassment of a man looking for a clever answer than that of an educated person not liking to use pathetic expressions. For the entire man has the appearance of frankness and decency.

In these days when fresh batches of prisoners are coming along all the time I have answered many more questions. They are almost always the same questions and receive the same answers. I

have also seen convoys of unwounded prisoners wending their way by day and by night along lonely roads not so very far back of the front. I have repeatedly asked prisoners how they were being treated. Many had requests to make; none had a complaint. On the other hand, I saw many acts of kindness performed by the doctors, by the sisters, and, not the fewest, by the soldiers.

A Letter Smuggled Out of Germany

By a Neutral

Portions of a private communication from a neutral writer in Germany to a friend in a neutral country.

WE are all becoming vegetarians. So far, though there is much grumbling and a good deal of discomfort—and in some cases illness and some suffering among invalids—we personally cannot complain. The consumption of meat in Germany in the last quarter of a century had increased enormously, and it is doubtful whether any of us would have imagined two years ago that the steadily growing pressure of the British fleet would have brought about such an entire change in our diet. We now get one-quarter of a pound of meat and two eggs per head per week. This sounds very dreadful, but, on the other hand, vegetables are abundant and asparagus cheaper than I ever remember it. The fish supply is still excellent, though there is not much butter or oil to cook it in. People of means as yet suffer little.

When I happened to go to Cologne last week there was an excellent wagon restaurant dinner of fish, meat, sweet cheese, and dessert for about 85 cents, but the difference between now and six months ago is that whereas the waiter formerly handed you the dishes and let you help yourself, the practice is now for the waiter to deal you out a small piece of each course, much to the discontent of some of my fellow-passengers. The maintenance of this railway restaurant service is, of course, intended for the edification of traveling neutrals.

Berlin, to outward appearance, is just as gay as ever. The long Summer days caused by turning the clocks ahead an hour have been aided by beautiful weather. All the racecourses have been active, and I believe that as much as a million and a half marks a day have passed through the pari-mutuel. Golf, for which the Germans have found no German name, and lawn tennis are popular. I hear that the rubber difficulty has affected the supply of balls badly. "What have you to grumble at?" you may ask. We grumble because everybody not in the official world is weary of the war—utterly weary of it. Germans cannot understand why the Allies persist. This week we are all beflagged on account of the defeat of Italy, which is supposed to be "finished." There is news, too, that Sweden is likely to be active.

All this good news, however, does not affect the desire for the end of the war and the realization of German victory. Our German neighbors speak as though Germany were a man in possession of a huge check which he is unable to cash.

The belief is universal that we shall have a victorious peace before the Winter, and the poor, of whose disaffection you have heard, have only that consolation, for their food conditions are trying, even to people accustomed to live poorly. Their talk is always of Knappheit, (scarcity.)

It is said that twenty-two submarines have been turned out of the Schwartzkopf factory in the last eight months. That there are plenty of Zeppelins and Parsevals can be gathered from the number that fly over Berlin each fine day. They are so numerous that the public no longer take any notice of them. I have heard it whispered that since the beginning of the war forty-seven Zeppelins have been lost, "chiefly by accident." I

have also heard it said that the new Zeppelins cost $625,000 each.

You need not believe all you read in the German newspapers about fashion restrictions. Laws may be passed, but I see no sign of any change, and the ladies in the Unter den Linden in the mornings seem to be dressed (making allowance for German vagaries of taste) rather like those in the Paris fashion plates, which we get from Switzerland.

In my last letter I told you of the extensive use to which paper was being applied. All the shops supply paper string for wrapping packages, and I see now that the soldiers' knapsacks are made of some kind of paper, which is apparently quite as good as leather.

War talk and war rumor are the chief subject of German conversation everywhere. How the Kaiser's train was lately bombed by English or French aviators and several servants killed; how the naval authorities are puzzled what to do with the fleet, but all are agreed they cannot divide it—it cannot operate in the Baltic and in the North Sea at the same time; how Swedish officers are being trained in Berlin for Finland; how the import of all objects of art, Oriental carpets, pictures, &c., has been prohibited; and how Verdun, where the losses were at first great, proceeds steadily on now as an artillery wall with comparatively few casualties.

We hear nothing from England directly, but we get the English, Swedish, and Swiss newspapers, and, making allowances for the censorships imposed by all these countries and for the German censorship, we believe we are fairly well informed as to what is going on. Much is expected from America's intervention. Enfin, nobody wants or expects a third Winter in the trenches.

Marconi, the Wizard of the War

By Harold Begbie

HERE is the one universal man of this world war. It is odd to look at him, smoke with him, and laugh with him, reflecting that a thought of his brain is spun like a spider's web all over the bloody battlefields of Europe, all over the seas of the world, and high above the clouds. His invention, you feel, should belong to some legendary hero. It is too immense a thing for a man still living, and a young man—a young man who has moods of frivolity, who loves to laugh, and who is perfectly simple, modest, and unassuming.

"Here is a man," I said chaffingly, my hand on his arm, (I was speaking to a High Anglican,) "who is reducing us all to materialism."

Marconi smiled at the time, but later on he said to me, "You don't really think, do you, that my work makes for materialism?" Then in his quiet way he added, "I often think that d'Annunzio came pretty near to truth when he suggested that wireless is something of a symbol for religion. We send our thoughts through silence to one who is invisible. And a good deal of the process is still a mystery. In any case, the universe is mysterious enough. The more I investigate, the more I wonder."

When we were talking of wireless in the war he said to me, "I only wish I might tell you what it has done. It really is rather romantic. Some day I think people will be a good deal astonished, the Germans not less than other people. But, you see, we mustn't talk about these things. We are all sworn to secrecy, and, of course, the whole essence of it is the silence in which it works. People say that without wireless the war would have been quite different. That is true enough. But very few people know how extraordinarily and universally this business of wireless has penetrated the whole region of strategy and organization. Some day, however, the story will be told. It will make pretty reading."

He shifted on his chair for a minute or

two, and then said slowly and thoughtfully: "There are other matters we are not allowed to talk about. But I feel it might be a good thing if we did talk about them. Why they are not talked about I cannot conceive."

"What things do you mean?" I asked.

"International relations," he replied. "Let us begin with the relations which exist between Italy and England. Why cannot the people in Italy be told what England has done and is still doing for them? Our statesmen know it, and they are grateful enough; but the people do not know it. And those people know other things, on the contrary, which puzzle them. They say to themselves, England is our ally, and England is the greatest coal-producing country in the world; why, then, do we have to pay £8 a ton for coal?—surely England must know how hard it is for us to keep our manufactures going.' And they do not understand why the British Board of Trade should prohibit them from exporting to England manufactured articles the raw material for which they imported from England on the understanding that they would be able to export the finished article. Italy is enthusiastic for the war, and her feelings for England are as cordial as ever; but these things I have spoken about worry the people, worry the democracy, and some one ought to put them right."

He spoke of the need for greater human sympathy, and criticised statesmen for too often leaving human sympathy out of their considerations. "In all countries it is the same," he said, "and yet surely statesmen must see—the thing stares them in the face—that people are drawn together far more by natural affinities than by political interests. Our people in Italy, for example, would be far more pleased and delighted by some trivial act of consideration on England's part than by a huge loan. How grateful they would be if your people did something in the matter of freight to help their exports! I wish we could get more humanity into Government offices. This war is such a chance. With a very little trouble the Allies might create fresh enthusiasm for the Alliance among all the democracies. Italy ought to be told what England has done for her. And your people ought to be told what Italy has done (I am not speaking of her fight against Austria) for England. It would pull us closer together. It would give a more vital spirit to all we do. It would be something like a light brought into a dark room. There is too much darkness. I am all for perfect confidence between the allied nations, and you cannot have this perfect confidence where the democracies are so largely in the dark. Let us have light—the light of information and discussion. I want my people and your people to be enthusiastic for each other—the democracies, I mean—so that during the war and after the war they may both feel how natural and how helpful it is for them to be allied together."

I find that this is the subject uppermost in his mind. He visits all the battle fronts, goes up in the air in aeroplane and balloon, descends under the sea in submarines, and is in touch with the whole wireless of the war; but his thoughts are with the wasted opportunities of statesmen who might be drawing the democracies of the Alliance so much closer. He has drawn the battlefields close together. He would far sooner draw the peoples together.

Adventures of a French Trooper

CHRISTIAN MALLET was a trooper in the Twenty-second Regiment of Dragoons when it marched out of Rheims on the declaration of war and hastened to the aid of the Belgians. He tells the story of the following ten months in his book, "Impressions and Experiences of a French Trooper, 1914-1915," (E. P. Dutton & Co.) They advanced in forced marches, spending ten, fifteen, twenty hours in the saddle, once covering nearly eighty miles in twenty-

four hours. They went forward and retreated in baking sun or pouring rain, knowing little or nothing of destination or purpose.

On Sept. 6 his regiment was in the thick of the battle of the Marne: "The struggle extended all around us from one horizon to the other, and if it was incomprehensible to our officers it was still more so to us private soldiers. In the torrid mid-day heat we kept advancing, without knowing where or why." For two days they marched hither and yon, "under the scorching sun, gnawed by hunger, parched with thirst, exhausted by fatigue. All around us the guns thundered. And we knew nothing, absolutely nothing."

On the 8th his cavalry division was sent to intercept and seize a German convoy, and they started off, overjoyed that at last they had a definite thing to do. A detachment feeling its way through a wood was surprised by the Germans and saved itself only by dashing through, with horses ungirthed, saddles slipping, kits unbuckled. The Germans were all around them and they made for the depths of the forest, where they took shelter in a deep, thickly grown gorge. For three days neither men nor horses had food or drink.

The patrols learned that the enemy held all the issues from the forest, "and we were taken in a vise, prisoners in this gulf of trees, reduced to dying of hunger and thirst." Near the end of the first day in the gorge two officers of Uhlans came riding by on a road just above their hiding place. "Now they were right on us, so near we could have touched them, and they did not know there were two hundred carbines that could have knocked them over at point-blank range. * * * Suddenly their faces contracted, as if confronted by some apparition. This French regiment must have seemed to them a phantom of the forest, some impossible and illusory vision seen in the shadow of the leaves. Their horses stopped short and, for the space of a second, their riders looked like two figures in stone. Then in a flash they understood and fled at full speed."

So, the alarm being given, it was necessary for the Frenchmen to seek other concealment and to throw the enemy off the scent by taking ways that would seem impassable for horses. They went on through the almost impenetrable forest, frightening herds of deer, across gulches and fallen trees, men and horses trembling with hunger and fatigue. But they still joked together and passed the jest from one to another. Instead of reaching the heart of the forest they presently found themselves near its edge. And in front of them, stretching some miles along the road, were the convoys they had been sent to take. Surrounded by the enemy, they waited for the darkness of the night and made as silent a dash as possible in the hope of eluding the Germans.

On and on they went with silence all around them, except for the hooting of owls that sometimes followed and sometimes preceded them, until, finally, thinking they had reached safety, some of the men, giving way to fatigue, bent forward on their saddles, "drunk with sleep." They had fallen into a trap. Suddenly "the black forest seemed to spit fire," a hail of bullets battered them, men and horses fell, and the remaining troopers galloped furiously away. Portions of the two squadrons met and reformed afterward, charged the enemy, got away, reconnoitred, were separated—all this time within the enemy's lines—wandered about, blundered into German detachments, almost fell into the enemy's bivouac, and, on the fifth day spent without food or drink and almost without sleep, they were rescued by some squadrons of French Hussars.

M. Mallet saw these troops approaching, but could not see whether they were French or German. "I looked, I looked with my eyes pressing out of my head. * * * At times I forced myself not to look. I looked again, counted twenty, and then devoured space with my eyes. * * * I turned my reeling head toward my comrades and I fell on the grass crying like a madman, in words without sequence."

Early in May of last year M. Mallet, by that time become a Lieutenant, was in the first-line trenches at the battle of

Loos. At the head of his men he charged the German trenches through barriers of fire, suffocating vapor, and exploding shells, carrying one trench after another, until he was wounded in his shoulder on the parapet of the last trench. They took the position, and Lieutenant Mallet, with a hole in his shoulder as big as his fist and the blood running down his back, found himself in sole command of his own and another company. He refused to go back. "Some one," he says, "passed me a flask of ether and I propped myself against the parapet." They dug themselves in, they repulsed attacks, they worked and fought all day. After ten hours of it M. Mallet set forth to try to find his Colonel, knowing, he says, "what could be done if the will to do were strong."

"Sometimes I had to climb over pyramids of bodies, sometimes I had to go outside the trench, amid the whistling of bullets and the noise of shells which were bursting on all sides. * * * A continuous groaning sound escaped me, my sight became blurred and I walked as if in a delirium. I went round the same sector several times, asking every one where the Colonel was. And they would ask me 'What Colonel?' I had forgotten, and then everything became vague."

At last some stretcher bearers found him and carried him to the nearest aid post, whence he was sent to the hospital.

A Japanese Prayer for Those Killed in the Great War

By a Resident of Tokio

UNUSUAL preparations were made one morning in Shussanji, or the Going-out-of-the-Mountain Temple, a quaint little place of worship hidden away in a labyrinth of crooked streets in a poor quarter of Tokio—preparations for a celebration on the Sumida River to pray for the repose of the souls of all those slain in battle, regardless of nationality, and to scatter scraps of paper bearing the image of Jizo Sama over the waves, one for each departed spirit.

The chief priest, an aged man, with his assistants and the supporters of the temple had been busy for days in advance and all was ready. The red and gold altar of Shussanji was heaped up with offerings of rice and fruit, and a plain wooden tablet had been placed there bearing the words:

"To console all those souls who have passed into the Beyond because of War."

The old priest, his bald head shining, clad in his coarse cotton robe of gray, officiated before the altar, and when the last prayers were uttered, the people formed a procession to the Sumida River, that was but a short distance away.

Near a bridge an unusual craft was waiting, a deep cargo-junk roofed over with canvas bearing bold black Buddhist symbols, and at the bow fluttered a white cotton banner on which was written in large black characters:

"A service to console the spirits of the whole world's departed ones."

Quickly the priest and his parishioners embarked and squatted down upon the cushions spread over the bottom of the boat, and the central figure in the religious ceremony, as gray and faded as the robes he wore, took up his position in front of the altar. A piece of soiled embroidery did duty for an altar cloth, and there was set up a tarnished statue of Jizo Sama. Just below were three wooden tablets. The central one read: "Pray for the whole world's departed ones' souls"; the others: "Pray for the great victory of the Imperial Army," and "*Pray for the great victory of the Allies.*"

The priest placed some sweet-scented squares of incense upon the coals in a small brass brazier, and as the clouds rose into the air the boatman with his

long bamboo pole pushed off from the shore, the holy man's voice was heard chanting a sutra—all the worshippers, old women and young, men and children, murmuring in undertone "Name Amida Butsu!"

Thus the floating temple turned down stream, taking a passage between the cargo-laden junks with their bellowing sails, motor boats and small steamers, noisy tugs pulling passenger scows, and all the traffic that is borne upon the bosom of the city's muddy watercourse that empties into the shallow reaches of Tokio Bay.

Out upon the Sumida the ceremony of scattering the papers was begun. Old and young with their hands full leaned over the sides of the junk throwing away the sacred papers with the effigy of Jizo Sama stamped thereon—each meant for the solace of the soul of some soldier slain in battle. Those who have mourned dear ones slain in France, Belgium, or Russia would have been touched to the quick by this simple service of humble Japanese people, given for all that great host of unknown who have laid down their lives for their countries.

And while the priest intoned, the incense rose into the air, the metal and the wooden drums were beaten, the worshippers chanted unceasingly, and the squares of paper fluttered out of the boat on all sides and were carried away by the wind over the water to make a long wake behind the vessel.

For three hours the temple junk floated down the river, the papers falling noiselessly over the waves, as the banks of the Sumida were passed. Now the course of the strange craft was underneath a bridge, or past factories with their tall smoking chimneys, by densely crowded rows of dwellings, by groups of grimy workmen, and as far as Tsukijima, the island at the mouth of the river, the boatman poling out into the calm waters of Tokio Bay shrouded in its gray fog.

A halt was made at noon, when the wholesome fare that had been prepared at Shussanji was brought forth, thin white wooden boxes filled with rice and vegetables, while an old woman brewed the tea over a little charcoal fire.

The spot at which the stop had been made was a sacred one, for in that exact place a Jizo Sama stone had been buried under the water. Here after the simple noonday meal a special service was held before the boat returned upstream.

At the conclusion of this service a long narrow piece of wood was driven into the sandy bottom of the bay. The inscription upon it read literally as follows:

"Herewith the service is held for the whole-world-departed-soldiers-to-console-tablet."

King Victor Emmanuel at the Front

[Translated from L'Illustrazione Italiana for CURRENT HISTORY]

FOUR automobiles were climbing up the military road from Caporetto. Up there, between Mount Corada and the Cormons road, two little black dots—two aeroplanes—appeared in the sky.

At a certain point the airmen found themselves over the road, perpendicularly above the four autos. They seemed to fly lower, to examine, as though to see whether it was worth while to waste a bomb on them. But the decision was, no! Then, with a brisk movement, they turned their prows, put on speed, disappeared in the distance. And, as the automobiles resumed their normal speed, one of the passengers turned, smiling:

"A lost opportunity!" It was Joffre the Taciturn, coming back from a visit to the trenches of the upper Isonzo. Cadorna, Porro, the Duke of Aosta, turned toward the second car. The King, his gray cap pressed down over his eyes, was also laughing; and he repeated:

"A lost opportunity!"

While the battle of Gorizia was raging

furiously along the Isonzo an automobile, flying along the road, met a line of wagons carrying ammunition to the front. King Victor Emmanuel bade his chauffeur go a little to one side, leaving the road clear.

"Let the ammunition pass!" he said; "my men need it urgently at this moment. The King can wait!"

As he sat at breakfast among the rocks an infantry soldier passed. The King called him:

"Don't you want to eat a mouthful?"

The man flushed red and cast down his eyes. He knew not what to reply. The King said:

"Oh, it's only a little cheese and the bread you get every day!"

And the soldier had to sit down in the meadow beside his sovereign and to share the rations of the King.

The King is incredibly abstemious. When General Joffre was his guest at the Italian Army Headquarters the King offered him a banquet with the following bill of fare:

Vermicelli soup,
A plate of meat,
Fruit,

the supper of a college student. The King wishes to share not only the dangers of his soldiers but also their privations.

What the War Has Done to Petrograd

By Perceval Gibbon

English War Correspondent

WHEN I was last here in Petrograd the war in the west of Russia was still distant from the capital. Warsaw was intact, Vilna was still the headquarters of Rusky's rearguard. What of horror and disorder the war had wrought among the civilian population was far from here; the throng upon the Nevsky Prospect had not seen the women kneeling in the snow at Warsaw, begging of the passersby. The great dining room of the Hotel de France reflected nothing of the misery of the Jews who straggled the length of the long and awful Polish roads, who died in ditches, or ate grass like beasts; the opera was open, and there was drink to be had by those who knew their way about. Now, it is otherwise. Hindenburg's great drive, with artillery banked twenty batteries deep, so that each square yard of earth had its bursting shell, has altered the geography of Russia; Warsaw and Vilna have gone the way of Brussels and Antwerp, and there are thirteen million refugees adrift in Russia. From Kiev to Nijni Novgorod their distress afflicts the country. Petrograd, that was a great city of two million people, is now a greater city by a million of added population that must, for the larger part, be fed by the contributions of the charitable; there is something in the Russian conception of the situation—something altogether too Russian and subtle for a foreigner to comprehend—which forbids their being set to work for their living.

The few thousand of them who had a little money salted away, professional men, men with business and savings in cash, and so forth, are those who clutter the hotels, and have raised the prices of rooms and apartments to three or four times the normal rates. There were rooms I had in Petrograd at the commencement of the war which cost me 200 rubles a month—say £20, or $100; when, upon my arrival a few days ago, I inquired for them again, I was told that they were vacant for the moment, and could be had for 700 rubles a month—and an offer of 600 was refused. The others, those of the refugees who have got away with their skins and nothing more, wretched men, women, and children whose mere existence the war has undermined and made precarious, live like birds, fed at "feeding stations" twice a

day by the charities organized to that end. There is one such station near the great railway depot which serves the Baltic Province railways. Here is a shrine to St. George of Russia, a very splendid affair, before which there are never less than half a hundred lighted candles. Ladies in the large white coifs of Russian Red Cross sisters are busy washing babies, serving food, giving out clothing—a great and gracious work. Among those who come for food are always a dozen or so of lonely folk, men or women, who wait when the distribution is over, to go upon the platforms and see the arrival of the trains. They are people who have been separated, in the crush and stress of flight from the threatened areas of the war, from their families—wives who have lost their husbands and children, bewildered men who were husbands and fathers, whom war has divorced and made childless. There are children, too, orphans for all that any one can tell, adrift upon a world that has gone blood-mad. These wait, taking their food when it is given to them, sleeping on the floor, patient and docile as only Russians, who have yet the Orient alive in their veins, can be patient, watching the incoming of the trains with indomitable hope that from some reeking third-class carriage, foul with festering humanity like a tomb, there may descend to the daylight the faces for which they watch.

And sometimes they come. Any of the ladies can tell you of such incidents —of the quavering yell of incredulous recognition and joy that thrills the crowd like an alarm; of the spectacle of a man, crazy with gladness, tearing his way through the thronged strangers, of the strained white face, tragic with fear and hope, that meets him, and relaxes in tears of utter relief at the last.

A million refugees, ranging from millionaires to penniless peasants, make a difference to any community. One effect in Petrograd has been to help to make the ruble a coin of no fixed value. Other things have aided; the great excess of imports over exports, the disorganization of railroads, and so forth, have played their part; and the result helps to make the city still further unrecognizable. Some commodities that are scarce have increased in cost by three to four hundred per cent.; others, equally scarce, have hardly increased at all. The ruble, that was once worth about a hundred cigarettes, or a cab ride of an hour, or a luncheon of two courses, or extra-special consideration when presented as a douceur to the doorkeeper of a Ministry, now varies in value two or three times a day. That is at the banks, when one changes foreign money, but what is worse, is the fluctuation of prices in the shops. A rumor strikes root among the traders that there is a block of traffic on the Archangel line, and at once values jump like fleas—values that were already exorbitant. Sugar that costs in the morning 8d. per pound, fetches 1s. 3d. before evening; wood for fuel, with a forest at the doors of the city that stretches thence to the Bering Straits, see-saws between five rubles and fifteen a "sazhen." And for a sample of fixed rates of commonplace articles, the things which ordinarily cost nothing to speak of, the penholder for writing this article, as ordinary a piece of timber as ever came out of a tree, cost 50 kopecks—say, one shilling.

The shopkeeper has a shibboleth of explanation, to which he is as faithful as a lover. He explained my penholder by the excuse that railway freights had risen. A Russian comic paper recently had a cartoon—a man complaining of the price of a diamond dog collar, with the plausible jeweler leaning across the counter to explain to him. "You see," the jeweler was saying, reasonably, "the war has put the railway freights up so much that our diamonds are costing us more."

The truth of the matter is that Russia is organized for war in precisely the same degree as England. In both countries the hope is tenacious that the existing arrangement of life and the social order may avail to win the war, despite the enemy's miracles of national organization and solidarity. In neither country do those in charge of national destinies desire to see new elements surge into power to supersede them; in both, the existing order is on its trial.

"A Plague o' Both Your Houses"

By Dr. Georg Brandes

Famous Scandinavian Critic

Dr. Brandes has asserted ever since the war began that both sides are to blame. The article herewith, translated for CURRENT HISTORY, appeared recently in the Politiken of Copenhagen under the title "An Appeal." It attracted much attention and was answered by William Archer in an open letter which we also reproduce.

EACH of the great powers declares that the war it is waging is a war of defense. They have all been attacked; they are all fighting for their existence. For all of them murder and lies are necessary means of defense. Then, since none of the powers, by their own showing, wanted war, in Heaven's name let them make peace!

Peace, however, after the passing of twenty-two months appears further away than ever. Each group of warring powers must lead civilization to victory, which self-same civilization either is called intellectual superiority, or right, or liberty, or the civilian spirit as against militarism.

Civilization! The first fruit of this civilization has been that the truth-destroying Russian censorship has spread itself over the whole earth. The second is that we have returned to the time of human sacrifices. But there is this difference, that in the days of the old barbarism four or five prisoners of war would be sacrificed to a dreaded deity, while now we offer up four or five million to the idols that we worship.

It is Lamennais who says: "Satan inspired the oppressors of the people with a devilish thought. He said to them: 'Take from every family the strongest men and give them weapons. I will give them two idols which they shall name honor and faithfulness, and a law which they shall call dutiful obedience. They shall worship these idols and blindly subject themselves to this law.'"

We follow this warfare against militarism, during which the force of militarism spreads itself to the only nation that had kept itself apart and free from it. Everywhere civil power is set aside—the civil power and spirit for the supremacy of which over the military power war has been waged for more than a century.

We follow this conflict for liberty, during which liberty's spokesman, as well as the champions of force, stop each ship, search each cargo, and open every letter, even private correspondence between neutrals.

We follow this warfare for a higher culture, during which Germany has trodden Belgium under foot; Austria-Hungary, Serbia; England, Greece; Russia, East Prussia and Poland; this warfare for right, during which right everywhere is robbed of its strength and consideration of State takes its place; this battling for the independence of the smaller nations, during which this very independence is being violated from both quarters, set aside, destroyed.

In the countries at war, as a matter of course, the chief desire of the armies is to gain victories. But the civilian population everywhere moans for peace. The Governments, which sit high on horseback, press the spurs against the side of the tired animal. The wish for peace dare not find expression. In the neutral countries public opinion considers it unjustifiable to speak of peace. Public opinion, on the whole, takes sides with this or that of the fighting units, and meanwhile forgets to put its weight in the scale for peace.

Of the neutral powers at present, one is of greater consequence than all the others together. Does the United States of America prefer to make money out of the war rather than use its influence to bring about peace? All in all, does no one stand for peace except common sense and wholesome sentiment?

That peace cry soon to be heard in all countries is called cowardly. But if hu-

mankind keeps silent the very stones will cry aloud from among the ruins. Their cry is not one of revenge, but of peace. And where the stones stay silent, fields and pastures will cry out, watered, as they are, with blood, and fertilized with human bodies.

The rule of spite is over the whole world. The solitary joy is to inflict injury in the interest of self-preservation. Torpedoes are being launched with great success. Excellent results mark bombardments. Here a single individual shoots down his twentieth flier, and there is great jubilation. Ask the question, Why do you rejoice? The answer is, The purpose justifies the means!

Cruelty is termed duty, sympathy is now treason. The Germans suffer hunger and misery; the allied peoples rejoice. The Belgians and Serbians are coerced and brought down; the Germans jubilate. The Poles go hungry, the Jews are reduced to the most miserable poverty. Those at war are unable to make amends for all the misfortunes. All the nations at war are proud of the heroic self-sacrifice of their men and their perseverance. From both sides we hear that the lowest passions have been let loose among their opponents, and, sad to say, both are right.

The Central Powers declared that they desire peace. But there is no evidence to show that they wish to concede anything to attain peace. The allied nations do not want peace until they obtain that "definite victory" for which they have been aiming with slight success for almost two years.

Whatever is to happen in the future, however many battles may be won or lost, no matter how many valuable ships may be sunk or airships shot down, however many men are killed, wounded or taken prisoners, one thing is certain—all must end with a truce and negotiations.

Why not, therefore, begin negotiations now? It does not seem as if there were much to be gained by continued murder. Peace is like the Sibyl's books or treasures, which one must buy, but which become scarcer and more costly with each day that passes.

We know this: We shall await the coming of annihilation. But there will be no annihilation—only wholesale murder. None of the battling groups can be exterminated. And if some say that it is not the purpose to crush Germany, only its militarism, then it is just the same as saying that there is no thought of injuring the porcupine, but merely to tear out its quills.

Both parties want to keep on to the bitter end. With each day this bitterness increases. What may be gained by postponement of peace negotiations is lost many times over by the continuation of the war.

It really seems as if there were no other means for settling human strife than through mines and grenades. How will the future judge this? The verdict will be that in the whole of Europe there was to be found not one statesman. With a single great statesman on each side, the world war would never have broken out. With one great statesman in either group the war would not have lasted a year. As it was, the Generals took the power from the statesmen.

The future will have this to say: It was a time when men regarded the era of the religious wars as barbarous, yet failed to comprehend that national wars were much worse. It was a time when men looked upon the wars of Cabinet Ministers as antiquated, and could not understand that commercial struggles were still more crude. The history of the religious wars constituted a dismal farce. The history of the world war was a stupid tragedy.

It would be better for this war to end without too great humiliation for either side. Otherwise the humiliated group will merely ponder on how to begin the next war. And it should be remembered that whatever humiliation may be inflicted on the enemy, it can bring restitution of not a single human life. Every human life is of value. All men are not alike, but there is slight consolation, when one side loses a thousand, in the fact that the enemy lost ten thousand. Who knows but that among the one thousand there was an individual who would have brought great glory to his country and become the benefactor of

mankind for all time? There may have been a Shakespeare or a Newton, a Kant or a Goethe, a Molière or a Pasteur, a Copernicus, a Rubens, a Tolstoy among the hundreds of thousands of twenty-year-old Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, Poles, Belgians, Russians who have fallen. How does the change of a frontier line, the conquest of a province, measure against the loss of such a personality? The gain is but temporary, the loss irreparable. Whatever is won concerns only a nation; the loss is a loss to the whole human race.

We see how during the war the wealth of mankind dwindles so that at last there will be no one able to pay the cost. But the loss of human values, the most serious kind of impoverishment, is not realized. What we are witnessing is that the white race is destroying its established superiority in the minds of the black, the brown, and the yellow peoples. The whites have employed the others, have praised them for cutting down white men. What else can we expect than that such tools will recoil upon the users?

The press of the warring countries has considered it a particular task to incite to further fury; to enhance the measure of enthusiasm. The press ought to remember that the destructive hatred thus engendered will long survive the war itself.

The Sin of Color-Blind Neutrality

By William Archer

Noted English Critic

The foregoing "Appeal" by Dr. Brandes was answered by William Archer in an open letter entitled "The Giant Lie," which he followed up a little later in The London Daily News with a spirited retort to the Danish Minister of the Interior on similar lines, under the title "The War Machine: Did It Start Automatically?" The two articles are essentially one, and are herewith presented in their entirety.

"A PLAGUE of both your houses!" is the burden of an appeal for peace issued by Dr. Georg Brandes in the Copenhagen Politiken. This is a not quite unnatural attitude of mind into which a good many neutrals have lately fallen. They are sick and tired of the war. They have forgotten, if they have ever understood, the circumstances of its origin. Absorbed in the material horrors of the struggle, they lose sight of the ideals at stake. They blame the Allies for declining to sacrifice these ideals more than they blame the Central Powers for scorning and outraging them. Thus their neutrality takes on a pro-German tinge, of which perhaps they are scarcely aware, but which is none the less deplorable. That is why I have ventured to address to Dr. Brandes a letter, of which the following are the opening passages. The remainder must appear in another form.

Dear Mr. Brandes:

You have published "An Appeal" to the belligerent powers to return to sanity and arrange terms of peace. In the abstract, such an appeal must command the sympathy of every humane and reasonable man. Yet this pronouncement is disappointing to your admirers and friends—if I may so style myself—inasmuch as it is not really calculated to further the end you have in view. Will you allow me to tell you why, in my judgment, it must fall on deaf ears?

Not, certainly, because we are disinclined to hear you. To whose judgment should we listen more gladly? You are unquestionably the first critic of the age, and probably the leading intellect of the whole neutral world, at all events, on this side of the Atlantic. You are not only a scholar, but a man of the living world. You have fought a splendid fight for freedom of thought, and have expressed in no uncertain terms your detestation for political tyranny. Whose approval could have done more to encourage us? To whose considered and reasoned criticism could we have listened with greater respect?

But, as a matter of fact, you have withheld from us both these advantages. You have carried the art of neutrality to a very high pitch. You stand indifferent between truth and falsehood, between humanity and inhumanity, between right and wrong. I am almost inclined to say to you, with one who was no neutral in the fight for freedom:

"Kennst du die Hölle des Dante nicht,
Die schreckligen Terzetten?"

—and then to refer you to the remarks on neutrals in the third canto of the "Inferno."

Is it possible you do not see that this war, mad and monstrous though it be, is a war in which everything turns on the question of right and wrong?—a question not to be dismissed with a shrug and a verdict of "Rogues all!" Your "Appeal" begins thus:

> Each of the great powers declares that the war it is waging is a war of defense. They have all been attacked; they are all fighting for their existence. For all of them murder and lies are necessary means of defense. Then since none of the powers, by their own showing, wanted war, in Heaven's name let them make peace!

Suppose, my dear Master, that you had taken to law instead of literature, and had become a Judge; suppose that two men were brought before you, each declaring that he had been murderously assaulted by the other, and one of them unquestionably in possession of the other's watch, purse, and pocketbook; should you feel that you had done all your duty demanded if you said, "They are doubtless both liars, or both hallucinated; bind them over to keep the peace, and let the one who holds the swag return (say) the watch, but keep the rest of the plunder"? Should you not consider the possibility that one of them might be telling the truth? Should you not call evidence on the point and examine it carefully? Should you not recognize some antecedent probability that the man who was certainly armed to the teeth, and certainly took the other unprepared, was the real aggressor? And should you not think that probability heightened if you found his pockets bulging with tracts which declared fighting an act of religion, and robbery under arms the chief duty of man?

"'What is truth?' said jesting Pilate"—and took up an attitude of ironic neutrality.

But in this matter there *is* a truth and there *is* a falsehood; and the merits of the present situation, as of the whole war, depend upon the question: Who is the liar? If Germany is telling the truth—if she was the victim of an unprovoked attack—then we, in carrying on the war, are merely piling crime upon crime. Even in that case Germany would not be entirely justified. Nothing could excuse her invasion of Belgium, nothing could cleanse her hands of the blood of that unhappy country. But many of her other proceedings would wear a very different aspect. Much may be pardoned to a man wantonly attacked and fighting for his life, which would be unpardonable in one who was himself the aggressor. Submarine ruthlessness, indiscriminate civilian-slaying, poison gas and liquid fire are not pretty or chivalrous methods of warfare; but a man set upon by assassins is not to be severely censured if, in his defense, he hits below the belt.

But if the man who hits below the belt, who sticks at nothing, who resorts to every base and diabolical device he can think of, is not the attacked, but the attacker, the man who willed and planned and executed the murderous assault—what are we to say of him? what are we to do with him? Is it to the interest of the world at large that he should get off scot-free and be able to tell himself that his spirited policy was in some measure successful, though the fight was not quite the "frischer, fröhlicher Kriek" he had hoped for? And is it the part of a good European to be neutral not only in act but in feeling, and to urge that in the interests of humanity the bandit should be allowed to get away with his booty? We shall fight on, my dear Master, in spite of your disapproval, because we believe that the worst thing that could happen to humanity would be the triumph of the giant Lie, and of the abominable devices of massacre which it has called to its aid. * * *

Here I must break off. In the sequel I attempt to justify the expression "the giant Lie," and express (among other things) my surprise that Dr. Brandes should speak bitterly of England's opening of neutral letters and say no word of Germany's sinking of Scandinavian ships and murder of Scandinavian seamen.

DID THE WAR MACHINE START AUTOMATICALLY?

I ventured recently to remonstrate with Dr. Georg Brandes on the color-blind neutrality displayed in his appeal for peace at any price. The same defect of vision does something to mar an otherwise admirable and inspiring address delivered the other day to the "Radical Youth" of Dr. Brandes's fatherland by the Minister of the Interior, Herr Ove Rode. I make no apology for quoting at length this striking passage:

> We still seem to hear the dull reverberation of the march of millions to the frontiers, almost two years ago; and, through the tramp of feet and the clatter of hooves, the shrill, insistent asseverations from high places that no one willed the war, no one wanted it, no one was attacking, every one was standing on the defensive. If this be true, then the ironclad system which the world had created snatched the reins from the hands of its creators. The machine came to life and threw the men aside. A vast amount of genius and strength had for generations been expended on perfecting an organism of steel and explosives, into which human beings entered only as mechanical details. Everywhere it was designed, we were told, solely for the preservation of peace! But one day in July, 1914, the machinery was in full working or-

der, screwed up to its highest pitch, needing only the releasing of one spring to set the wheels in motion. Suddenly the spring clicked and the mountain of steel and flame came to life and hurtled forward. The cannons set off for the frontier of their own accord, and men mechanically followed. The rush, once started, could not be stopped. The fairy tales of many nations tell of two magic words, one of which can set forces in motion, while the other can arrest them. The second is forgotten, and disaster follows. Humanity is now desperately seeking for the word that can stay the rage and ruin of war. All over the world people are racking their brains for the forgotten spell. Not long ago they thought they had found it in America—but it was not the right word.

This is a brilliantly imaginative picture of what happened—or rather is alleged to have happened—in Germany. When the Kaiser says, "Ich hab' es nicht gewollt"—"I did not will it"—he is practically pleading that the machine came to life of its own accord, and ran away with him. And so, very probably, it did. Very probably there came a moment when he felt, to his dismay, that things had got beyond his control, and he stood, like Frankenstein, gazing horrorstruck at his Monster's mad career. But we must remember—what I fear Herr Rode forgets—that all this talk of machines and monsters is only metaphor and mythology. The cannons did not roll off spontaneously to the frontiers. They were set in motion by the deliberate will of certain men—probably a quite small number of men. The Kaiser may or may not have been one of them—if he was not, that merely proves him to be a noxious nullity. But whoever these men may have been, it is quite certain that they were in Austria and Germany, and nowhere else.

Can Herr Rode doubt that the war machine of his fable, the war machine par excellence, was that which was made in Germany, along with a philosophy declaring it to be the noblest and most beneficent of human inventions? Just as the British Parliament is the mother of Parliaments, so the German war machine is the mother of war machines. It is, or rather it was in 1914, a long way the first in mechanical perfection. The other war machines of Europe, though forced most unwillingly to attempt a ruinous emulation of the German model, were well known to be inferior in instant efficiency. Even if there were no direct evidence of the Allies' will to peace, it would be incredible on the face of it that they should wantonly have challenged the German monster. But the positive evidence is overwhelming for any one who has eyes to read. I will only refer here to the notorious fact, which Herr Rode seems to forget, that the magic words which let the monsters loose were in every case spoken by the Central Empires, first by Austria, then, to right and left, by Germany. And for the operation of the German machine, Herr Rode has only to look, like the Chancellor, at the map of Europe. Everywhere it has been checked; but everywhere it showed a terrific initial velocity, eloquent of the intense will to conquer which had inspired the men who perfected it.

It needs no sociological investigation to assure us that we, and our fathers, and our grandfathers—in short, all partakers in purblind, covetous, cantankerous human nature—must share the general responsibility for the fact that war is still possible in the world. No one pretends that the stupidity and sluggishness of imagination which has hindered the coming of the millennium is peculiar to Germany. Nor is it doubtful that the capitalistic organization of society, which is common to all Europe, fosters the tendency. It creates on the one hand the class which is ever longing for fresh continents to exploit, and on the other hand it provides a plentiful supply of "Kanonenfutter." We are all responsible in so far as we have failed to remedy the social injustices and extirpate the economic superstitions which lie at the root of war in general. But that does not make us all equally responsible for this particular war. It is foolish, no doubt, to build a town of inflammable instead of fireproof materials; but when a man sets fire to his neighbor's house, and the whole town is reduced to ashes, we do not say that all the citizens are equally guilty of arson. We send to penal servitude the man who actually kindled the blaze.

Those Whom the War Has Broken

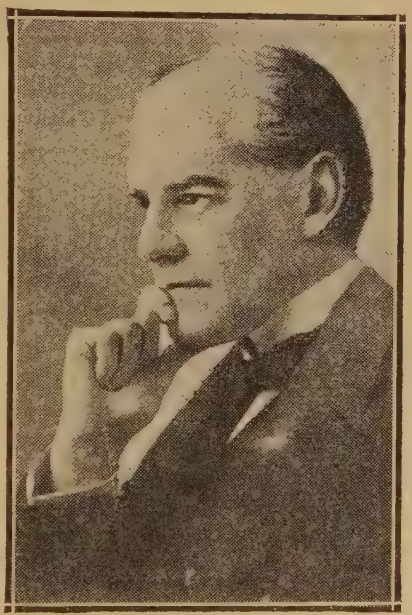
By John Galsworthy

Eminent English Novelist and Playwright

[By arrangement with The London Morning Post]

I DON'T know how other people feel, but when in the streets there passes some poor fellow who a few months ago was stronger and more active than one's self, had before him many more years of enjoyment and utility, almost a boy, perhaps, and who is now to be forever like a bird with a broken wing or a ship with a mast gone and half of its sails trailed down, there comes on one a sensation like no other that this war produces.

Death, of course, by every form of violence, is snatching his millions, but we must all die some time; the waters close quickly—a little hole, a few bubbles, a sore heart or two, and the river flows on. All the other miseries, whipped on by that fell huntsman, War—starvation, destitution, imprisonment, anxiety, grief—if they do not kill you, they pass. Maiming abides. The armless, legless, the blinded, the paralyzed—all live on into the green years when the wilderness will bloom again and flowers grow where this storm once withered the face of the earth; on into the calm years when men will look back and rub their eyes. It is this which comes down on the heart of him who sees the maimed men go by—this sensation of watching, from far on in the future when there shall be not another trace left of that hurricane, thousands upon thousands stricken out of full life into a half existence, thousands upon thousands who, but for the merest chance, might be ourselves.



JOHN GALSWORTHY

Maimed for the duration of the war—that would be bearable, but maimed for the duration of life is the sacrifice that these have made and that we shall have to watch. And the grimness of it is that with each year which leaves the war further behind we shall watch and feel for them the less—a hard saying, but true—and they will feel the waste of their powers the more. And that is why now is the time to roll up every penny that we can, to put a sure foundation beneath these injured lives, so that however much we sag away from gratitude and justice in the future—and sag we shall, as sure as men are men—we shall have guaranteed our country against the crime of taking the best from her sons, for her reservation, and leaving them like hulks on the beach of fortune.

This war is the nation's war as no war yet has ever been. Each man maimed in it has lost his limb, his sight, his power of movement, in service of us all; and we shall be skunks to fail them. Yet, if I am not mistaken, such social conditions and feeling will follow this struggle throughout Europe—not at once, but within a few years—that everything which reminds people of it will come to

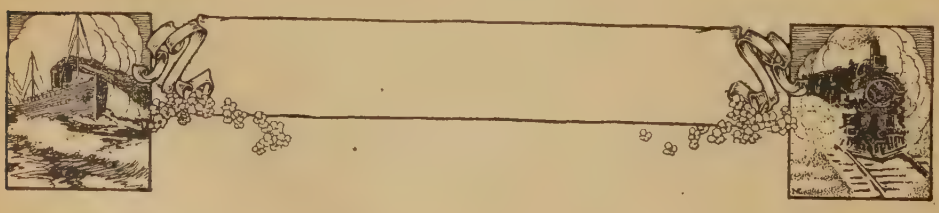
be anathema; no hope then for the maimed of anything beyond what we have already secured for them! It is now that from ourselves, and from our Government, such money must be got, and such a comprehensive scheme laid out as to banish all fear of national shame. Pensions are all very well, but nothing is enough, short of our being able honestly to say that no man totally disabled in this war, however long it lasts, is left uncared for, and no man partially disabled left without such opportunity of suitable and dignified work as shall keep him in self-respect and a decent economic position. That is the minimum of justice, and less than the minimum of gratitude.

This is a deceptive moment. Labor is so scarce that the partially disabled easily find jobs, which peace will soon take from them. None of us would now admit that we shall ever forget the bravery and sacrifices of our soldiers and sailors, that we shall ever come to turn a cold shoulder on the maimed among them. The hot iron never thinks that it will cool; but cool it always does. Wait till danger is removed, till social troubles recommence, till we reap what the war is sowing! If full provision is not made while the war lasts it will never be made. We must put it out of our own power to betray our best instincts, under the chilly pressure of a troubled future. The funds raised and asked for up to now are as a drop in the jug of ultimate need.

The present moment, I repeat, is dangerous from the very fact that our hearts are warm with gratitude to these sufferers. We look round and see that for the time being they all are, or can be, provided for; the demand for the maimed exceeds, as one might say, the supply. But look forward! Ah! there's the rub—we are not good at looking forward! The British nose is short, and it would seem we seldom see beyond it. "Tiens! une montagne!" We are always riding up, and knocking our noses against, mountains that we never dreamed were there! It is a national habit that may help to foster a light-hearted tenacity in the able-bodied, but will hardly assure the well-being of those who have lost limbs, or sight, or power of movement for their country. They have a right to ask that we do not leave the dark mountain of their future unobserved until our noses crash into it.

The other day I was taken over "The Lord Roberts Memorial Workshops," in the Fulham Road. This is a queer world of ours—in those workshops men who have been through hell and left part of themselves behind are making toys, and the toys are remaking them. It seemed to me the most steadily busy place I was ever in, and I think the most hopeful.

Nothing keeps regret away like work. They work their fifty hours a week at the fair wages of the trade—no sweating, no undercutting; and in the first eight months they have made a net profit. The work has already been described much better and more exactly than I can do it; I only want to say that it struck me as the very thing wanted. We could not do better—it seems to me—than assist "The Lord Roberts Memorial" Committee to carry out their scheme of establishing these workshops all over the country, with canteens and recreation rooms attached, on such a scale that, however many of the partially disabled the tides of this war cast up, not one hereafter, in the most bitter times of bad trade and unemployment, may be able to say with truth: "I want a decent job, and can't get one."



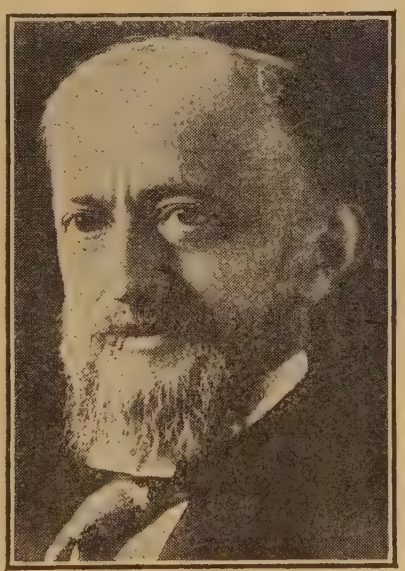
Rebuilding the Foundations of International Peace

CONTRIBUTED TO CURRENT HISTORY

By Oscar S. Straus

Member Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague; Former Ambassador to Turkey; Chairman New York Public Service Commission

WE are in the habit of thinking and speaking about this war chiefly in relation to its colossal magnitude, its unspeakable horrors, sacrifices, sufferings, and losses. There is another aspect of much deeper significance, which is destined to have even a more lasting effect upon civilization and upon the relations of nations, one to the other, than these unparalleled physical results, namely, the influences growing out of the dominance of one of the two moral standards now in deadly conflict.



OSCAR STRAUS
© *Pirie MacDonald*

This conflict made itself apparent at the close of the Middle Ages and with the rise of independent political communities following the Reformation. In 1513 Machiavelli set forth in "The Prince" the doctrine that in matters of State ordinary moral rules did not apply, and his work soon became the political manual of the rulers of States. There were many writers and statesmen who took the opposite view, and, fortunately for humanity and human progress, this principle of lawlessness in international relations was strongly combated by Grotius in 1625. In his book, "De Jure Belli ac Pacis," moral ideas which had been in European thought for a century or more were therein clearly stated, systematically arranged, and logically applied to what should be the regulation of dealings between States. Following this, international law was developed and began more and more to take the place of the system of dominant sovereignty which had existed in the Middle Ages. No set of principles more clearly marked the progress of civilization than the progress of the substitution of moral principles in the relationship of States for the so-called right resting upon the might of the strongest.

THE REAL ISSUES

Within a period of a little over six years —from 1864 to 1870— Prussia, following the teachings of the Machiavellian school, carried to a successful issue three wars of aggression. Under the dominating genius of Bismarck she took Schleswig-Holstein, supplanted Austria in the leadership of the Teutonic peoples, and wrested the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine from France. When at Versailles, in the Hall of Mirrors, King William received from the hands of the rulers of Germany the imperial crown, Prussia's dream of centuries became a reality. It well may be asked, Has that vision exercised an influence upon the causes and brought about the present war

in the desire of the Prussian militarist to extend the German dominion over Europe and the world? The teachings of this school have been restated by some of the foremost of the leaders of German thought; by her national historian, Treitschke, whose lectures on politics have had as commanding an influence upon the ruling powers in Prussia as Machiavelli had upon the rulers of his day.

Treitschke holds that every treaty or promise made by a State is understood to be limited by the necessities of that State; that "a State cannot bind its will for the future over against other States"; that international treaties are no absolute limitation but a voluntary self-limitation of the State and only for such time as the State may find it to be convenient and consistent with its interests. As another illustration of his views he declares: "It is ridiculous to advise a State which is in competition with other States to start by taking the catechism into its hands." All of these ideas were adopted and expanded by Bernhardi, the faithful disciple of Treitschke, whose Berlin lectures in the last quarter of the nineteenth century were listened to and appear to have had a marked influence upon the leading officers and officials of Germany.

The German Chancellor in his speech to the Reichstag on Aug. 4, 1914, adopted the doctrine of necessity as a justification for the invasion of Belgium, notwithstanding the treaty which guaranteed her neutrality. He said, "We are now in a state of necessity, and necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and perhaps are already on Belgian soil. Gentlemen, that is contary to the dictates of international law."

CONFLICTING IDEALS

The German designations for these two conflicting schools of thought are: (1) The *Realpolitiker*, who hold that in the relation of nations there is no room for moral considerations; in other words, that might makes right; and (2) the *Idealpolitiker*, who maintain that the relationship of nations should rest upon moral principles. The one doctrine is predicated upon State absolutism, that each State is primarily and ultimately concerned for itself and itself alone, that its interests are not only paramount to but override even its obligations; that when in its judgment its necessities demand, treaties, however specific and solemnly made, shall not be binding. The other school maintains that, while nations are not yet as fully amenable to moral considerations as the individuals within their boundaries, yet States in their relations with one another must observe their international obligations and recognize the principles of international law that have been developed in the progress of civilization.

Sir Edward Grey in refusing to consent to the invasion of Belgium instructed the British Ambassador to ask for his passports, and stated that Great Britain would feel bound to take every step in its power to uphold the neutrality of Belgium and the observance of the treaty to which Germany, as well as Great Britain, was a party. The issue thus made brought in direct conflict, as no other war in history has ever done, the two standards of international morals to which I have referred.

FORMS OF ABSOLUTISM

Underlying the issues just stated is yet another, and that is the conflict between absolutism and democracy or constitutionalism. If the doctrine of international or external absolutism prevails, then it will necessarily strengthen the forces of absolutism within the victorious nations, and to that extent will weaken, if not obliterate, democracy, and fortify the Bismarckian policy of "blood and iron" and the triumphs of militarism, with all that these changes may signify.

How long nations dedicated to justice and liberty under constitutionalism can withstand this spirit of militarism, or, as Spencer terms it, of rebarbarization, is a subject which should give us in America great concern.

When President Monroe in 1823 announced our continental policy it was predicated upon the fact that America had a set of interests entirely apart from those of Europe, and that Europe had interests entirely apart from us. That was

true then, but in a far less extent is it true now, since the application of steam and electricity to peaceful and warlike arts. Distance no longer separates nor protects the nations of one continent or hemisphere from the other. Armies can be transported across oceans with greater rapidity and facility than on land, and submarines can traverse unseen and spread havoc over all the seas. We can no longer rely on our isolation, for we are no longer isolated in the physical sense, as we were in 1823, and certainly not in relation to our commercial interests. The latter is true of all other nations. Whether we will or not, we are a much nearer and a more intimate member of the family of nations, and must take our share of the responsibilities this more intimate relationship involves. Should the spirit of the victor nations after the war be one of international absolutism, it cannot fail to come in conflict with both our international and our national ideals and principles.

AMERICA'S NEW DUTY

The reconstruction of the world after this war will be our concern as much as it will be the concern of the belligerent nations. But it will be urged that the Monroe Doctrine forbids us to take part in European concerns. The answer is: The framers of our continental policy nearly 100 years ago could not and did not foresee the veritable miracles that have transformed, as it were, oceans into lakes and shortened the distance between America and Europe from thirty days to less than five days, and the time of communication to a few seconds. Reading, as we should, Monroe's Doctrine in the light of these changed conditions, we find there a warrant, if not a duty, even in its language, for our country's participation in the world's reconstruction.

The language is: "In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so. *It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparations for our defense.*" Is it not clear that if the doctrine of might should prevail and the policy of militarism triumph, the power of defense would be the only protection that nations would have against one another, and that the Machiavellian doctrine of the necessity of States would be the final arbiter of the rights of States? If this be true, does it not clearly become our duty not only primarily in our own interests, but, secondarily, in the interests of the world, to insist upon taking part in re-establishing upon a firmer basis the safeguards of international law without which international treaties can have no value?

NATIONAL PREPAREDNESS

In the days of slow wars an interval separated a state of peace from the state of war. Nations could more readily postpone their preparations for war until the war clouds threatened and could postpone the raising of armies until the time approached for using them, but all this is changed. The present war began after an ultimatum of only a few days, and immediately thereafter the armies of Germany were on the march through Belgium.

At three different periods during the last twenty-eight years I saw at close range at Constantinople the play of the diplomacy of the great European powers. With rare exceptions, in important and vital issues, the diplomacy of the stronger nations won out and that of the weaker nations correspondingly failed.

It is a mistake to believe that armies and navies lie useless when not engaged in war. As a matter of fact, armies and navies are the potential forces behind diplomacy when vital interests are at stake, and their potentiality is in the background and is often the controlling factor in obviating the development of conditions that lead to war, or that project nations into war, even at times against their own will.

Let us not deceive ourselves by failing to see that this war has let loose throughout the world the spirit of conquest, the hunger for territory, and the rivalry for domination on land and sea. Even our efforts to maintain our neutrality, instead of making for us friends, have

made us envied, distrusted, and, by some nations, hated. But, entirely apart from the menace of foreign attack, if we are to be an effective influence either now or hereafter in the promotion of the peace of the world, the measure of our influence will certainly not be in proportion to our weakness, but in proportion to our available strength. It is said by some that to enlarge our naval and military forces will of itself be provocative of war, in that it will prompt the spirit of militarism. This is true where armaments are piled up for the sake of domination or of conquests, but armaments for defense, subordinated, as they always must be under our form of government, to the civil power are not promoters of militarism, but a bulwark for law and justice, and for the security of all those ideals which constitute civilization.

ROOTS OF THE PRESENT WAR

A war such as this could never have engulfed the nations had their international relationships and foundations been rightfully constructed. For many years past, and especially since the Franco-Prussian war, historians, statesmen, and publicists foresaw that a condition of armed peace, with its ever-increasing burden of competitive armaments, would inevitably lead to war unless a reconstruction could be effected.

Count Benedetti, the French Ambassador at the Court of Berlin at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, in his "Studies in Diplomacy" distinctly stated that the alliance of 1879 between Germany and Austria, which became the Triple Alliance when Italy joined it in 1882, would necessarily be a portent of war, or, to use his words: "It is in fact armed peace that the three powers have organized, and can peace under arms be lasting?" The Marquis of Salisbury in 1897 made the statement that "The federation of the European nations is the germ of the only possible mutual relation of these States which can protect civilization from the frightful effects of war." The German Chancellor in his speech in the Reichstag on Aug. 19, 1915, said, "An unassailable Germany would give us a new Europe," and then added, "An England able to dictate its will to the world is inconsistent with the peace of the world." He was right in his diagnosis when applied to his enemy, but wrong when applied to his own country. His statement is itself an additional proof that the dominance of power is not safe in the hands of any one nation, and can only be intrusted for the security of each nation in the hands of the united nations.

THE HAGUE PEACE PLANS

It is quite the vogue now to refer with ridicule to the two Hague Conferences and to the efforts made to avert the catastrophe toward which Europe was so rapidly drifting. The tendencies were in two diametrically opposite directions, which have been graphically described as Utopia and Hell. If the pacifists, who animated and encouraged their Governments to participate in the Peace Conferences at The Hague in 1899 and 1907, and who looked with hopefulness upon the results that would follow, have met with disappointment, certainly they have not fallen further away from the realization of their ideals than have the militarists in the hopeless remoteness of the results they aimed speedily to achieve by the war which now engulfs the world. In other words, the failure of the militarists has certainly been as decisive and infinitely more appalling than has been the failure of the peace advocates in achieving their end.

The deduction to be drawn from the failure of both sides makes it clear that there must be an international reconstruction upon an entirely different basis than that which has brought about the awful cataclysm of European civilization. All the nations that are now arrayed against one another in their death-dealing trenches want peace, yet each regards with hostility every effort of neutral nations to bring about peace, because no one of them is willing to make concessions which will insure the peace of justice as distinguished from the pride and obsession for victory. The same considerations that apply at the present time will apply with equal force and with even more emphasis to the relationship of nations for the maintenance

of peace after this war is over. This world war is a distinct proof that neither pacifism without might nor might unless dominated by right can be effectual in securing a permanent peace.

PAST PEACE PLANS

As we survey the history of nations we find three distinct methods of world organization which were developed, tried, and found wanting. The first of these was the dominance of nations by great world powers such as Greece under Alexander, whose invincible phalanxes dominated Europe, Asia, and Africa. The disciplined power of Rome which supplanted that of Greece was another example. But as Greece was supplanted by Rome, so Rome in turn was overthrown by the onrush of the northern barbarians. Following the Napoleonic wars there was developed a second method of keeping the peace—the system of the Balance of Power and of the Concert of Europe, under which, instead of one dominant nation, several nations united in offensive and defensive alliances. This plan developed in our day in a third arrangement, by which it was hoped that peace and order would be maintained among the nations through group alliances; namely, the Triple Alliance on the one side and the Triple Entente on the other. This dual arrangement, dividing Europe into two vast and powerful camps, it was hoped, would have the effect which is epitomized in the expression that "one sword will keep the other in its scabbard." But this war proves that it has had a contrary effect; it has multiplied the swords on both sides, it has developed militarism as never before and has piled up those crushing armaments that are today clashing against one another in the most frightful and bloody war in all history.

These several methods and plans from Alexander the Great to William II. each in turn collapsed with increasing frightfulness. They were built upon false foundations; they were built as strongholds for war and not as strongholds for peace. It follows by the logic of history that the world must seek other methods than those which have so woefully failed to maintain peace. It must be a righteous peace, for peace, to be lasting, must be founded on justice and respect for law.

Any future plan, to be lasting, must take into consideration the two antagonistic schools to which I have referred, and in so doing reconstruct international relationships, not as heretofore exclusively on the basis of war, but dominantly on the basis of peace. This cannot be done by the dominance of a single power. It cannot be done by a division of power. That also has proved a failure. It must be done by a unity of power; by placing the might of the united nations as guardians of the rights of each nation, on the same principle as we constitute the joint power of the forty-eight States of our Union as the guardian of the right of each State.

RIGHTEOUSNESS NOT ENOUGH

"While righteousness exalteth a nation," the present war gives incontrovertible proof that righteousness will not protect a nation unless all other nations are likewise exalted by righteousness. When that time arrives we shall have reached the millennium, which from present indications is sufficiently remote to justify a search for ways and means that will serve the purpose of the world in the intervening time. It is a fact, which we would deceive ourselves in failing to recognize, that fundamental changes in the progress of mankind have rarely, if ever, been possible save by war or as a sequel to war. All history teaches that war will not be banished until the leading and more powerful nations become civilized enough to create an organization that will not only induce but will force resort to other means than war, and that will be able to impose necessary and fundamental changes without war.

The greatest curse of war is that it settles international differences by the force of might and not by the arbitrament of right, and differences so settled will continue in the future as in the past to breed war. National weakness does not make for peace. On the contrary, as the world is at present constituted, it invites a disregard for fundamental right; it invites aggression and war. Power and preparedness within limitation have a

restraining influence and are most helpful in leading controversies to settlement by peaceful negotiations. A nation without power is compelled to submit either to conquest or to humiliating conditions. When vital differences arise between strong and weak nations they are more likely to lead to war than when they arise between two strong nations. We need not look far for examples. The present war in its origin affords a striking instance.

A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Many plans have been devised, but none in my judgment has laid a better foundation for international peace than the one adopted by the League to Enforce Peace. That plan, briefly stated, consists of three provisions. First, all justiciable questions shall be subject to an international court. Second, all questions that are not subject to judicial determination shall be submitted to a council of conciliation for hearing, consideration, and recommendation. Third, the powers shall use their joint forces, economic and military, against any one of their number who goes to war before submitting its differences as provided in the foregoing provisions.

Some such plan was recommended by Sir Edward Grey and proposed by him to Germany as a safeguard against aggression on the part of the Triple Entente on July 30, 1914. This proposal was embodied in a telegram to the British Ambassador at Berlin. He said: "If the peace of Europe can be preserved and the present crisis safely passed, my own endeavor will be to promote some arrangement to which Germany could be a party, by which she could be assured that no aggressive or hostile policy would be pursued against her or her allies by France, Russia, and ourselves jointly or separately. I have desired this and worked for it as far as I could through the last Balkan crisis; and Germany having a corresponding object, our relations sensibly improved. The idea has hitherto been too utopian to form the subject of definite proposals, but if this present crisis, so much more acute than any that Europe has gone through for generations, be safely passed, I am hopeful that the relief and reaction which will follow may make possible some more definite rapprochement between the powers than has been possible hitherto."

Unfortunately this proposal was put forward only at the eleventh hour, when misrepresentation, irritation, and suspicion had poisoned the air; all of which emphasizes the fact that arrangements for peace must be made in advance not only of mobilization but of the irritations which produce war, and that such arrangements must be made with the same precautions and preparedness as the nations have hitherto given to preparations for war. In other words, the methods must be reversed, and instead of internationalizing war the nations must internationalize peace.

NEW DAY OR DARKER NIGHT

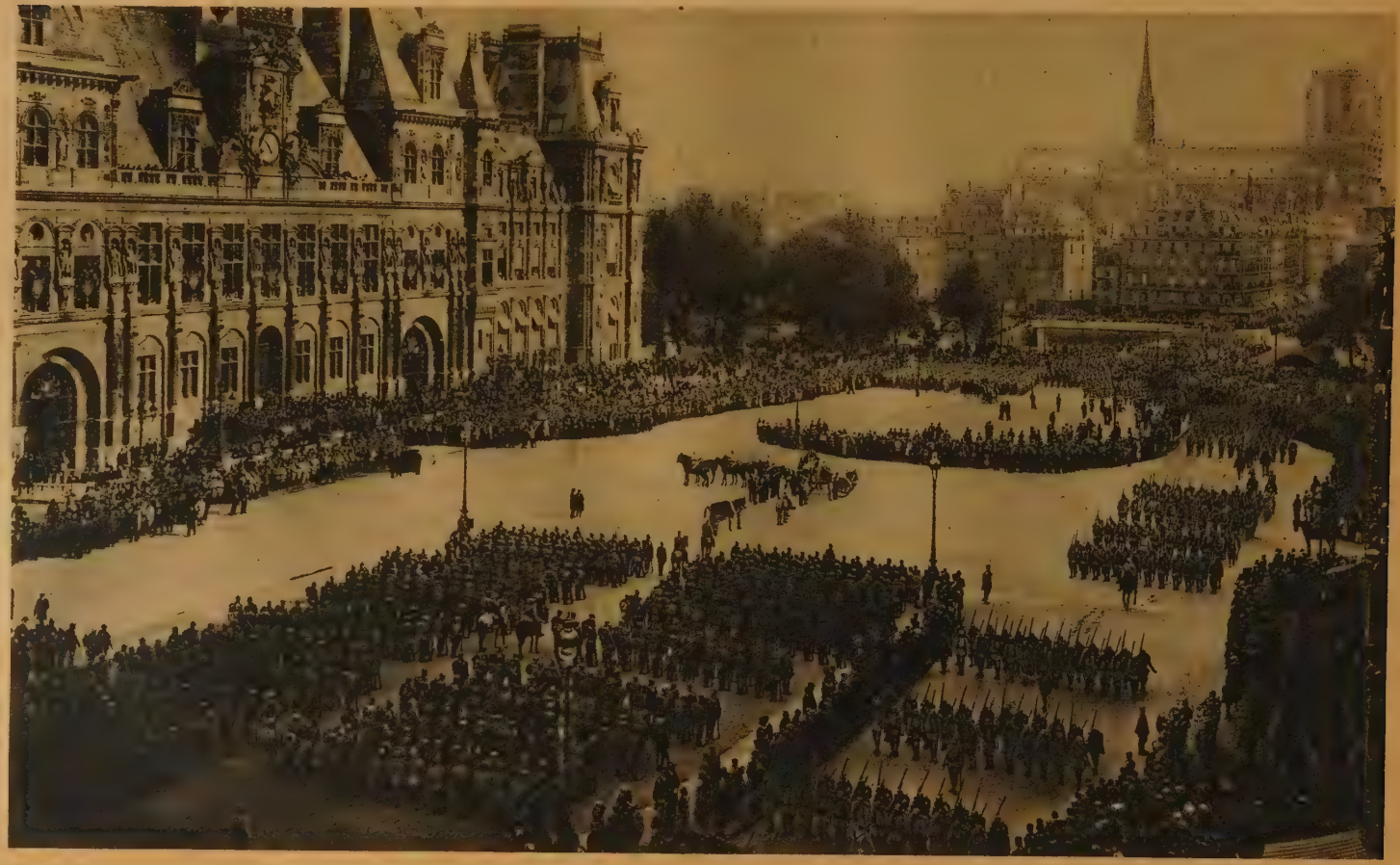
It is to be hoped that out of the extreme suffering and sacrifices that this war imposes there may arise supreme wisdom among the nations. Either there will be a new day or a darker night. All depends upon how this war shall end, and what bulwarks the nations shall erect against future cataclysms.

In conclusion, let me repeat, America, though not a belligerent, is as much concerned in the world's peace as are the nations at war. We must take a part in the reconstruction. Norman Angell significantly says that if we do not mix in European affairs Europe will mix in our affairs. We owe it to ourselves, to humanity, and to the world to lend our best efforts and make our fullest contribution to that reconstruction which must come.

Civilization has been undermined. The temples of the false gods have tumbled into ruin. This most barbaric and colossal war has not put God, but man, on trial. It has put existing international relationships on trial; it has put expediency and the doctrine of might on trial. It has revealed the fact that we cannot have one standard of morals within a nation and a different and lower standard as between nations.

All the machinery that has been devised in the past for the maintenance of peace has been left to volunteer effort. The resort to treaties of arbitration, to The Hague Tribunal, to Commissions of

FUNERAL OF GENERAL GALLIENI, WHOSE TAXICAB ARMY SAVED PARIS



Cortege Passing the Hotel de Ville, Paris, On Its Way to the Hotel des Invalides. Notre Dame Cathedral Is Seen in the Distance

(Photo from Official Press Bureau)

BRITISH SCOUTS IN PERIL BETWEEN THE TRENCHES

Caught in the Glare of a German Illuminating Bomb. Their Only Chance of Escape Is in Lying in the Position of Dead Bodies

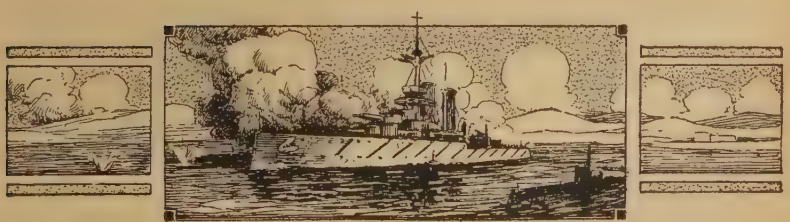
Inquiry, was in every case voluntary. We must use at least as much compelling force for the preservation of peace as has heretofore been put forth in preparations for war. Let us hope that out of the bloody trenches will arise a new international conscience which will put no geographical limitations upon right and justice. To unlock the portals of the future peace and happiness of the nations we must use other instruments than the "blood-rusted keys" of the past.

Instead of a General Staff in each nation preparing for war, there should be a General Staff of the united nations preparing for peace. Bluntchli was perhaps right in his opinion that the federation of Europe would be easier to bring about than was that of the German Empire. Federation gives cause for hope—hope that out of the agonies and appalling sacrifices of this war may arise a higher sense of international justice and a nobler humanity under the protecting shield of the united powers of the united nations.

Kitchener's Grave

By LILY YOUNG COHEN

In woe's black watch, bereaved, earth weeps,
But the proud sea his body keeps
And calls triumphant to the land
In tones none may understand:
"Though for your fame he choose to fight,
I am the measure of his might!
Ah, never, now, in vaulted gloom
Shall sleep the hero of Khartum;
But in my arms—exalted, fond—
I'll lull him in the great beyond,
And so his resting here with me
Will give new meaning to the sea.
No graven tablet may I bear,
Nor in mere words his deeds declare,
But, better yet, from my deep throat
Will ever clang a martial note
To glorify this son of Mars
And keep the memory of his wars.
To children on the beach at play
I'll sing the name of K. of K.,
While in the roaring tempest's boom
Will sound the message of Khartum,
And, e'en in calm, on every shore
Of him I'll chant forevermore.
Thus, his unfettered spirit brave
Shall live forever in the wave.
And so, O Land, grudge not that he
Sleeps his last sleep here in the sea!"



Ending Barbarous Warfare

Chemical Inspectors to Prevent the Making of Poison Gas and Weapons of Frightfulness

By Solomon Reinach

French Essayist and Historian

Solomon Reinach, distinguished member of the Institute of France and author of more than sixty books—including "Apollo," a general history of art, which has run through many editions in many languages—has written an important paper on "How Peace May Be Preserved After the War." He advocates a plan that could be executed by the League to Enforce Peace, of which former President Taft is the head. In discussing the necessity of practical measures to make the peace lasting, Professor Reinach says:

IT would be a dangerous mistake to believe that any readjustment of frontiers could afford a sufficient guarantee for future peace, or that war indemnities, protective tariffs, and the like could oblige the peacebreakers to renounce their schemes. We are no longer in 1815, when fortresses were considered obstacles to aggression, when financial disabilities involved disarmament. The treaty which shall put an end to the present war would do nothing for the interests of mankind if it were like any of the former ones. Why? Because, the character of war and warfare having undergone a complete change, the conventions and treaties which put an end to warfare cannot, in any degree, resemble those of the past.

At the future congress, among the seats reserved for the delegates of the great powers, one seat should remain vacant, as reserved for the greatest, the most redoubtable though youngest of powers—science in scarlet robes.

That is the new fact; that is what diplomacy should not ignore, if that imminent and execrable scandal is to be averted—the whole of civilization falling a victim to science, her dearest daughter, brought forth and nurtured by her, now ready to deal her the death blow.

As early as 1870 the great historian Michelet wrote that machinery would transform warfare, but that the mechanism of spreading death would soon find a rival in military chemistry. Michelet was a prophet. Fortresses are bygone things. The depths of the sea, the realm of the clouds, are open to machines which can work, unseen, any amount of evil. Military chemistry has only just made its appearance, but we know that whole regions can be turned into deserts by using poison gas on a large scale. Wireless electricity has not yet contrived to explode factories or destroy distant towns as by an earthquake; but that is by no means impossible and may be realized this very year. An Englishman recently wrote to The Daily Mail that Germany should not be allowed to have ports, because any port might be used by her for the building of 1,000 submarines, which could, in the space of a night, without a declaration of war, destroy the English and French Navies. But that gentleman did not realize that there were other means of wholesale destruction and murder, which might just as well be prepared in time of peace and used without a warning—1,000 armed aeroplanes carrying high explosives; 10,000 tons of poison gas, and the like.

Any precaution taken against Germany alone would be futile. Even a small country, having at its disposal the frightful implements of future warfare and using them without a scruple, might become a terrible danger to the whole world.

Let us conclude that, in 1916, if the remodeling of frontiers, the financial compensations, &c., still retain their raison

d'être, because in conformity with justice, they can not and should not be considered as the more essential elements of the future settlement. The all-important question is the muzzling of the mad dog.

If, in a civilized country, the police hear of a factory preparing poison, that factory is at once suppressed and the directors punished. What is true for a civilized State should be true for the world at large, for the consensus of States. Such a consensus exists in the matter of keeping down plague and cholera; the only thing now necessary and urgent is to extend its action to a scourge more fatal than either cholera or plague, the scourge of destructive science, because it destroys the best.

The following means should be adopted by the future congress of peace:

Every State would pledge itself to renounce the fabrication of submarines, warplanes, torpedoes, high explosives, (excepting for industrial purposes,) guns of more than two inches, poison gas, (excepting for industrial purposes,) and, in general, any instrument or contrivance which the Inspectors, sent out by the permanent Peace Committee at The Hague, would consider as adaptable to purposes of wholesale destruction and manslaughter.

The Inspectors, (engineers and chemists,) numbering 100, and nominated for ten years, should continually travel about the world, have the right to visit any arsenal or factory, and, in general, every place where weapons of war and destruction could be prepared. They would issue permits for certain industrial fabrications and see that they were not used for improper purposes. Should they discover the fraudulent beginning of some prohibited manufacture, they would send an immediate report to The Hague committee. Orders would be issued for the speedy destruction of the factory; if disobeyed, the town or country would be placed under boycott and subjected to a heavy fine, while an aerial expedition, starting from The Hague, would destroy the factory, and, if necessary, the adjoining town.

As a first result of the congress, all countries, whether belligerent or not, should, under penalty of being outlawed, deliver all the forbidden weapons they possess. Such weapons, with the ammunition pertaining to them, would be stored in the great arsenal of the Peace Committee near The Hague, superfluous ones being sold as metal for the benefit of their possessors. The great peace arsenal, alone allowed to keep in repair the prohibited weapons and ammunition, would be guarded by a body of 5,000 wardens of peace, an international force mostly selected from the population of minor countries, such as Switzerland, Scandinavia, &c. That force would receive orders from the Peace Committee alone and only act when the necessity should be recognized of suppressing some unlawful manufacture or preparatives. Thus the Peace Committee would be in the same condition as the Chief of Police in a great town, where possible evildoers, although much more numerous than policemen, cannot resist them, because they are either unarmed or lack the perfected weapons and the big guns. A very small force, furnished with all the applications of science to warfare, would easily preserve the peace all over the world. It need not interfere in semi-civilized States, which could eventually be controlled by the menace of an international boycott and blockade.

Renan and Berthelot once dreamed of a great scientific discovery which would put in the hands of a well-meaning tyrant or of a small minority of friends to mankind, a terrible instrument of coercion, thanks to which nothing could be initiated against the welfare of humanity. But they seem to have overlooked the fact that such an instrument could become the property of an enemy of mankind and enable him to destroy the liberty of the world. That is what has almost been the case. The lesson of 1914-16 should not be lost. The dreams of Renan and Berthelot must be realized, but to the advantage of liberty and justice, not for their suppression. Humanity must have its police, and science must supply that police, and that police only, with sure means of holding in respect the predatory nations, the international banditti and world raiders.

The War and German Christianity

By Boyan

Eminent Russian Publicist

THERE weigh upon the soul of Germany two crimes — one against humanity, the other against God. Beginning with the Kaiser's address to the people from the balcony of his palace, and ending with the latest speech of the Chancellor, all the faculties of the German mind have been strained toward obliterating the first of these two crimes. Germany declares through all of her bugles that the war on her part was not offensive, but defensive; not for aggression, but self-protection; not for murder, but punishment. But in order to awaken the beast in man it became necessary for her to inspire him with rancor and fear.

To the path of crime against humanity the Germans were led by their mighty science and incomparable technique—by all that which we call materialistic progress. This progress has bottled up the old German romanticism and philosophy as a cork seals fermenting wine. When new instruments for slaughter were invented it became necessary to put them to test. Thus the tissue of militarism grew up on the bases of heroic romanticism, atheistic philosophy, and practical Kultur. In this sense the German crime was, perhaps, legitimate.

When it appeared that the kettle of Germanism reached its maximmu heat the steam had to be released, and the method did not matter. So the Doctor Fausts and the Knight Lohengrins turned into vulgar murderers, while the children of poetical Bavaria and Tyrol surpassed in cruelty the butchers of Brandenburg. A victim of a psychopathological and physico-chemical process, the nation in whom the valves of conscience and sane political thought were hermetically sealed burst open, overflowing its limitations in a raging, turbid torrent. It is the task of humanity to restore that stream to its original limitations, establishing a régime under which German insanity will pass away.

Much more complicated and profound is the second German crime—the crime before God. Its gigantic shadow has enveloped Germany, overshadowing all the rest; men call it vandalism and barbarism. For Germany challenged not only the political, nationalistic, and economic credos of humanity, but also the religious credo of man. Germany dared to extend its hegemony even over Christianity. So long as the guns thunder this may not be generally recognized, for the epos of war has absorbed the ecstasy of piety. But that hour is near when the truth of God will triumph in this war as dazzlingly as the truth of man. The sceptre of Christianity, bent by German violence, will be straightened again. * * *

The Germans have invented along with their howitzer—die grosse Bertha—also their own god of victory. If the Germans could but separate their own God from the God of their opponents, just as they have excluded German law from international law, German civilization from European civilization, German ethics from French, Russian, English ethics, then they would naturally do no injury to the body of Christendom. At the worst, there would take place something that has already happened in Germany—a religious reformation. The modern Luther, Wilhelm, would declare his modern Christian dogmas, the subjection of the weak to the strong, the privilege of might over right. Instead of icons and crosses there would appear in the temples of the militant Christianity machine guns and shells. Prussian junkers with blood-stained hands would serve as pastors.

But Wilhelm is no Luther. Wilhelm hugs the true altar of Peter, the symbol of love and forgiveness. Wilhelm does

his work not in spite of Christ, but in His name, for his own glory. Adapting his work to the name of Christ, the German Kaiser appointed himself high priest of the Lord, desecrating the Saviour's name. Before this act, which shocked the conscience of the world and turned Christianity off its foundations more than the Inquisition or any petty sectarianism, even the flames of Nero pale into nothingness.

Nero burned Rome for the glory of aesthetics. Wilhelm burns the world for the triumph of Christianity. He declares himself a medium of God's will, an emissary of the Lord on this earth. As against Christ's meekness he offers cruelty. The world was once saved by redemption. This time it shall be saved by extermination. "Don't spare the skulls of your enemies," says one of the German orders. And the German ministers, scientists, writers explain that to vanquish savagery one must use savagery; that spilled blood will save that which is still unspilled.

The task of humanity is, therefore, to restore not only the law of man but also the law of God. The religious conscience of Germany should not concern us; let them keep to their own God. But our God, the God of the oppressed and the lowly, we shall not deliver to them for abuse.

In this sense the present war is the crusade of the twentieth century. This crusade may either bring back under the wings of Christianity an erring nation or may lead it entirely to paganism. For the semi-Christian and semi-pagan German Kultur, evidently, the end is at hand.

America's Gifts to War Sufferers

Mr. Morgenthau, former American Ambassador to Turkey, recently estimated the total contribution of the United States to war relief funds at about $30,000,000. If the work of the Commission for Relief in Belgium is included the total gifts of Americans to the war sufferers considerably exceed Mr. Morgenthau's estimate. The cost of that work alone was $5,000,000 a month. In addition there is the large work of the Rockefeller Foundation in Serbia and the American Ambulance in France, which is supported by Americans at a cost of about $1,000 a day. The Red Cross announced that in nineteen months of war it had sent abroad supplies valued at $1,093,000.

The totals raised in this country up to the middle of June by some of the principal relief organizations are as follows:

Belgian Relief Fund	$1,106,865
American Jewish Relief Fund	4,100,000
Committee of Mercy (with other organizations)	939,361
Armenian Fund	734,419
Polish Fund	386,000
Serbian Relief Committee	279,569
Lafayette Fund	140,000
Fund for Relief of Women and Children of France	190,000
Vacation War Relief Committee	271,000
General German Relief Fund	525,886

To these must be added many special funds and gifts, among the most important of which is the fund obtained at the Allied Bazaar in New York, between $1,500,000 and $2,000,000, for the Allies' war relief work.

More than $3,000,000 was appropriated by the War Relief Commission of the Rockefeller Foundation during the six months ended Jun 30, 1916, the first half year of the commission's existence. Of this amount more than $2,000,000 already has been expended.

Of the total of $2,159,985 expended during the six months, Belgium was by far the greatest beneficiary, $1,290,292 having gone for relief in that country or among Belgians in other countries. Armenian and Syrian relief was next with $360,000, and Serbian relief third with $148,894. An appropriation of $1,000,000 for relief work in Poland, Serbia, Montenegro, and Albania is yet to be expended.

Is a Decisive Victory Possible?

View of French Women Pacifists

CURRENT HISTORY presents herewith a translation of a remarkable pamphlet issued last December by the French section of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace. A prominent member of this committee is Mlle. Madeleine Rolland, sister of Romain Rolland, the famous author. A copy of the original document was sent to each member of the Chamber of Deputies with an appeal for some action that would make an understanding between the belligerents humanly possible when the proper time came. The pamphlet was misunderstood and suppressed, and the homes of several of the signers were searched with the idea that they had been in communication with German propagandists; but the agitation soon died down, for it could not be denied that these women were loyally giving their time and strength to their country's burdens. Their view of the probable outcome of the war is different from the usual masculine view, and it will be interesting to see how nearly events justify it in the end.

FOR sixteen months the men of France have been facing death and doing their whole duty at the front. For sixteen months we women at home have been seeking ours with anxious hearts. In the first days, after the natural gestures of despair, our duty was to regain control of ourselves. In the presence of the calm and resolute attitude of those who were leaving, the fear of being unworthy of them, of weakening them by our tears, gave us strength. We had to stifle our complaints under pain of dishonor. And because it was necessary, without knowing how, we rose from a state of despair to one of resignation. The situation called for more, it called for action—work for the soldiers, work for the prisoners, care of the wounded, succor of the refugees, the orphans, the idle. We did and are still doing all this, but almost without thinking, only too eager to give a little to those who are giving themselves entirely; yet in doing it we are conscious that all this is nothing, and that in the face of such events these poor acts are not enough. And so, little by little, we have let ourselves be carried beyond these daily duties by the vision of our nation in arms, fighting for its independence. Far from the struggle, we desire, at any cost, to remain faithful to our living and to our dead.

Does our duty end with charitable activity and hero worship? Do we no longer have to think, judge? *Can it be our duty to submit to war with docility as to an ordeal all in the course of nature?*

In order to be able to reply from our peaceful homes, let us make the painful effort of at last looking at war face to face. In one year more than 5,000,000 deaths, 5,000,000 alone in their agony! Among these corpses, more than 600,000 of our own! Twice as many wounded, ill, infirm, without counting the prisoners! Throughout our own Northern France, Belgium, Galicia, Poland, the Balkans, cities and villages in ashes, the country devastated; countries larger than the whole of France put to fire and sword, millions of inhabitants led into captivity or driven from their homes; the whole population of Poland wandering on the highways, dying of cold and hunger; the massacres of Armenians by the Turks, the massacres of Belgians and Serbs by the Germans and Austrians, the massacres of Jews and Galicians by the Russians; every nation of Europe decimated, ruined!

And even that is not the worst. For these dead, these millions of dead, are not the rank and file of each nation. As though war chose its victims, those it has killed and is killing every day are the best of us, are those who have led the way and risked themselves without calculation; the artisans and the élite, those who were the centre of life, initiative and hope in each city, each occupation.

Must we consider the other phase of this waste? The entire sap and wealth of France is ebbing with the blood of the French. How many good workmen are already lost to their work? The labor of the past, the precious reserve of the country, is being destroyed by each hour

of war. At present France is spending about one hundred million francs a day, or about three billions a month; that is to say, in six weeks the expenditure exceeds that of an entire year of peace. It can also be said that in fifty days France spends the amount of the indemnity Germany imposed upon her in 1871—five billions. *Five billions every fifty days!*

Such is this war whose benefits have been sung to us. Let us note to begin with that *it differs from all other wars.* It is no longer a brilliant and rapid war in which, after several manoeuvres and brilliant victories, one of the adversaries has confessed himself vanquished; it is an incessant and obscure war, a war in the trenches, a war of inaction where each of the adversaries, clinging to the earth, devotes himself to defending it foot by foot, determined to fall on the spot rather than really draw back; and when they do withdraw it is to renew indefatigably the same superhuman effort a few paces further back.

A heroic and implacable war such as this has no example in history. Yet our ideas lag behind, fixing themselves on events, and we persist in repeating the phrases of former times: "Decisive action, crushing defeat, rout, victory," when these words are visibly inappropriate.

What is the reason for this sudden transformation? It is that up to the present the immense mass of citizens remained far from war and that the encounter of several armies decided the outcome. For the first time in the history of the world *entire nations* have risen and been hurled at each other; more than twenty million men, young and old, are facing each other.

Nations which for a year have given their daily consent to such a sacrifice *all believe in the justice and the sacredness of their cause.* And so from all sides one hears the same phrases: defense of the fatherland, liberation of the oppressed, conquest of a permanent peace. Whatever may be the crime of certain Governments, it is a painful but highly important fact that everywhere the soldiers believe they are fighting for the very existence of their countries. That is what explains the fact that every army, even the most discredited, is fighting with unprecedented heroism, with such heroism that the staffs on all sides are obliged to render homage to the courage of their adversaries. It is willful blindness and lack of loyalty to deny that mutual esteem in which the brave of each camp hold one another.

Such is this war, unique in history because for the first time every country has given itself, heart and soul. In such a war, where entire peoples struggle for life, the massacres are going on in the same positions and always without results. History offers no example of this almost perfect equality in the armies, of this expenditure of strength ending in powerlessness. Even in the Orient, where there have been and may still be great advances and retreats, the assailant has in vain imagined that he had gained a real victory. The capture of Warsaw, according to the Germans, was to be the beginning of the Russian downfall and was to mark the end of the war on that front. Instead, they have for many months marched beyond their promised land, and the fight is going on without any change. Tomorrow, a prey to the same mirage, enemies and allies are going to penetrate toward the Orient. Imagination is for a time going to place the allurement of final victory at Constantinople. For sixteen months the goal has receded at the moment it seemed to be reached. The invaded people still refuse with increasing energy to admit themselves conquered. Perhaps men will end by understanding that a people cannot be mastered like an individual, and that no force on earth can triumph over a great nation resolved not to yield.

Every nation can and should resist force indefinitely. No nation can henceforth win by force. If we still understand victory to mean reducing the enemy to powerlessness, then in a war of all the nations we must say without hesitancy that victory, like defeat, has become impossible. No nation can conquer, but neither can any nation be conquered. And if by victory we mean "holding out," we must say that after a year of war all the nations are victorious and all seem

invincible. Then instead of living in anguished waiting for the morrow, let all our people, freeing themselves of anxiety as of all vain ambition, understand that during the last year they have won an immense victory by that improvised but unshakable resistance which will be the wonder of the future. On the other hand has not the hour come to recognize that this war, which resembles no other war, cannot end like former wars? Must we endure months more of agony in order to comprehend that this present war, both by the courage of the combatants and the perfection of the machinery, is destined to remain a *war without results?*

It may seem hard to renounce the enthusiastic hope of the first months, and difficult to admit that superhuman sacrifices *have only served to save the fatherland without transforming the future.* But, has such a transformation ever been possible by means of war? Should we not turn elsewhere for this just hope? For a year people have repeated everywhere and in all the fighting countries that the war is at least going to renew the face of the world, that it is going to liberate us suddenly from all oppression, all enemies, all war, but that in order to bear such fruit it must be pursued to the bitter end. Instead of obstinately repeating that obscure formula, should we not sincerely ask ourselves what inestimable good could result for us from an indefinitely prolonged war?

Will what we gain at the end be "conquests"? No one in France has seriously thought of such a thing. Neither from the point of view of justice nor of utility could any one in this country dare openly to uphold such wild pretensions in the face of France and Europe.

Is the crushing of Germany and Austria what is intended as the outcome of this war? What does that mean? If it means the annihilation of 100,000,000 human beings it is not even worth refuting.

Is it merely the political dismemberment of the Central Powers? Then we should need to be told by what processes any one can expect to impose such changes on a people, and, even supposing they were imposed, by what processes any one can expect to force a serious acceptance of the new régime, when all history proves the impossibility of maintaining a Government established by force.

Is it merely the exhaustion of the enemy that is desired? Do we want to reduce him to the last limits of poverty through a war of several years? But do we not then risk condemning ourselves to a like condition? And can we, moreover, foresee how far the resistance of a great modern nation whose existence is threatened can go? Facts all tend to prove that, in spite of daily expenses, the difficulty of getting provisions, and the daily loss of life, a great nation, determined to make any sacrifices, can, by limiting its consumption and by calling new classes each year, dispose of practically inexhaustible reserves.

The partisans of a war to the death have long since given up the idea of crushing the enemy. What they are promising us now is the liberation of all oppressed peoples and the establishment of permanent peace by means of this war.

The liberation of oppressed nations? We are evidently forgetting that very diverse powers, Russia, for example, besides Prussia and Austria, share the honor of holding them under their sceptres. For a certain number of them it would seem as though a democratic transformation of Europe, of which they are a part, would be more to be desired than a sudden secession. For others, on the contrary, the only legitimate solution would be complete autonomy. But from whatever side we view the question, the claims of these different nations suggest problems so complex that they can be solved only in time of peace, and that only great congresses can handle them. Besides, it goes without saying that neither annexation nor transfer of territory can rightly be sought contrary to the wishes of the population.

Permanent peace? Do we sincerely believe that we can win it and suddenly assure it by force of arms? Do we really believe that we can destroy the mili-

tarism of Prussia and other countries by means of war, as a village is destroyed? Do we flatter ourselves that we can bring about a reduction of armaments in Europe one of these days by dint of cannonading? Can we not see that future peace, whether lasting or uncertain, depends much less upon battles than upon the wisdom of Governments and the constant will and determination for reform of each nation? Do we not see that all real progress must come about within each nation, and through it, never from without? Do we not see that the ruinous forces of war have merely increased with the months, and will be as formidable in Europe as ever?

There remains a last hypothesis—the war must be carried to the bitter end for economic reasons. We need to deprive the enemy of all power to compete with us. At any cost we need to ruin the commerce and industry of Germany, and not stop, this time, half way.

But can we confound war and industry? In reality *no military victory can assure the economic superiority of one country over another*, for that superiority depends amost exclusively upon the activity and skill which the citizens of the two countries display in the exercise of their trades. Likewise, no military defeat will prevent 100,000,000 ingenious and persevering men from working as in the past, from producing and selling their products cheaply, and from exporting them.

Is the idea of growing rich through war more acceptable? It is not a question of growing rich *during* the war. We all know what each day costs. We are trying, on the contrary, to forget those streams of billions exhausted in a few weeks, by repeating to ourselves that Germany and Austria will some day bear the burden of these expenses. And so the idea of a formidable war indemnity imposed upon the enemy is one of the most popular of all the ends attributed to war. That is as true in Germany as here. We should, before all, then estimate the total expense, the burden of which we are to place on the enemy. Our share, counting the expenses and losses borne by France, Belgium, England, Italy, Russia, and Serbia, in fifteen months of war, has already amounted to a sum not far from 100,000,000,000 francs. Even supposing a country could pay such a sum, it is evident that in order to force it to do so it would be necessary to have inflicted upon it a defeat such as a people has never known even through a Napoleon or a Caesar. And after such a crushing defeat with its accompanying entrance into Berlin, it would be necessary to maintain this all powerfulness, and to continue this protectorship for the thirty, forty, or fifty years during which the payments would be made. To prolong the war for material gain, by refusing to resign ourselves to the losses already suffered, is to prepare the way for new losses.

Such is this war—a war without any probable military issue, a war sterile for the future. At the beginning of this pamphlet we asked ourselves whether it was our duty to submit to it as to a natural ordeal, such as fate brings and takes away. In replying in the affirmative would we not be admitting our weakness and cowardice? War is made by men, they remain the masters of war. It will last as long as they wish. It would seem as though the noncombatants had only one peril to guard against: that of yielding before the hour. This is a real peril, but there is another—*besides the crime of a premature peace there is that of a uselessly prolonged war.* Is speaking of a war without results, then, the equivalent of speaking of a peace without conditions? Who does not see the difference and even the contradiction of the two formulas? Though there seems to be no chance for the war to end in any decisive action, it is both a necessity and a sacred duty for a people like ours never to yield to the force of the enemy, never to accept unjust conditions which might be offered to us. Whatever happens, a peace which directly or indirectly jeopardizes the political and economic independence of France and Belgium must be refused, for one people cannot be allowed to submit itself to the will of another people.

We do not, as in a fit of criminal folly, ask our country to sue for peace. But

we do not believe that the hour for ending the war has been written in advance in the book of destiny. Peace will not come by itself. It must not be waited for as for a miracle; it must be prepared like a work of man which will be what the efforts of all make it.

If all the nations are bent upon massacre, it is because they are separated by a tragic misunderstanding. Each side is sure that the other wants to humiliate it, ruin it, wipe it out. What proof has it? Noisy and fanatical manifestations, rumors, legends, race tendencies or historical traditions. It is because these fears feed upon themselves that they grow constantly and endlessly. And yet, will not peace sooner or later assume the form of an understanding between the two powerful groups of nations which cannot dream of such a thing as suppressing each other? Does it not presuppose some understanding preceded by some truce? It is difficult to conceive how the States at war can ever treat if they make it a point of honor to declare themselves unwilling to treat.

Does it not seem as though we women, who are distractedly seeking our real duty, had a part to play at the present time? The combatants in spite of hardships, of which they alone know the full weight, deny themselves any words or thoughts which would distract them from the bloody work to which they are bound. They are fighting in silence. Yet at times, almost timidly, they turn to us. They ask us whether the war is progressing and whether peace is near. While they are watching over us, face to face with the enemy, they are hoping that we, too, are watching over them. *Can we tell them that we take no interest in the future, that the war will end when it can?* Would not their ardor be greater if they were sure that *we would not leave them at their heroic mission one hour more than is necessary?*

753 French Communes Devastated

A total of 753 communes or townships have been partially or totally destroyed through military operations in France since the beginning of the war, according to statistics gathered by the Ministry of the Interior and published July 1. These communes are distributed over eleven of the departments of France, including those in Ardennes still occupied wholly by the Germans, who are in possession of 2,554 towns of the total of 36,247 in all France, or 7 per cent.

Houses to the number of 16,669 have been destroyed and 29,594 partially destroyed in these communes. In 148 communes the proportion of houses destroyed exceeds 50 per cent., while it is 80 per cent. in 74 towns and less than 50 per cent. in the remainder.

Public buildings destroyed in 428 communes were 331 churchs, 379 schools, 221 town halls, 300 other public buildings of various sorts, and 60 bridges. Of these buildings 56 had been classed as historic monuments, including the Town Hall of Arras and the cathedral and Town Hall of Rheims. Three hundred and thirty factories which supported 57,000 persons were destroyed.

The German War Profit Tax

[A Semi-Official Explanation of the Present Law]

By Dr. Paul Marcuse

GERMANY passed a law on Dec. 24, 1915, which is usually called the war profit tax law, and which the press of other countries declares to be almost equal to confiscation. Of course, every war requires an increase of taxation, and even a victorious nation cannot expect to unload all losses and burdens caused by the war on the enemy. Besides this, the law does not impose any new taxes, but is preparative and only a logical continuance of a taxation started by Germany some years ago.

The war tax law of 1913 (Wehrbeitragsgesetz) was a tax imposed once on the income and the property of all individuals and on the surplus accumulated by all corporations. Individuals only (excluding corporations) were further subjected to a tax collected every three years on their increase of property (Besitzsteuergesetz.) Thus corporations were only slightly affected by these taxes, although it may be admitted that a taxation of both corporations and their shareholders would have been a double taxation of the income gained by corporations.

The tax imposed on the increase of property of individuals will be due for the first time in April, 1917; so that at this time mainly the increase of property gained by individuals during the war would be subject to taxation.

Not to tax the profits gained by the large corporations would have been not only unfair, but would have meant that stockholders having spent this increase would be exempt from taxation while only economizing individuals would suffer a penalty by paying the tax alone. Therefore the war tax law undertakes to tax the profits of corporations gained in excess of their average profits in time of peace.

How high the tax will be is still undecided and will greatly depend on the need of funds; that the tax naturally will be higher than the taxes levied heretofore goes without saying.

So it seemed necessary to prevent corporations from dividing their rich dividends between their stockholders at the present time and leaving low bank accounts after the end of the war. The law therefore proposes to exclude from dividing as dividend 50 per cent. of such excess profits.

The details of the law are as follows:

1. Subject to the law are all stock corporations (Actiengesellschaften, Commanditgesellschaften auf Actien) with limited liabilities (G. m. b. H.) building and loan associations (Genossenschaften), mining corporations.

2. Excess profit is the profit of three consecutive business years, the first of which includes August, 1914, over and above the average peace profit. Average peace profit in the sense of the law is the average of three of the five preceding business years, leaving out the best and the poorest year. For instance, corporations whose business year is the calendar year will have to compare the profits of 1914-1917 with the average profits of the years 1909-1913. In the case of corporations organized less than eight years ago the average peace profit is estimated at 5 per cent. of their capital.

3. Profit in the sense of the law is the profit as shown by the balance, subject, however, to the following: Business men and corporations always thought it good policy to protect themselves against any drawbacks by creating strong reserves in their assets, which therefore contain real profits. These reserves, which are in fact undivided profits, have always been treated by our tax laws as profits and were subject to the income tax. The new law also considers such undivided profits as profits which are to be added to the profit shown in the balance sheet.

4. Fifty per cent. of such excess profits is to be held as a special reserve (Sonderreserve), and is to be invested in domestic bonds. This reserve is indivisible and may not be touched by the corporations, not even to be used for paying debts. In case of a corporation already having declared its profits for 1914, any sum voluntarily placed on a surplus account has to be transferred as a special reserve and invested accordingly, while corporations without such voluntary reserve will be required to hold in reserve an amount equal to the excess profit of two

years. In case of decrease in gain during the two and three years the special reserve may be reduced proportionately.

5. Branches of foreign corporations are subject to the law only as far as their profits derived from their German branch exceed their average peace profits. Excess profits and average peace profits in this sense are identical with the profit on which a State income tax levies the taxes.

6. The balance sheet must be filed with the State Government; in Prussia most likely with the tax board (Einkommensteuer-Veranlagungs-Kommission).

New Austrian Income Taxes

HEAVY new income taxes have been imposed in Austria as a result of the war. They apply both to domestic and foreign corporations and to private individuals.

Domestic corporations will pay 10 per cent. tax on that part of their increased income that does not exceed 5 per cent. of the invested capital, 15 per cent. for increased income in excess of 5 per cent. but not over 10 per cent. of invested capital, and 5 per cent. more for each 5 per cent. of invested capital until the tax reaches 35 per cent.

Foreign corporations pay on their increased income as follows: $40,600, 20 per cent.; $40,600 to $81,200, 25 per cent.; $81,200 to $142,100, 30 per cent.; $142,100 to $203,000, 35 per cent., and above $203,000, 40 per cent.

No war tax is imposed should the increased income not be in excess of $2,300 per year. This applies to domestic as well as foreign businesses.

Personal incomes increased in 1914, 1915, and 1916 over the previous five years' average are to pay the new war tax as follows:

For an increase of $2,030, or part thereof, (exceeding $609,) 5 per cent.; for each addititonal increase of $2,030, or part thereof, 10 per cent.; for each additional increase of $4,060, or part thereof, 15 per cent.; for each additional increase of $4,060, or part thereof, 20 per cent.; for each additional increase of $4,060, or part thereof, 25 per cent.; for each additional increase of $4,060, or part thereof, 30 per cent.; for each additional increase of $40,600, or part thereof, 35 per cent.; for each additional increase of $40,600, or part thereof, 40 per cent.; for the amount of increase above $101,500, 45 per cent.

On the Rocks a Fourth Time

Professor Collins of Christiania University writes in the Tidens Tegn:

Four times in the course of four centuries has a single European State been so powerful and so ambitious that it has sought to win the overlordship of Europe, and thereby of the world: The Spain of Philip II., the France of Louis XIV., the France of Napoleon I., and now, at last, Germany. Four times have less powerful military States formed a great coalition to avert a new Roman Empire, built upon conquest.

The dream of universal monarchy, inherited from the Romans, has three times suffered shipwreck, and is presumably on the point of running on the rocks a fourth time. And this time may not improbably prove to be the last. In that case it is a new era of which we are witnessing the unspeakable birth-pangs.

England has in every case acted in its own well-considered interest, but at the same time, whether purposely or not, in the interest of the whole European family. To the advantage of all, no less than to their own, the British have kept the way open toward a far higher form of world State than any universal monarchy.

The Allies' Economic Conference

Plans for "War After War"

ONE of the chief events growing out of the war has been the Economic Conference of the Entente Allies, which sat in Paris on the four days June 14 to 17, 1916. Eight Governments were represented—France, Belgium, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Portugal, Russia, and Serbia. The conference had a twofold object: First, to consider the tightening of the blockade of the Central Powers and carrying as far as possible the present scheme of economic strangulation; second, to lay the foundations of an economic union which will foil German plans of commercial penetration after the war. The decisions reached by the conference are not binding upon the different countries, but form the basis on which each country is now expected to frame legislation, negotiate commercial treaties, and generally mold its economic policy.

The great difficulty which lies in the way of the realization of the aims of the conference is the British policy of free trade. As was explained in a special article, "Is England Going to Abandon Free Trade?" published in CURRENT HISTORY, April, 1916, the high tariff advocates have revived their agitation and are demanding immediate consideration of a new tariff policy. In the choice of delegates to the conference they scored a point. Mr. Runciman, President of the Board of Trade and a very strong free trader, was unable to go to Paris, and his place was taken by the Marquess of Crewe, whose free-trade views are less pronounced, while the delegation included Bonar Law, the Colonial Secretary and leader of the higher tariff party, and William Morris Hughes, the Prime Minister of Australia. Mr. Hughes, indeed, was the most conspicuous figure at the conference. Not only did he come from a far distant country as the representative of a workingmen's Government, but during his visit to the Old World he carried on a vigorous and unexpected campaign in favor of an economic counteroffensive against Germany, thus becoming for the time being the leader of one side in the great controversy between the rival schools of English fiscal policy.

ADDRESS BY BRIAND

The conference sat in private, but, in addition to the resolutions printed at the end of this article, a good deal of light has been thrown on the ideas of the Allies by speeches and statements by leading statesmen. For example, Aristide Briand, the French Prime Minister, when welcoming the delegates on the first day of the conference, delivered an address in the course of which he said:

To conquer is not enough. In addition to a military union which will assure our military success, and to a diplomatic union which will be formed for future reciprocal penetration and pooling of common interests, we have an economic union, which will guarantee, through fruitful harmony, the intensive development of our material resources, the exchange of allied products, and their distribution throughout the world's markets. * * *

The war has shown us the extent of economic slavery to which we were to be made subject. We must realize that the danger was great and that our adversaries were on the eve of success. Then came the war. The war, with its immense sacrifices which it demands, will not have been in vain if it brings about an economic liberation of the world and restores sane commercial methods. We are all determined to shake off the yoke which was being forced upon us and to resume our commercial independence in order freely to join it to that of our allies. * * * If it is proved that old mistakes nearly enabled our enemies to exert an irremediable tyranny over the world's productive forces you will resolutely abandon them, and tread new paths. * * *

But your gaze will also be turned to the grave duties which will be placed upon the allied Governments when the time comes to proceed with the commercial, industrial, and maritime restoration of our various countries. Several of these countries have gone through a period of enemy occupation which has respected neither natural resources nor accumulated stocks nor factory equipment. The great work of restoration

which demands the effort of all the Allies will without doubt call for special measures of recuperation at the expense of the vanquished foe, measures of defense and protection during the period of making good the damage done, also measures of collaboration for the mutual utilization of the natural resources of the Allies.

Finally, there will open up a future which we can regard with justified confidence, a future for which a permanent system of our economic relations must be prepared. Thus, after having organized the necessary defense against a common danger, we must consider the conditions of the practical utilization of our internal economic alliance.

MARKS A NEW ERA

Baron de Broqueville, the Belgian Premier and War Minister; speaking at the conclusion of the conference, declared that its aim had been absolutely achieved. "The close co-operation, of which we have formulated the basis," he added, "marks in the material domain, as in the moral, the opening of a new era. Some have tried to force the admission that we have been preparing for peace with a war grouping. For defense—yes; for war—no. What is being organized today is a protective union against war. To France, who conceived the first idea of this conference, we pay the full tribute of our admiration."

The document containing the resolutions was signed by the principal representatives of the allied nations in the following order:

FRANCE

M. Clémentel, President of the conference, Minister of Commerce and Industry.
M. Gaston Doumergue, Minister of the Colonies.
M. Sembat, Minister of Public Works.
M. A. Métin, Minister of Labor and Social Insurance.
M. J. Thierry, Under Secretary for War.
M. L. Nail, Under Secretary for Marine.

BELGIUM

Count de Broqueville, Premier and War Minister.
Baron Beyens, Foreign Minister.
M. Van de Vyvère, Finance Minister.
Count Goblet d'Alviella, Minister of State.

GREAT BRITAIN

Marquess of Crewe, Lord President of the Council.
Mr. A. Bonar Law, Colonial Secretary.
Mr. W. M. Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia.
Sir George Foster, Minister of Commerce of Canada.

ITALY

Signor Tittoni, Ambassador to France.
Signor Daneo, Finance Minister.

JAPAN

Baron Sakatani, formerly Finance Minister.

PORTUGAL

Senhor Affonso Costa, Finance Minister.
Senhor Augusto Soarès, Foreign Minister.

RUSSIA

M. Pokrowski, Controller of the Empire.
M. Prilejaieff, Secretary to the Imperial Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

SERBIA

M. Marinkovitch, Minister of Commerce.

CLEMENTEL'S ANALYSIS

When the text of the resolutions was made public, M. Clémentel issued an important statement, in the course of which he said:

The measures unanimously adopted by the conference of the allied Governments mean much more than just the desire for economic expansion. We are going to conduct this economic struggle in French fashion by organizing the labor of the peoples according to their genius, not, in German fashion, to enslave them. Our enemies are continuing to forge weapons of oppression. The dye trust has just grouped with the Badische anilin factories worth more than $200,000,000. Their avowed object is to maintain after the war the supremacy thanks to which Germany was furnishing 87 per cent. of the world's consumption of dyestuffs.

Dumping is the favorite German weapon. But that is not all, for now the German effort is commencing to get control of primary products, especially certain metals. Against all these measures the Paris conference has made its plans. The economic superiority of the Allies is obvious. To assure it there has not been for one moment any question of adopting a uniform customs policy. Each ally remains absolutely independent. Each product will be the subject of separate negotiation between the States interested in it. Such combinations will be infinitely varied.

Another principle of the allied Governments in this war of legitimate economic defense is to attack no one. The neutral countries have nothing to fear. We are at work to set them free.

The manner in which the Central Empires have conducted the war has been shown by immense economic destruction. Not only have they systematically destroyed all the factories which were within range of their shells, but, further, in the invaded regions which they are administering, their work has been the work of destruction. The plants which produced the necessities of war have had to work at high tension to supply Germany's needs. Those which manufactured commodities which could compete with

German industry have been completely plundered. Not only have the raw materials been taken away, but the machines have been dismantled and sent to Germany. In other factories nothing remains of the means of transmitting power, while the copper has been in great part taken away. Finally, the raw material in stock has found its way into Germany.

The Central Empires will have to give back what they have taken.

Every one knows how the eleventh article of the Treaty of Frankfurt (of 1871, by which Germany and France agreed to maintain in perpetuity the principle of most-favored-nation treatment as the basis of their commercial relations) has been in the hands of the Germans a powerful economic weapon. That clause cannot be reaffirmed. Again, the free handling of raw materials is an essential factor in the economic power of a nation. The Allies are today determined no more to leave these essentials to others.

The Allies have undertaken to submit, during a period which will be decided by them, merchandise of enemy origin to prohibitory or other special regulations which will enable them to oppose efficaciously every attempt at dumping. This understanding is all the more necessary now that Germany has built up in her territories considerable stocks of goods which have largely been made of material from the invaded regions.

The Allies will make arrangements to draw upon one another for everything which is required for their industries. They will thus considerably reduce the purchases they formerly made in the enemy countries. To take advantage of their natural resources they will help one another as much as possible in regard to finance, scientific and technical research, and improvements in transportation.

These plans taken in their entirety constitute a complete program of economic action, the realization of which the Allies are going to undertake without delay.

POLICY DEFINED BY HUGHES

Mr. Hughes, the Australian Prime Minister, speaking at the meeting of the British Empire Producers' Association in London on June 21, was very outspoken as to the forces which are said to be opposed to a policy of economic warfare against Germany. These were some of his chief points:

There are still people in Britain today who, for one reason or another, stand more or less openly for a reversion after the war to things as they were before the war. They want to renew what they euphemistically term "our friendly relations with Germany" after the war. Many of these men are agents of Germany, now during the war they are caretakers of Germany's interests in Britain. Naturally, the German economic domination of the world would have been impossible had her organigation not included many of the influential citizens of the country upon whose vitals she was feeding, who acted, though in many cases they did not perhaps realize the fact, as the instruments, the tools of Germany.

They view with the utmost apprehension the suggestion that Britain should organize her industries and thus slam the door upon their hopes. Of course, they are very careful to cloak their real motives under a cloud of high-sounding words. I do not for a moment include all those who oppose the coming change—for it is coming—among those persons. Many are slaves to mere doctrine; others are the dupes of designing and interested persons. We have to deal with all these, but the only opposition we need fear is that whose roots are imbedded in German gold. We have not only to fight the Germans in Germany, but the agents of Germany in Britain.

How and where are we to begin? I think at the resolutions of the Paris Conference. Their adoption by the allied powers will effect little short of an economic revolution. I believe that through them we can strike a blow right at the heart of Germany. I believe that, rightly used, they are a great charter guaranteeing us and the allied nations, and, indeed, the civilized world, economic independence. It would be intolerable if, after we had sacrificed millions of lives and thousands of millions of treasure in order to prevent Germany imposing her political will upon us, we should slip back into her economic maw.

You know that the Central Powers have recently entered into a very close economic alliance, and Germany is using all its genius for organization to make it effective. At the close of the war we shall have to face not only the Germany of 70,000,000 that we knew, and whose power we felt, but the united forces of the Central Empires, with a population of 120,000,000. Then the neutral nations, growing rich while we grow daily poorer, are making great preparations to capture the world's markets and oust us from our position.

The material basis of every industry is its raw material. Without this industry is helpless. The Paris Conference sets out the position in one of its resolutions. Commonsense and our own bitter experiences have made us realize how vital to national safety and welfare the raw materials of our basic industries are. We have seen what the control of dyes, tungsten, spelter, and other metals by Germany means to this nation. It is profoundly true that if one great power controlled practically all the supplies of such things as copper, lead, zinc, tungsten, petrol, rubber, and cotton, all the world would be suppliant at its feet. We do not want to control the world's supplies of raw materials,

but we must control enough for our own national and economic purposes.

Let us realize that Germany is a great nation, that she will never yield until she is decisively beaten on the field of battle, that as she realizes that with defeat her cherished dreams of world empire must be for ever shattered and in their place come a horrid reality of economic chaos, of revolution, in which dynasties shall topple to their fall, she will fight to the end on the field of battle and on that of trade with all the tremendous power springing from perfect national organization. Nothing short of a resolution as determined as her own, an organization as complete as hers, will enable us to conquer on both fields.

Before his departure for Australia, by way of South Africa, Mr. Hughes completed with the British Government a plan for marketing the manufactures of Australia in Great Britain instead of as before the war in Germany and other countries. Mr. Hughes also conferred with representatives of South Africa, the West Indies, and India on the subject of the sugar industry with regard to the control of that industry after the war.

AMERICAN TRADE INVOLVED

The proceedings of the Allies' Economic Conference have roused a good deal of curiosity, and in some cases anxiety, as to the effect of the proposals upon the commerce of neutral countries. The matter was brought up in the United States Senate on June 29 by Senator Stone of Missouri, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. On his motion a resolution was adopted calling on President Wilson to acquaint the Senate, if possible, with the meaning and the extent of the decisions of the Paris Conference.

Senator Stone intimated that he feared the treaty or agreement entered into by the Allies might prove harmful commercially to the United States unless provisions were made in revenue or tariff legislation then pending in the House to safeguard American interests. While on its face the Paris undertaking bound the allied powers only to present a united commercial front to the Central Powers, there was a suspicion that the trade boycott might extend to neutrals after the war.

"The situation," said Senator Stone, "presents considerations that are possibly of great interest to the United States, and it seems to me that when the Committee on Finance comes to consider revenue legislation it should be informed, as far as possible, as to the exact character of that conference, and of the treaty said to have been entered into."

Senator Stone laid stress particularly on a statement issued by the British Board of Trade, which among other things said that "the Allies declare their common determination to insure the re-establishment of countries suffering from acts of destruction, spoliation, and unjust requisition, and decide to join in devising means to secure the restoration of those countries by giving them a prior claim on raw materials, industrial and agricultural plans and stock, and mercantile fleets, or by assisting them in re-equipping themselves in these respects."

This statement further declared that "the Allies are to conserve all their natural resources during the period of reconstruction after the war for common use," and that "in order to defend their commerce against economic aggression resulting from dumping or other modes of unfair competition the Allies decided to fix by agreement a period during which the commerce of the enemy powers will be submitted to special treatment, and goods originating in their countries will be subjected to prohibition or to a special régime of an effective character."

A step toward making the United States independent of other countries for dyes was announced when the Democrats of the Ways and Means Committee brought into the House of Representatives on July 1 the Revenue bill, which is intended to raise $210,000,000 additional revenue. It is proposed that there should be protective duties for a limited period on the importation of dyestuffs for the purpose of encouraging the American manufacture of dyes to relieve the existing shortage. Another section of the bill provides against dumping.

TO DEFEND OUR TRADE

A further step toward formulating a definite American policy of defense

RUSSIAN EMPEROR GREETING HIS VICTORIOUS TROOPS

The Czar and Czarevitch On a Visit to the Russian Battle Front in Galicia; a Regiment of Cossacks Is Being Reviewed by the Emperor's Staff

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

PANORAMA OF LEMBERG, THE CAPITAL OF GALICIA

This Austrian Railway Centre Is One of the Main Objectives of General Brusiloff in the Great Russian Offensive

against European trade-war measures was taken by the United States Senate in the debate of July 10. Senator Stone, (Democrat,) Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, outlined the situation and was supported by Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, (Republican,) who demanded that the State Department be asked to get all possible information in regard to what the Central Powers, as well as the Allies, intend to do to protect themselves commercially after the war.

After submitting to the Senate a report of the recent economic conference of the Allies at Paris, Mr. Stone called attention to what would happen if Germany should be the victor. He pointed out that the formation of a customs union between Austria-Hungary and Germany would include 120,000,000 people and probably draw within its influence Switzerland, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, and Finland in a vast zollverein of Central Europe. On the other hand, the Entente allies, he said, had already given us a fairly definite suggestion of their policy, and it was impossible to escape the belief that they had in mind a co-operative plan to accomplish economic results which would not be in accord with the interests of the United States. He declared:

The chief mutual purpose of the allied nations is to wage a commercial war against Germany after Germany has been defeated. There has been no attempt to disguise their purpose. But I am impressed with the apprehension that there is a purpose of a larger reach. There is talk of an international understanding among the allied powers that they will work with each other and for themselves as against not only Germany but the rest of the world. The underlying purpose is to aid each other in recouping and rehabilitating themselves. There is a tendency toward a vast and exclusive industrial union.

In support of this Senator Stone quoted from the speech recently delivered by William Morris Hughes, the Australian Premier, in the British Parliament, in which the purpose was declared to hold the sea-carrying trade and control the markets of the world. He suggested that Great Britain would undertake through a commercial union to control the world's supply of copper, lead, zinc, tungsten, petrol, rubber, and cotton, so that "all the world would be suppliant at its feet." Senator Stone continued:

Perhaps it would be only natural for these nations, victorious in war, to turn a cold, icy face to America and all the rest of the world—crush Germany industrially as well as physically—and join in a common effort to rebuild their shattered fortunes by concerted action without deference to other nations. That policy would be short-sighted, resulting in retaliatory measures, and wounded nations would suffer most if they entered upon a struggle with the neutral nations who might be most helpful to them in a time of such dire stress. But their views and ours may not be in accord.

OUR STRONGEST WEAPON

Senator Lodge followed Senator Stone by urging the passage of a resolution calling for full information regarding the trade-war measures now on foot among both groups of European belligerents. To have all possible information, he said, was the first and obvious step toward self-defense. He continued:

At this time the economic situation must be largely a matter of pure speculation. All we know is that the greatest war which has ever afflicted mankind has been raging for two years in Europe and that, whatever its physical and political results may be, such a convulsion cannot but bring in its train, when peace comes, enormous economic changes. What the powers will do when peace comes, whether defeated or victorious, no man may say; but we may be perfectly certain they will devote every effort to restoring normal conditions and bringing back as rapidly as possible sound economic conditions in their respective countries. That they will attempt legislation or agreements for that purpose is not an unreasonable inference.

What concerns us in the United States, and alone concerns us, is to be as well prepared as we can be for the future, which necessarily cannot be known, but about which we can only guess. We know that the results will be of the most far-reaching character.

The only wise course for us is to be prepared for any contingency. There are two forms of preparation—the physical and the economic. We ought to make every possible preparation for our own defense by sea and by land. I believe we are about to make suitable preparation by sea. I wish I could say the same as to our preparation by land. We must have such defense as will secure our own peace and satisfy the world that we are not to be attacked either on our Pacific or Atlantic Coast by anybody.

We know that the temporary prosperity, so called, due to the vast expenditure of foreign money in this country during the last two years, is wholly artificial and unreal. It cannot last. Purchases for foreign account

are said to be declining already, because the Allies are now largely supplying their own needs. Those vast expenditures will cease absolutely on the coming of peace, and we shall find ourselves in a world where the purchasing power of the nations who have hitherto bought of us in normal times will be immensely diminished. We shall also find ourselves in a world where capital has been destroyed in unheard-of amounts, industry paralyzed, and all the stricken countries working in desperation to restore their industrial fortune.

We shall be required to meet also what is generally referred to as industrial organization. If we are to meet some of the international combinations likely to occur, some of the tariffs likely to be imposed, we must remember the weapon in our hands is the fact that we have the best market in the world for import and export, and if we hold that weapon with a strong hand the nations of the world will think twice before they throw that market away or attempt to destroy exports essential to their being.

They will try to close the gates of trade and commerce upon us in many directions. In order to organize our industries to make them a bulwark against the economic struggles we may have to face, the first thing is not to cripple but to encourage them. We must put them in condition to stand behind the people and the Government, to meet any tests, and make the world understand we cannot be invaded either physically or economically with impunity.

Text of Economic Program Adopted by Allies

THE important economic conference of the Entente allies, held in Paris, June 14-17, formulated an elaborate plan of trade warfare against the Central Powers, both for the tightening of the present war blockade and for the curtailing of German commercial activities in the years succeeding the restoration of peace. The text of the resolutions adopted, as transmitted by Ambassador Sharp to Secretary Lansing, is given below in full:

A—Measures for duration of the war.

1. Unification of laws and regulations prohibiting trading with the enemy as follows:

The Allies will forbid their nationals and all persons residing in their territory all commerce with:

Inhabitants of enemy countries of whatever nationality.

Enemy subjects wherever resident.

Individuals, commercial houses, and companies whose business is controlled entirely or in part by enemy subjects or which are subject to enemy influences, and who will be listed.

They will prohibit the entry into their territory of all merchandise originating in or coming from an enemy country.

Endeavor will be made to establish a system for canceling contracts entered into with enemy subjects and detrimental to national interests.

2. Commercial houses owned or exploited by enemy subjects on territory of the Allies will be placed under sequestration or control. Measures will be taken to liquidate certain of these houses as well as their merchandise, the sums thus realized remaining under sequestration or control.

3. Besides the prohibitions of exportation rendered necessary by the internal condition of each ally they will complete not only in their territory, but also in their dominions, protectorates, and colonies, the measures already taken against provisioning the enemy.

By unifying lists of contraband of war and prohibitions of export, and especially in prohibiting the exportation of all merchandise declared as absolute or conditional contraband of war.

By subordinating the granting of authorization for export to neutral countries whenever such exportation might be effected to enemy territory either by creating a controlling board in these countries through mutual agreement of the Allies or by special guarantees, such as limiting the quantity exported, Consul control, &c.

B—Transitory measures for the commercial, industrial, agricultural, and maritime period of reconstruction of the allied countries.

1. Proclaiming their solidarity for the restoration of the countries, victims of destruction, spoliation, and abusive requisition, decide to investigate in common the means of restoring to such countries as a special privilege or of aiding them to renew their raw material, industrial and agricultural machinery, live stock, and merchant marine.

2. Noting that the war has terminated all the treaties of commerce which united them with the enemy powers, and considering that it is essential that during the period of economic reconstruction which will follow the cessation of hostilities the liberty of none of the Allies shall be hampered by the possible pretension on the part of the enemy powers of a claim to the most favored nation treatment, the Allies agree that the benefit of this treatment shall not be accorded to such powers during a number of years which shall be

decided by means of a mutual understanding between the Allies.

The Allies mutually agree for a number of years, and in the greatest measure possible, to provide compensating outlets in such cases where disadvantageous consequences may result for the commerce by the application of the agreement mentioned in the preceding paragraphs.

3. The Allies declare themselves united in preserving for the allied countries in preference to all others their natural resources during the period of commercial, industrial, agricultural, and maritime reconstruction, and to this end they agree to establish special arrangements which will facilitate an exchange of resources.

4. In order to protect their commerce, industries, agriculture, and navigation against an economic depression resulting from dumping, or against any other unfair method of competition, the Allies decide to come to an agreement to fix a period of time during which the commerce of the enemy powers shall be subjected either to prohibition or to a special system which shall be efficacious. The Allies shall reach an understanding by diplomatic channels regarding the special regulations to be imposed during the period above mentioned upon ships of the enemy powers.

5. The Allies shall seek measures to be taken in common or separately to prevent the exercise in their territories by enemy subjects of certain industries or professions of interest to the national defense or economic independence.

C—Permanent measures of mutual aid and collaboration between the Allies.

The Allies are resolved to take without delay the necessary measures to rid themselves of dependence on enemy countries as regards raw material and manufactured articles which are essential to the normal development of their economic activity.

These measures should tend to assure the independence of the Allies not only regarding those matters concerning the sources of supply, but also those touching the financial, commercial, and maritime organization.

In order to carry out their resolution the Allies will adopt such means as seem to them most appropriate according to the nature of the merchandise and following the principles which govern the economic policies.

Especially they may have recourse to subsidized enterprises under the direction or control of the Governments themselves, or to payment to encourage scientific and technical researches, the development of industries, and natural resources, or to customs tariffs, or to temporary or permanent prohibitions, or even to a combination of these various means.

Whatever means may be adopted, the end sought by the Allies is to increase in large measure the production of the whole of their territory, so that they may maintain and develop their economic situation, and independence with respect to the enemy.

So as to permit a reciprocal sale of their products, the Allies engage to take measures destined to facilitate exchange thereof as much by the establishment of direct and rapid services of transportation by land and sea at reduced rates as by the development and amelioration of postal, telegraph, and other communications.

The Allies agree to bring together technical delegates to prepare measures suitable to unify as much as possible their laws concerning patents, marks, or origins, and trademarks.

The Allies will adopt in regard to the inventions, trademarks, literary and artistic works created during the war in an enemy country a system as uniform as possible and applicable after the cessation of hostilities. This system shall be elaborated by the technical delegates of the Allies.

D—The representatives of the allied Governments, realizing that, for their common defense against the enemy have resolved to adopt a similar economic policy under conditions determined by resolutions taken, and, recognizing that the efficiency of this policy depends absolutely upon the immediate putting into effect of these resolutions, agree to recommend their respective Governments to take without delay all suitable measures for enabling this policy to produce immediately its full and entire effect, and to communicate to each other the decisions reached for the attainment of this purpose.

The Trade War Against Germany

By Philipp Heineken

General Director North German Lloyd Company

THAT they hate us, all our big and little enemies in the northwest, the west, the south, and the east, and that they have sworn to bring about our economic and political ruin, is known to us; we already have an almost compassionate smile for this hate and this impotent desperation, especially as we see the military hopes and plans of our enemies go to pieces against the

iron shield of our army and navy. But that this hate is able to cause such a dreadful confusion in the heads of the political economists of these countries and make them forget all the laws of economic logic, as is shown in this preaching of a trade war against us, is one of the most difficult riddles of this great time.

The remarkable part of all this is not that the future trade war is to be carried on against the Central Powers with every means at hand—for instance, preferential tariffs within the British Empire for English goods—that is, reciprocity in imports and exports, complete exclusion of the great German and Austrian shipping companies from the passenger and emigrant ports by forbidding them to land or take on passengers in any port of the united hostile countries, the handicapping of the freight business of these companies through the imposition of high fees, &c.—but that our enemies are naïve enough to believe that the Central Powers would calmly put up with all this without replying with countermeasures in the economic field. On the one side it is wished entirely to prevent the exportation of German goods, either fully manufactured or half made up, and of raw materials in the future. But right here the plan already fails to work out entirely as desired, as there will be some persons willing to make concessions in favor of certain German articles which our enemies, even with the most serious efforts, cannot do without forever, or which they cannot produce in as good quality, despite all endeavors and the most ruthless stealing of patents "Made in Germany"!

Regarding German imports from hostile foreign countries, too, the people over here are not worrying overmuch. Paper lies still, and it requires only a stroke of the pen to rob the Central Powers of every hope of being able to obtain raw materials from foreign lands in the future; yet it is secretly hoped or taken for granted that Germany and her allies will continue thankfully to receive such articles, for the most part manufactured, as the members of the Multiple Entente cannot unload upon the neutrals!

Here is where we find the first contradiction, for a Germany damaged by a lack of export trade and forced to be content with a passive trade balance would hardly be in a position to resume her importation from abroad upon its former scale. Quite aside from this, it betrays a serious lack of knowledge and logic regarding economic matters when a person believes that Germany could be permanently excluded from her former mighty import business without causing the heaviest kind of damage to the exporting countries concerned. What would become of a manufacturer who had been conducting his business for decades upon the basis of a certain annual production, and who should suddenly, from some reason or other, chase away his former best customer without first having made arrangements for a substitute in another quarter? Well, the answer would not be very hard to find. The manufacturer would find the other markets surfeited, and consequently could find no place to sell his goods; in other words, he would be suffocated by his own overproduction and go bankrupt. Exactly the same fate threatens the countries that exported goods to Germany up to the outbreak of the war. Those heavy exports that went to Germany simply cannot be disposed of elsewhere. The American cotton, the California fruit, the coffee of Brazil, to which the German market is closed during the war, would be hard hit if this condition, according to the plans of our enemies, were to be made permanent in time of peace.

So far as England is concerned, and in line with what we have learned during this war, such an injury to the economic life of the people of the neutral countries would be rather an incentive than an obstacle to further progress along the road chosen in the active and passive boycott of Germany. For there is certainly no doubt in intelligent circles in neutral countries as to what may be expected from Albion's lust for economic expansion after the war, nor that that land, now ostensibly fighting for the rights of the weaker, would hesitate a moment, under certain circumstances, unscrupulously to sacrifice both its pres-

ent allies and the neutrals in its own interest.

Happily, not only neutral countries would have to regret the loss of the German market, but England itself, in the form of its colonies, would be seriously hit by such a change in the conditions of the export trade of the world. It seems, however, that on the other side of the Channel they have already entirely forgotten that Chamberlain's broad idea of a "Greater Britain" in an imperialistic-economic sense was wrecked in its day principally on the opposition of the colonies, with Australia in the lead, because they feared the loss of their non-English, and principally their German, export field. Nothing has happened since then to change these facts. Today the English colonies in Africa, India, Australia, &c., would suffer just as much as Germany herself through the loss of the German export market for their products, such as fats, oils, wool, cotton, tobacco, jute, fruits, &c.

It is significant that just at the present juncture there is an increase in the number of voices among our enemies that declare the rigorous prosecution of the trade war against Germany to be simply impossible. An English member of Parliament declared recently that not a single one of the propositions designed for the economic injury of Germany could be put into effect without at the same time injuring English trade. A boycott of German trade after the war would only have the effect of driving all the neutrals into Germany's arms, as she would naturally make them particularly advantageous terms. In a similar manner, in connection with the financial-political conference of the Multiple Entente at Paris, it was asserted from the Liberal side in the British Parliament that the boycotting of German trade implied an extremely dangerous policy from which England itself would suffer the greatest damage. According to the speaker, a permanent peace must be based upon the principle that Germany, after she had made atonement for her crime (!) should be forgiven. Peace must accord Germany an honorable position among the nations. We are convinced from our successes up to now on land, on water, and in the air, that the decision as to who will have to ask forgiveness will be placed in our hands; but one thing, at least, is certain, and that is that Germany simply cannot be isolated economically without entailing the destruction of the entire international economic system and burying our enemies as well as the neutrals under its fragments.

So it appears all the more remarkable to us Germans when the chauvinistic part of the hostile, principally the English press, with the support of the enemy Governments and of representative trade bodies, (compare the acts of the English Chambers of Commerce Congress at the end of last February,) agitates for this completely utopian idea of eliminating Germany from the world market with an energy worthy of a better cause. If we do not wish to deny that our opponents have any intelligence or logic at all, there is really but one explanation of this phenomenon: Our opponents from the beginning had no illusions at any time as to the uselessness of the entire agitation, but something had to be done to compensate for their military failures, and at the same time some slogan must be created which would again rekindle the enthusiasm of our enemies for the war that had so seriously slackened, and this slogan was the economic destruction of Germany after the war. And besides, by means of this threatened boycotting of the Central Powers, our enemies already wish to create an artificial object of compensation which they would be willing graciously to renounce at the peace negotiations when calculated against the military successes of Germany and her brave allies. In a word, they want to "bluff" us in the good old English style! There is a very simple remedy for this, and that is to keep cool and leave everything in the hands of our brave brothers, who, out there on sea and land, are upon the best road toward laying the foundations upon which Germany will be able to build the economic future that seems right to her.

Admiral Jellicoe's Official Report of the Battle of Jutland

Vice Admiral Sir John Jellicoe's official report of the North Sea naval battle, which the British call the battle of Jutland and the Germans the battle of the Skagerrak, was made public on July 6. It is universally regarded in Great Britain as establishing the battle as a British victory. The German and English estimates of each other's losses are still widely at variance. The most conservative British estimate places the total German loss at 109,220 tons, as compared with a British loss of 112,250 tons. The German Admiralty continues to admit losses amounting only to 63,000 tonnage, as against an asserted British loss of about 125,000 tons. These discrepancies can be adjusted only after the publication of full German official reports. Readers desiring a good tactical summary of Admiral Jellicoe's narrative will find it in the brief commentary of Admiral Bridge immediately following Jellicoe's statement.

ADMIRAL JELLICOE'S report to the British Admiralty is the fullest official account thus far available of the famous battle off the coast of Jutland, though even here the full list of ships and commanders is "withheld from publication for the present, in accordance with the usual practice." Following is the full text of all the vital portions of the document:

Be pleased to inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that the German High Sea Fleet was brought to action on the 31st of May, 1916, to the westward of Jutland Bank, off the coast of Denmark.

The ships of the Grand Fleet, in pursuance of the general policy of periodical sweeps through the North Sea, had left their base on the previous day in accordance with instructions issued by me. In the early afternoon of Wednesday, May 31, the first and second battle cruiser squadrons, the first, second, and third light cruiser squadrons, and destroyers from the first, ninth, tenth, and thirteenth flotillas, supported by the fifth battle squadron, were, in accordance with my directions, scouting to the southward of the battle fleet, which was accompanied by the third battle cruiser squadron, the first and second cruiser squadrons, the fourth light cruiser squadron, and the fourth, eleventh, and twelfth flotillas.

The junction of the battle fleet with the scouting force after the enemy had been sighted was delayed owing to the southerly course steered by our advanced force during the first hour after commencing their action with the enemy battle cruisers. This, of course, was unavoidable, as had our battle cruisers not followed the enemy to the southward the main fleets would never have been in contact.

BEATTY IN THE LEAD

The battle cruiser fleet, gallantly led by Vice Admiral Beatty, and admirably supported by the ships of the fifth battle squadron under Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas, fought the action under, at times, disadvantageous conditions, especially in regard to light, in a manner that was in keeping with the best traditions of the service.

Admiral Jellicoe estimates the German losses at two battleships of the dreadnought type, one of the Deutschland type, which was seen to sink; the battle cruiser Lützow, admitted by the Germans; one battle cruiser of the dreadnought type, one battle cruiser seen to be so severely damaged that its return was extremely doubtful; five light cruisers, seen to sink—one of them possibly a battleship; six destroyers seen to sink, three destroyers so damaged that it was doubtful if they would be able to reach port, and a submarine sunk. (In the foregoing Admiral Jellicoe enumerates twenty-one German vessels as probably lost. The last British report placed the total at eighteen.) In concluding Admiral Jellicoe says:

The conditions of low visibility under which the day action took place and the approach of darkness enhanced the difficulty of giving an accurate report of the damage inflicted or the names of the ships sunk by our forces. But after a most careful examination of the evidence of all the officers who testified to seeing enemy vessels actually sink and personal interviews with a large number of these officers, I am of the opinion that the list shown in the inclosure gives the minimum numbers, though it is possible it is not accurate as regards the particular class of vessel, especially those which were sunk during the night attack. In addition to the vessels sunk, it is unquestionable that many other ships were very seriously damaged by gunfire and torpedo attack.

LOSSES STATED

I deeply regret to report the loss of his Majesty's ships Queen Mary, Indefatigable, Invinncible, Defense, Black Prince, Warrior,

Tipperary, Ardent, Fortune, Shark, Sparrow Hawk, Nestor, Nomad, and Turbulent. Still more do I regret the resultant heavy loss of life. The death of such gallant and distinguished officers as Arbuthnot, Hood, Captain Sowerby, Captain Prowse, Captain Cay, Captain Bonham, Captain Charles J. Wintour, and Captain Stanley B. Ellis, and those who perished with them, is a serious loss to the navy and to the country. They led officers and men who were equally gallant, and whose death is mourned by their comrades in the Grand Fleet. They fell doing their duty nobly—a death which they would have been first to desire.

The enemy fought with the gallantry that was expected of him. We particularly admired the conduct of those on board a disabled German light cruiser which passed down the British line shortly after the deployment under a heavy fire, which was returned by the only gun left in action. The conduct of the officers and men was entirely beyond praise.

On all sides it is reported that the glorious traditions of the past were most worthily upheld; whether in the heavy ships, cruisers, light cruisers, or destroyers, the same admirable spirit prevailed. The officers and men were cool and determined, with a cheeriness that would have carried them through anything. The heroism of the wounded was the admiration of all. I cannot adequately express the pride with which the spirit of the fleet filled me.

It must never be forgotten that the prelude to action is the work of the engineroom department. During an action the officers and men of that department perform their most important duties without the incentive which a knowledge of the course of action gives to those on deck. The qualities of discipline and endurance are taxed to the utmost under these conditions. They were, as always, most fully maintained throughout the operations. Several ships attained speeds that had never before been reached, thus showing very clearly their high state of steaming efficiency. Failures in material were conspicuous by their absence.

Of the medical officers Admiral Jellicoe says:

Lacking in many cases all essentials for performing critical operations, with their staffs seriously depleted by casualties, they worked untiringly with the greatest success.

The hardest fighting fell to the battle cruiser fleet, says Admiral Jellicoe, the units of which were less heavily armored than their opponents, and he expresses high appreciation of the handling of all the vessels and commends Admirals Burney, Jerram, Sturdee, Evan-Thomas, Duff, and Leveson, and continues:

Vice Admiral Sir David Beatty once again showed his fine qualities of gallant leadership, firm determination, and correct strategic fighting. He appreciated situations at once on sighting the first enemy's lighter forces, then his battle cruisers, finally his battleships. I can fully sympathize with his feelings when the evening mist and fading light robbed the fleet of that complete victory for which he had manoeuvred, for which the vessels in company with him had striven so hard. The services rendered by him, not only on this but on two previous occasions, have been of the very greatest value.

FROM BEATTY'S REPORT

Vice Admiral Beatty's report to Admiral Jellicoe particularly mentions the work of the Engadine, Commander Robinson, which towed the Warrior seventy-five miles during the night of May 31, and continues:

It is impossible to give a definite statement of the losses inflicted on the enemy. Visibility was for the most part low and fluctuating. Caution forbade me to close the range too much with my inferior force. A review of all the reports leads me to conclude that the enemy's losses were considerably greater than those we sustained in spite of their superiority, and included battleships, battle cruisers, light cruisers, and destroyers. This is eloquent testimony to the very high standard of gunnery and torpedo efficiency of his Majesty's ships. The control and drill remained undisturbed throughout, in many cases, despite the heavy damage to material and personnel.

Our superiority over the enemy in this respect was very marked, their efficiency becoming rapidly reduced under punishment, while ours was maintained throughout. As was to be expected, the behavior of the ships' companies under the terrible conditions of a modern sea battle was magnificent without exception. The strain on their morale was a severe test of discipline and training. The officers and men were imbued with one thought—a desire to defeat the enemy.

RARE BRAVERY OF A BOY

The fortitude of the wounded was admirable. A boy of the first class, John Travers Cornwall* of the Chester, was mortally wounded early in the action. He, neverthe-

*Cornwall joined the navy in August, 1915, and went into the training school. He had been at sea only a few weeks when he was killed. The Captain of the Chester in a letter to the boy's mother says: "He remained steady at his most exposed post at the gun waiting for orders. His gun would not bear on the enemy. All but two of the crew were killed or wounded, and he was the only one who was in such an exposed position, but he felt he might be needed, and indeed he might have been, so he stayed there standing and waiting under a heavy fire, with just his own brave heart and God's help to support him. I cannot express to you my admiration of the son you have lost from this world. I hope to place in the boy's mess a plate with his name on and the date and the words, 'Faithful Unto Death.'"

less, remained standing alone at a most exposed post quietly awaiting orders until the end of the action, with the gun's crew dead or wounded all around him. His age was under 16½ years. I regret that he has since died. I recommend his case for special recognition, in justice to his memory and as an acknowledgment of the high example set by him.

In such a conflict as raged for five hours it was inevitable that we should suffer severe losses. It was necessary to maintain touch with greatly superior forces in fluctuating visibility, often very low. We lost the Invincible, the Indefatigable, and Queen Mary, from which ships there were few survivors. The casualties in the other ships were heavy. I wish to express my deepest regret at the loss of so many gallant comrades, officers and men. They died gloriously.

SIGHTING THE ENEMY

Extracts from Vice Admiral Beatty's report give the course of events before the battle fleet came on the scene of action. At 2:20 o'clock in the afternoon the Galatea reported the presence of enemy vessels. At 2:35 o'clock considerable smoke was sighted to the eastward. This made it clear that the enemy was to the northward and eastward, and that it would be impossible for him to round Horn Reef without being brought to action. The course of the British ships consequently was altered to the eastward, and subsequently northeastward.

The enemy was sighted at 3:31 o'clock. His force consisted of five battle cruisers. Vice Admiral Beatty's first and third light cruiser squadrons, without awaiting orders, spread eastward, forming a screen in advance of the battle cruiser squadron under Admiral Evan-Thomas, consisting of four battleships of the Queen Elizabeth class. The light cruisers engaged the enemy and the cruiser squadron came up at high speed, taking station ahead of the battle cruisers. At 3:30 o'clock Vice Admiral Beatty increased the speed to 25 knots and formed the line of battle, the second battle cruiser squadron forming astern of the first, with two destroyer flotillas ahead.

Vice Admiral Beatty then turned east-southeast slightly, converging on the enemy now at a range of 23,000 yards. The fifth battle cruiser squadron was then bearing north-northwest 10,000 yards distant. The visibility was good.

Continuing his report, Vice Admiral Beatty said:

The sun was behind us. The wind was southeast. Being between the enemy and his base, our situation was both tactically and strategically good.

BOTH FLEETS OPEN FIRE

Both forces opened fire simultaneously at 3:48 at a range of 18,500 yards. The course was altered southward, the enemy steering parallel distant 18,000 to 14,500 yards. The fifth battle squadron opened fire at a range of 20,000 yards at 4:08. The enemy fire then seemed to slacken. Although the presence of destroyers caused inconvenience on account of smoke, they preserved the battleships from submarine attack.

Two submarines being sighted, and a flotilla of ten destroyers being ordered to attack the enemy with torpedoes, they moved out at 4:15 o'clock simultaneously with the approoach of German destroyers. The attack was carried out gallantly with great determination. Before arriving at a favorable position to fire torpedoes they intercepted an enemy force consisting of one light cruiser and fifteen destroyers. A fierce engagement at close quarters ensued, and the enemy was forced to retire on their battleships, having two destroyers sunk and their torpedo attack frustrated. Our destroyers sustained no loss, but the attack on the enemy cruisers was rendered less effective.

The Nestor, Nomad, and Mineator, under Commander Edward Bingham, pressed the attack on the battle cruisers and fired two torpedoes. Being subjected to a heavy fire at 3,000 yards, the Nomad was badly hit and remained between the lines. The Nestor also was badly hit, but was afloat when last seen. The Petard, Nerissa, Turbulent, and Termagant also are praised.

These destroyer attacks were indicative of the spirit pervading the navy and worthy of its highest traditions.

From 4:15 to 4:43 o'clock the conflict between the battle cruiser squadrons was fierce and the resolute British fire began to tell. The rapidity and accuracy of the Germans' fire depreciated considerably. The third German ship was seen to be afire. The German battle fleet was reported ahead and the destroyers were recalled.

Vice Admiral Beatty altered his course to the northward to lead the Germans toward the British battle fleet. The second light cruiser squadron closed to 13,000 yards of the German battle fleet and came under heavy but ineffective fire. The fifth battle squadron engaged the German battle cruisers with all guns, and about 5 o'clock came under the fire

of the leading ships of the German battle fleet.

The weather became unfavorable, Vice-Admiral Beatty's ships being silhouetted against a clear horizon to the Germans, whose ships were mostly obscured by mist.

Between 5 and 6 o'clock the action continued at 14,000 yards on a northerly course, the German ships receiving very severe punishment, one battle cruiser quitting the line considerably damaged. At 5:35 o'clock the Germans were gradually hauling eastward and receiving severe punishment at the head of the line, probably acting on information from their light cruisers which were engaged with the third battle cruiser squadron or from Zeppelins which possibly were present.

At 5:56 o'clock the leading ships of the British battle fleet were sighted bearing north, distant five miles. Vice Admiral Beatty thereon proceeded east at the greatest speed, bringing the range to 12,000 yards. Only three German battle cruisers were then visible, followed by battleships of the König type.

THE BATTLE FLEET

Vice Admiral Jellicoe then takes up the story of the battle fleet. Informed that the Germans were sighted, the fleet proceeded at full speed on a southeast by south course during two hours before arriving on the scene of the battle. The steaming qualities of the older ships were severely tested. When the battle fleet was meeting the battle cruisers and the fifth battle squadron, great care was necessary to insure that the British ships were not mistaken for the German warships.

Vice Admiral Beatty reported the position of the German battle fleet at 6:15 o'clock. Vice Admiral Jellicoe then formed the line of battle, Vice Admiral Beatty meantime having formed the battle cruisers ahead of the battle fleet, and the fleets became engaged. During the deployment the Defense and Warrior were seen passing between the British and German fleets under heavy fire. The Defense disappeared and the Warrior passed to the rear, disabled.

Vice Admiral Jellicoe considers it probable that Sir Robert K. Arbuthnot, the Rear Admiral who was lost on board the Defense, was not aware, during the engagement with the German light cruisers, of the approach of their heavy ships owing to the mist, until he found himself in close proximity to the main German fleet. Before he could withdraw his ships were caught under a heavy fire and disabled. When the Black Prince of the same squadron was sunk is not known, but a wireless signal was received from her between 8 and 9 o'clock.

Owing principally to the mist, it was possible to see only a few ships at a time. Toward the close of the battle only four or five were visible and never more than eight to twelve.

ADMIRAL HOOD'S SQUADRON

The third battle cruiser squadron, under Rear Admiral Horace Alexander Hood, was in advance of the batle fleet and ordered to reinforce Vice Admiral Beatty. While en route the Chester, Captain Lawson, engaged three or four German light cruisers for twenty minutes. Despite many casualties, her steaming qualities were unimpaired.

Describing the work of the third squadron, Vice Admiral Beatty said Rear Admiral Hood brought it into action ahead of the Lion "in the most inspiring manner, worthy of his great naval ancestors." Vice Admiral Hood, at 6:25 P. M., was only 8,000 yards from the leading German ship, and the British vessels poured a hot fire into her and caused her to turn away. Vice Admiral Beatty, continuing, reports:

By 6:50 o'clock the battle cruisers were clear of our leading battle squadron and I ordered the third battle cruiser squadron to prolong the line astern, and reduced the speed to eighteen knots. The visibility at this time was very indifferent, not more than four miles, and the enemy ships were temporarily lost sight of after 6 P. M. Although the visibility became reduced, it undoubtedly was more favorable to us than to the enemy. At intervals their ships showed up clearly, enabling us to punish them very severely and to establish a definite superiority over them. It was clear that the enemy suffered considerable damage, battle cruisers and battleships alike. The head of their line was crumpled up, leaving their batleships as a target for the majority of our battle cruis-

ers. Before leaving, the fifth battle squadron was also engaging battleships.

The report of Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas shows excellent results were obtained. It can safely be said that his magnificent squadron wrought great execution.

GERMANS IN RETREAT

The action between the battle fleets lasted, intermittently, from 6:17 to 8:20 o'clock at ranges between 9,000 and 12,000 yards. The Germans constantly turned away and opened the range under the cover of destroyer attacks and smoke screens as the effect of the British fire was felt, and alterations of the course from southeast by east to west in an endeavor to close up brought the British battle fleet, which commenced action in an advantageous position on the Germans' bow, to a quarterly bearing from the German battle line, but placed Vice Admiral Jellicoe between the Germans and their bases.

Vice Admiral Jellicoe says: "During the somewhat brief periods that the ships of the High Sea Fleet were visible through the mist, a heavy and effective fire kept up by the battleships and battle cruisers of the Grand Fleet caused me much satisfaction. The enemy vessels were seen to be constantly hit, some being observed to haul out of the line. At least one sank. The enemy's return fire at this period was not effective and the damage caused to our ships was insignificant."

Vice Admiral Beatty's report covering this period says the German ships he was engaging showed signs of punishment. The visibility improved at sunset at 7:17, when he re-engaged, and destroyers at the head of the German line emitted volumes of gray smoke, covering their capital ships as with a pall, under cover of which they turned away and disappeared. At 7:45 the light cruiser squadrons, sweeping westward, located two German battleships and cruisers. At 8:20 Vice Admiral Beatty heavily engaged them at 10,000 yards. The leading ship, being repeatedly hit by the Lion, turned away in flames with a heavy list. The Princess Royal set fire to a three-funneled battleship. The New Zealand and Indomitable reported that the ship they engaged left the line heeling over and afire. At 8:40 the battle cruisers felt a heavy shock as if struck by a mine or torpedo. This was assumed to be a vessel blowing up.

Vice Admiral Beatty reported that he did not consider it desirable or proper to engage the German battle fleet during the dark hours, as the strategical position made it appear certain he could locate them at daylight under most favorable circumstances.

TORPEDO BOAT ATTACK

Vice Admiral Jellicoe reports that, as anticipated, the Germans appeared to have relied much upon torpedo attacks, which were favored by low visibility and by the fact that the British were in the position of a following or chasing fleet. Of the large number of torpedoes apparently fired only one took effect, and this was upon the Marlborough, which was able to continue in action. The efforts of the Germans to keep out of effective gun range were aided, he says, by weather ideal for that purpose. The Germans made two separate destroyer attacks. The first battle squadron at 11,000 yards administered severe punishment to battleships, battle cruisers, and light cruisers. The fire of the Marlborough was particularly effective and rapid. She commenced by firing seven salvos at a ship of the Kaiser class, and then engaged a cruiser and next a battleship. The Marlborough was hit by a torpedo at 6:54 P. M., and took a considerable list to starboard, but reopened fire at 7:03 at a cruiser. At 7:12 she fired fourteen rapid salvos at a cruiser of the König class, hitting her frequently until she left the line.

During the action the range decreased to 5,000 yards. The first battle squadron received more of the enemy's fire than the remainder of the fleet, excepting the fifth squadron. The Colossus was hit, but not seriously.

The fourth squadron, led by the flagship Iron Duke, engaged a squadron consisting of the König and Kaiser classes with battle cruisers and light cruisers. The British fire was effective, although a mist rendered range-taking difficult. The Iron Duke fired on a battleship of the König class at

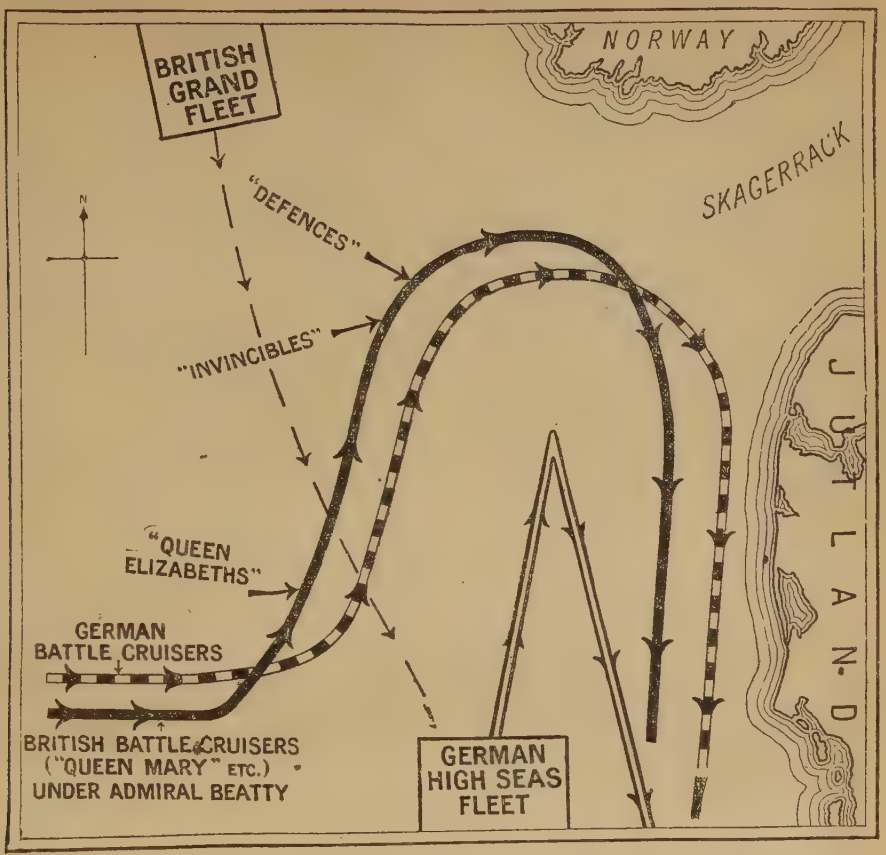


CHART OF THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND, SHOWING APPROXIMATELY THE COURSE OF EACH FLEET DURING THE ENGAGEMENT

12,000 yards. The hitting commenced at the second salvo, and only ceased when the target turned away. Other ships of the squadron fired principally at German ships as they appeared out of the mist and several of the German vessels were hit.

The second squadron under Admiral Jerram engaged vessels of the Kaiser or König classes and also a battle cruiser, which apparently was severely damaged. A squadron under the command of Rear Admiral Heath, with the cruiser Duke of Edinburgh, acted as a connecting link between the battle fleet and the battle cruiser fleet, but did not get into action.

NIGHT OPERATIONS

The German vessels were entirely out of the fight at 9 o'clock, says the report. The threat of destroyer attacks during the rapidly approaching darkness made it necessary to dispose of the fleet with a view to its safety, while providing for a renewal of action at daylight. Vice Admiral Jellicoe manoeuvred the fleet so as to remain between the Germans and their bases, placing flotillas of destroyers where they could protect the fleet and attack the heavy German ships.

The British heavy ships were not attacked during the night, but three British destroyer flotillas delivered a series of gallant and successful attacks, causing heavy losses. The fourth flotilla, under Captain Wintour, suffered severe losses, including the Tipperary. The twelfth flotilla, under Captain Stirling, attacked a squadron of six large vessels of the Kaiser class, taking it by surprise

and firing many torpedoes. The second, third, and fourth ships in the line were hit and the third blew up. The destroyers were under a heavy fire of German light cruisers. Only the Onslaught received material injuries. The Castor sank a German destroyer at point-blank range.

The thirteenth flotilla, under Captain Farie, was stationed astern of the battle fleet. A large vessel crossed in the rear of the flotilla after midnight at high speed. Turning on her searchlights, she fired heavily on the Petard and the Turbulent, and the latter was disabled. The Champion was engaged for a few minutes with four German destroyers, while the Moresby fired a torpedo at a ship of the Deutschland class and felt an explosion.

SEARCHING FOR THE FOE

Concluding his account of the battle, Vice Admiral Jellicoe wrote:

At daylight on the 1st of June the battle fleet, being southward of Horn Reef, turned northward in search of the enemy vessels and for the purpose of collecting our own cruisers and torpedo boat destroyers. The visibility early on the first of June was three to four miles less than on May 31, and the torpedo boat destroyers, being out of visual touch, did not rejoin the fleet until 9 A. M. The British fleet remained in the proximity of the battlefield and near the line of approach to the German ports until 11 A. M., in spite of the disadvantage of long distances from fleet bases and the danger incurred in waters adjacent to the enemy's coasts from submarines and torpedo craft.

The enemy, however, made no sign, and I was reluctantly compelled to the conclusion that the High Sea Fleet had returned into port. Subsequent events proved this assumption to have been correct. Our position must have been known to the enemy, as at 4 A. M. the fleet engaged a Zeppelin about five minutes, during which time she had ample opportunity to note and subsequently report the position and course of the British fleet.

The waters from the latitude of Horn Reef to the scene of action were thoroughly searched and some survivors from the destroyers Ardent, Fortune, and Tipperary were picked up. The Sparrow Hawk, which had been in collision, was no longer seaworthy and was sunk after the crew was taken off. A large amount of wreckage was seen, but no enemy ships, and at 1:15, it being evident that the German fleet had succeeded in returning to port, our course was shaped for our bases, which were reached without further incident on Friday, June 2.

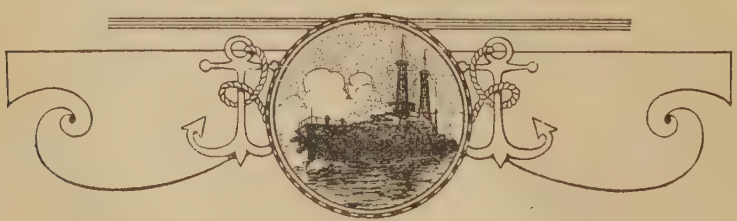
The cruiser squadron was detached to search for the Warrior, which had been abandoned while in tow of the Engadine on the way to the base, owing to bad weather setting in and the vessel becoming unseaworthy. No trace of her was discovered, and subsequent search by the light cruiser squadron having failed to locate her, it was evident she had foundered.

The fleet was fueled, replenished its ammunition, and at 9:30 P. M., on June 2, was reported ready for further action.

Two estimates of the total tonnage lost by the Germans in the Jutland battle have been made by British officials. The more conservative one, who included in his list only vessels "seen to sink" and based his estimate on the theory that the battleships sunk were of the oldest dreadnought type, gives the German tonnage lost as 109,220, as compared with a British loss in tonnage of 112,350. He concludes that the Germans lost two battleships of the dreadnought type of 18,900 tons each, one of the Deutschland type of 13,200 tons, the battle cruiser Lützow of 28,000 tons, five cruisers of the Rostock type, making a total of 24,500 tons for this type; six destroyers, aggregating 4,920 tons, and one submarine of 800 tons.

The more liberal estimate places the German loss at 117,220 tons, as follows:

One dreadnought of the Kronprinz type, 25,480 tons; one of the Heligoland type, 22,440 tons; battleship Pommern, 13,000 tons; battle cruiser Lützow, 28,000 tons; five Rostocks, aggregating 24,500 tons; destroyers aggregating 4,000 tons, and a submarine of 800 tons.



The Battle of Jutland Analyzed

By Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge

British Naval Veteran and Expert

TO my mind in general the engagement shows highly distinguished strategic conception, highly capable tactical leading, great readiness to seize initiative, and admirable support of their leaders by all ranks. It was a brilliant achievement for the British Navy. To put the situation succinctly, it may be said that before the battle the British fleet at sea was divided into two parts, one force under Sir David Beatty, and the other, the battle fleet or main body, under the Commander in Chief, Sir John Jellicoe. This distribution of the ships was the dominating factor in bringing on the battle. Had the whole British fleet been massed and close together, it is more than likely that no battle would have occurred at all. So with the British fleet divided the Germans were encouraged to give battle with Beatty. Sir David, determined to get them into a fight, arranged the management of the action so that he could draw them nearer and nearer to Jellicoe's main body, which was coming up in support. He thus greatly shortened the interval between the first collision and eventual participation in the action by Jellicoe's battleships.

Even to a layman it must be plain that this was a tactical performance of the highest merit. The tactical merit was fully equaled by the dash and courage with which Beatty entered into the fight as he became aware that the whole strength of the German High Sea Fleet was soon to be on the scene. Jellicoe in bringing up his main body manoeuvred so as to get between the Germans and the coast of Jutland, which practically meant between them and their own bases. This manoeuvre, with the enemy not inclined to help you in it, must be a difficult one, and the fact that it was successfully executed in spite of the very unfavorable effect of the misty weather, which occasionally hid the enemy, raises its merits still higher. The dash and courage are shown in the British being able to engineer this manoeuvre at all. It drew on the German fleet until the distance between Beatty's fleet and the main body of the British fleet was less—considerably less—than that between the German battle cruisers and their main body before Beatty began the action. That alone shows the effect of Beatty's move in trying to hold the German fleet in action.

In the early stages of the battle Beatty's force was considerably further away from the main British fleet than later on, owing to Beatty's rushing so fast after the Germans. After Beatty had got the Germans into the encounter he was able to keep them fighting until Jellicoe and his fleet arrived. When Jellicoe got to the scene of action the result of the battle was decided, for no longer did the Germans want to wait.

Our main body not only came up in time to take a decisive part in the battle, but was for more than two hours in the action. When one considers the distance at which the main British fleet was from Beatty's force in the early stages it is important to realize that effective strategy dictated that it was desirable for us to avoid the appearance of being in too great force, for had the enemy known the British fleet was ready to attack him in force he would have had every reasonable excuse to go away, without giving battle. Our only hope of engaging him was to employ tactics that would hide the real strength of our fighting force.

A satisfactory thing about the whole engagement, without going into minute details, was that the naval materials and appliances of today, which had not been long enough in use to permit of our knowing how they might be employed, were successfully handled and proved almost free from breakdown. The gunnery of the British fleet was the more accurate of the two. This was due not only to very thorough training,

but also to the cool and deliberate manner in which the guns were fired. The Germans, in the earlier stages of the battle, fired more rapidly, but after their early shots they showed no accuracy of aim. As to the whole engagement, after reading Admiral Jellicoe's report, I can say unhesitatingly that it was one of the most decisive the British ever fought. In fact, there are only three others, to my mind, which outvie it in respect to strategy and final result. These are Lord Hawkes's battle of Quiberon, Nelson's battle of the Nile, and Nelson's Trafalgar.

Interesting evidence of the decisive character of the victory is shown by the fact that during the month of June the British vessels which had been shut up in the Baltic since the beginning of the war have been returning day after day to British ports. This shows that the Germans have less control than ever of the seas.

The losses sustained by the British fleet were not greater than experts expected they would be in modern naval warfare for an engagement of this character. In all sea fights in which there has been vehement fighting the losses have been considerable, and in the early days of any particular kind of naval material, such as the period in which we are at this moment, the losses of ships on both sides have been almost a regular feature of battles. No one ever objected to the brilliancy of Admiral Robert Blake's performances because in the action several of his ships were sunk.

To Admiral Bridge's clear summary may be added the following extract from an official statement issued by the British Government through its embassies:

Seen in its broadest aspect, the battle stands out as a case of a tactical division of the fleet, which had the effect of bringing an unwilling enemy to battle. Such a method of forcing an action was obviously drastic and necessarily attended with a certain measure of risk. For great ends, however, great risks must be taken, and in this case the risk was far less great than that which St. Vincent accepted off Cadiz, and this division fought unsupported the battle of the Nile, the most complete and least debated of all British victories. Then the two portions of St. Vincent's fleet were divided strategically, with no prospect of tactical concentration for the battle.

In the present case there was only an appearance of division. The battle fleet was to the north and the battle cruiser fleet to the south, but they formed, in fact, one fleet, under a single command, and were acting in combination with one another. They were at the time actually engaged in carrying on, as they had been in the habit of doing periodically, a combined sweep of the North Sea, and Admiral Beatty's fleet was, in effect, the observation or advance squadron.

[The statement then goes into a description of the battle, and concludes:]

It was a beaten and broken fleet that escaped from the trap. Many of its units had been lost; its gunnery had become demoralized, and no one can blame its discretion in making for home at its topmost speed and leaving the British fleet once more in undisputed command of the North Sea. For this, in a word, was the result of the battle. What the enemy hoped to achieve we cannot tell. Whatever their efforts signified, it failed to shake our hold upon the sea, and that is what really matters.

We have fought many indecisive actions, but few in which the strategical result was further beyond discussion, few which have more fully freed us of all fear of what the enemy fleet might be able to accomplish. It is by such standards that history judges victories and by such standards that the country cherishes the memory of the men who prepared and won them. Current opinion will always prefer the test of comparative losses.

Let these standards be applied, and it will be found that the battle off Jutland will well hold its own against all but a few of our most famous victories.

German Admiralty's Official Report of Battle of the Skagerrak

The German Admiralty issued a report June 29 on the battle of the Skagerrak. In consequence of the mail blockade, the full official document has not reached this country, but the abstract printed below, which was officially furnished for transmission by wire, is comprehensive.

THE High Sea Fleet, consisting of three battleship squadrons, five battle cruisers, and a large number of small cruisers, with several destroyer flotillas, was cruising in the Skagerrak on May 31 for the purpose, as on earlier occasions, of offering battle to the British fleet. The vanguard of small cruisers at 4:30 o'clock in the afternoon (German time) suddenly encountered ninety miles west of Hanstholm, (a cape on the northwest coast of Jutland,) a group of eight of the newest cruisers of the Calliope class and fifteen or twenty of the most modern destroyers.

While the German light forces and the first cruiser squadron under Vice Admiral Hipper were following the British, who were retiring northwestward, the German battle cruisers sighted to the westward Vice Admiral Beatty's battle cruiser squadron of six ships, including four of the Lion type and two of the Indefatigable type. Beatty's squadron developed a battle line on a southeasterly course and Vice Admiral Hipper formed his line ahead of the same general course and approached for a running fight. He opened fire at 5:49 o'clock in the afternoon with heavy artillery at a range of 13,000 meters against the superior enemy. The weather was clear and light, and the sea was light with a northwest wind.

After about a quarter of an hour a violent explosion occurred on the last cruiser of the Indefatigable type. It was caused by a heavy shell, and destroyed the vessel.

About 6:20 o'clock in the afternoon five warships of the Queen Elizabeth type came from the west and joined the British battle cruiser line, powerfully reinforcing with their fifteen-inch guns the five British battle cruisers remaining after 6:20 o'clock. To equalize this superiority Vice Admiral Hipper ordered the destroyers to attack the enemy. The British destroyers and small cruisers interposed, and a bitter engagement at close range ensued, in the course of which a light cruiser participated.

The Germans lost two torpedo boats, the crews of which were rescued by sister ships under a heavy fire. Two British destroyers were sunk by artillery, and two others—the Nestor and Nomad—remained on the scene in a crippled condition. These later were destroyed by the main fleet after German torpedo boats had rescued all the survivors.

While this engagement was in progress a mighty explosion, caused by a big shell, broke the Queen Mary, the third ship in line, asunder at 6:30 o'clock.

Soon thereafter the German main battleship fleet was sighted to the southward, steering north. The hostile fast squadrons thereupon turned northward, closing the first part of the fight, which lasted about an hour.

The British retired at high speed before the German fleet, which followed closely. The German battle cruisers continued the artillery combat with increasing intensity, particularly with the division of the vessels of the Queen Elizabeth type, and in this the leading German battleship division participated intermittently. The hostile ships showed a desire to run in a flat curve ahead of the point of our line and to cross it.

At 7:45 o'clock in the evening British small cruisers and destroyers launched an attack against our battle cruisers, who avoided the torpedoes by manoeuvring, while the British battle cruisers retired from the engagement, in which they did not participate further as far as can be established. Shortly thereafter a German reconnoitring group, which was parrying the destroyer attack, received an attack

from the northeast. The cruiser Wiesbaden was soon put out of action in this attack. The German torpedo flotillas immediately attacked the heavy ships.

Appearing shadow-like from the haze bank to the northeast was made out a long line of at least twenty-five battleships, which at first sought a junction with the British battle cruisers and those of the Queen Elizabeth type on a northwesterly to westerly course and then turned on an easterly to a southeasterly course.

With the advent of the British main fleet, whose centre consisted of three squadrons of eight battleships each, with a fast division of three battle cruisers of the Invincible type on the northern end, and three of the newest vessels of the Royal Sovereign class, armed with fifteen-inch guns, at the southern end, there began about 8 o'clock in the evening the third section of the engagement, embracing the combat between the main fleets.

Vice Admiral Scheer determined to attack the British main fleet, which he now recognized was completely assembled and about doubly superior. The German battleship squadrons, headed by battle cruisers, steered first toward the extensive haze bank to the northeast, where the crippled cruiser Wiesbaden was still receiving a heavy fire. Around the Wiesbaden stubborn individual fights under quickly changing conditions now occurred.

The light enemy forces, supported by an armored cruiser squadron of five ships of the Minatour, Achilles, and Duke of Edinburgh classes coming from the northeast, were encountered and apparently surprised on account of the decreasing visibility by our battle cruisers and leading battleship division. The squadron came under a violent and heavy fire, by which the small cruisers Defense and Black Prince were sunk. The cruiser Warrior regained its own line a wreck and later sank. Another small cruiser was damaged severely.

Two destroyers already had fallen victims to the attack of German torpedo boats against the leading British battleships and a small cruiser and two destroyers were damaged. The German battle cruisers and leading battleship division had in these engagements come under increased fire of the enemy's battleship squadron, which, shortly after 8 o'clock, could be made out in the haze turning to the northeastward and finally to the east. Germans observed, amid the artillery combat and shelling of great intensity, signs of the effect of good shooting between 8:20 and 8:30 o'clock particularly. Several officers on German ships observed that a battleship of the Queen Elizabeth class blew up under conditions similar to that of the Queen Mary. The Invincible sank after being hit severely. A ship of the Iron Duke class had earlier received a torpedo hit, and one of the Queen Elizabeth class was running around in a circle, its steering apparatus apparently having been hit.

The Lützow was hit by at least fifteen heavy shells and was unable to maintain its place in line. Vice Admiral Hipper, therefore, transshipped to the Moltke on a torpedo boat and under a heavy fire. The Derfflinger meantime took the lead temporarily. Parts of the German torpedo flotilla attacked the enemy's main fleet and heard detonations. In the action the Germans lost a torpedo boat. An enemy destroyer was seen in a sinking condition, having been hit by a torpedo.

After the first violent onslaught into the mass of the superior enemy the opponents lost sight of each other in the smoke by powder clouds. After a short cessation in the artillery combat Vice Admiral Scheer ordered a new attack by all the available forces.

German battle cruisers, which with several light cruisers and torpedo boats again headed the line, encountered the enemy soon after 9 o'clock and renewed the heavy fire, which was answered by them from the mist, and then by the leading division of the main fleet. Armored cruisers now flung themselves in a reckless onset at extreme speed against the enemy line in order to cover the attack of torpedo boats. They approached the enemy line, although covered with shot from 6,000 meters distance. Several German torpedo flotillas dashed forward to attack, delivered torpedoes, and re-

turned, despite the most severe counter-fire, with the loss of only one boat. The bitter artillery fight was again interrupted, after this second violent onslaught, by the smoke from guns and funnels.

Several torpedo flotillas, which were ordered to attack somewhat later, found, after penetrating the smoke cloud, that the enemy fleet was no longer before them; nor, when the fleet commander again brought the German squadrons upon the southerly and southwesterly course, where the enemy was last seen, could our opponents be found. Only once more—shortly before 10:30 o'clock—did the battle flare up. For a short time in the late twilight German battle cruisers sighted four enemy capital ships to seaward and opened fire immediately. As the two German battleship squadrons attacked, the enemy turned and vanished in the darkness. Older German light cruisers of the fourth reconnoissance group also were engaged with the older enemy armored cruisers in a short fight. This ended the day battle.

The German divisions, which, after losing sight of the enemy, began a night cruise in a southerly direction, were attacked until dawn by enemy light force in rapid succession.

The attacks were favored by the general strategic situation and the particularly dark night.

The cruiser Frauenlob was injured severely during the engagement of the fourth reconnoissance group with a superior cruiser force, and was lost from sight.

One armored cruiser of the Cressy class suddenly appeared close to a German battleship and was shot into fire after forty seconds, and sank in four minutes.

The Florent, (?) Destroyer 60, (the names were hard to dicipher in the darkness and therefore were uncertainly established,) and four destroyers—3, 78, 06, and 27—were destroyed by our fire. One destroyer was cut in two by the ram of a German battleship. Seven destroyers, including the G-30, were hit and severely damaged. These, including the Tipperary and Turbulent, which, after saving survivors, were left behind in a sinking condition, drifted past our line, some of them burning at the bow or stern.

The tracks of countless torpedoes were sighted by the German ships, but only the Pommern (a battleship) fell an immediate victim to a torpedo. The cruiser Rostock was hit, but remained afloat. The cruiser Elbing was damaged by a German battleship during an unavoidable manoeuvre. After vain endeavors to keep the ship afloat the Elbing was blown up, but only after her crew had embarked on torpedo boats. A post torpedo boat was struck by a mine laid by the enemy.

[The report closes with a summary of the German losses as already published.]

German Official Account, Based on Statements of British Prisoners

A supplementary narrative of the battle of the Skagerrak, in the form of a telegram based on statements of 177 British prisoners, was transmitted officially on June 20 by the German Admiralty. The text is as follows:

THE British forces participating in the battle were the reconnoitring forces under Vice Admiral Beatty and the main body of the British Navy under Admiral Jellicoe. The reconnoitring forces comprised six battle cruisers—the flagship Lion, the Queen Mary, the Princess Royal, and the Tiger as the first division, and the Indefatigable and the flagship New Zealand as the second division. The first division was complete, but H. M. S. Australia of the second division was absent for secret reasons. Besides these ships, there were under Beatty's command five swift battleships of the Queen Elizabeth type and

a large number of small modern cruisers, the names of thirteen of which were verified by each of the prisoners. There were also two destroyer flotillas, comprising about forty destroyers, among which were the most modern types.

The main body of the fleet engaged in the battle was composed of three battleship squadrons of from six to eight dreadnoughts each, one special squadron of three of the most modern battleships of the Royal Sovereign type, one division formed by the battle-cruisers Invincible, Indomitable, and Inflexible, a squadron of armored cruisers comprising six ships, and at least ten small cruisers and four flotillas of from eighty to one hundred destroyers.

When Beatty sighted the German reconnoitring forces to the east he formed a middle line with his six battle cruisers and turned southeast. The ships of the Queen Elizabeth type also turned southeast and attempted to join the battle cruisers. Between 5 and 6 o'clock in the afternoon the Germans opened fire at a distance of about eighteen kilometers, [approximately eleven miles.] Shortly after 6 o'clock a huge explosion occurred on board the Queen Mary, midships, on the port side. Two other explosions followed, and the forward part of the ship sank rapidly. At the fourth and most severe explosion the entire ship sank. This was the work of from only five to ten minutes.

Scarcely had the Indefatigable arrived on the scene of the accident when she was also shaken by an explosion. The ship capsized and sank so quickly that of the fourteen men who were in the fighting top only two were rescued. These two are apparently the only survivors of the Indefatigable's crew of about 1,000. After the sinking of these two ships Admiral Beatty signaled to the Thirteenth British flotilla to attack the German battle cruisers. The order was understood only by the nearest destroyers and was regarded by several of the prisoners as a desperate resort. In this attack the most modern British destroyers, the Nestor and the Nomad, were sunk. Their crews were later rescued from rafts and lifeboats by German torpedo boats.

In the meanwhile, the ships of the Queen Elizabeth type approached. The distance between the British ships and the German cruisers had diminished to ten kilometers, [approximately six miles.] The British battle cruisers steamed northward at high speed and were soon out of range. The Queen Elizabeth type ships continued battle, turning northward in order to "cut off the enemy," as ordered by Beatty. Soon one of the Queen Elizabeth type ships left the British line with a heavy list. The prisoners state expressly that it was the Warspite. The wireless sent by the Turbulent that the Warspite was sunk was intercepted by about eight British destroyers.

The rescued prisoners disagree as to the time of Admiral Jellicoe's arrival with the main body of the fleet. Prisoners from Jellicoe's fleet state that they were steaming southward in several columns when they received Beatty's first wireless transmitted by the small cruiser Galatea. Thereupon Jellicoe gave the order to continue southward at top speed. The prisoners saw only the flames from Beatty's artillery when Jellicoe turned north and formed a line toward the northwest and west. The battle cruisers of the main body, the Invincible, the Indomitable, and the Inflexible, were ahead with the armored cruisers. At this time the British battleship Marlborough was hit by a torpedo which is said to have been fired by a submarine. If so, the submarine must have been British, since there were no German submarines in the battle.

A British armored cruiser attacked a large isolated German ship which steered slowly southward. At the same time the British main body opened fire. When the armored cruisers returned to the main body, the Defense was missing. By this time the Warrior had large holes midships just above the waterline. Shortly after the British main body entered the battle a German shot set fire to the Invincible, an explosion followed, and the ship sank. The Germans shot at long range and annihilated the destroyer Acasta, standing near the head of the line. The reports of other prisoners about the movements of the British main body

until dark conflict. The point on which they agree is that at dark the British Navy steered northward in columns. The destroyer Tipperary asked permission to turn southward alone to attack the Germans. Permission was granted, but she encountered the German flotilla and was defeated and sunk. The survivors were rescued by the Germans. Beatty's thirteenth flotilla had failed to join the battle cruisers and turned southward at dark. It encountered several large ships which it mistook for British. The Germans opened fire and destroyed the Turbulent. All the officers and a part of the crew were lost. The survivors were rescued by German torpedo boats.

Almost all the British prisoners expressed dissatisfaction at the fact that the British made no effort to rescue them, although almost all the best British ships participated in the battle. The survivors of the Queen Mary and of the Indefatigable had been in the water for almost four hours before they were rescued by the Germans. They had already given up all hope, for nothing had been seen of the British ships for hours.

Vivid Story of an Eyewitness

By a British Naval Officer

AT 3:45 on May 31 action stations were sounded off by the buglers, and this was the first indication vouchsafed to us that anything out of the common was about to take place. Accordingly we all dashed off to our posts, because "action" is only sounded off when there is more or less of an emergency; thus it behooves one to get to one's place as soon as possible. When we were closed up and reported correct the news came through that a light cruiser had sighted two destroyers and some smoke to the eastward, and was in pursuit. So we who were not in the know thought that possibly we might see a Hun light cruiser and no more.

Then suddenly we got the report, "Enemy in sight," and I think every one's heart gave a jump. At last, after all these months of weary waiting and preparation, were we going to get a look in at the be-all and end-all of our existence—action with the German fleet? However, there was not much time to think, for the orders came through quick enough now. The guns were loaded, and then round trained the turret on to our first target, a small light cruiser nearer to us than is healthy for such craft. "Fire!" an eternity—and then, bang, and away goes our first salvo. The shots fell near the enemy, but she scuttled away. We let her have another salvo, then ceased fire, and turned our attention to bigger game that was now within range—the German battle cruisers.

We, the fast battleships, were, as has already been stated, astern of the battle cruisers and had opened fire between ten and twenty minutes of their first shots. Now we all of us got going hard, the battle cruisers and ourselves against the German battle cruisers and the German High Sea Fleet, which had now put in an appearance. So, in spite of the stories of the Germans, they were most undoubtedly considerably superior to the British force present, and remained so until the arrival of the Grand Fleet some hours later, and yet, in spite of this overwhelming superiority, they only succeeded at this stage of the battle in sinking two of our big ships at a huge cost to themselves, because there can be little doubt that up to then they got as good as they gave and a bit more.

The firing now became very general indeed, and the continued roar and shriek of our own guns, coupled with one's work, left little opportunity to think about outside matters. The only predominant thing I, in common with others, remember was the rapid bang, bang, bang of our smaller secondary armament, as we thought; but during a lull we discovered that this was the German

shell bursting on the water all round the ship with so loud an explosion that it could be heard right deep down in the heart of the ship. We were at this time receiving a very heavy fire indeed, our own battle cruisers having become disengaged for twenty minutes to half an hour, so that the fire of the whole German fleet was concentrated on us. However, we stuck it, and gave back a good deal, I fancy.

Especially unpleasant, though, was a period of half an hour during which we were unable to see the enemy, while they could see us most clearly. Thus we were unable to fire a shot and had to rest content with steaming through a tornado of shell fire without loosing off a gun, which was somewhat trying. However, about 6:30 the sun silhouetted up the Germans and completely turned the tables as far as light was concerned, and for a period of some twenty minutes we gave them a most terrific dressing down which we trust they will remember. Then down came the mist again, and we had to close them right down to four miles in the attempt to see the enemy, and four miles is, of course, about as near as one likes to get to the foe, as torpedoes then come into play.

It was at this stage that, owing to some temporary defect, the Warspite's helm jammed, and she went straight at the enemy into a hell of fire. She looked a most wonderful sight, every gun firing for all it was worth in reply. Luckily she got under control quickly and returned to the line, and it was this incident that gave rise to the German legend that she had been sunk.

The action continued with unabated fury until the arrival of the Grand Fleet somewhere about 7. It was just before this that the Invincible had met her fate, as also the Defense and Black Prince—the two latter, apparently, in a gallant attempt to save the Warrior, which was successful in so far that the crew of the Warrior were saved, although the ship had eventually to be abandoned.

The arrival of the Grand Fleet relieved the tension upon us somewhat, and the battle cruiser force went on ahead, while we dropped back, content to let the Grand Fleet finish off the work, but the Germans were not "having any," as they say in America, and almost immediately turned to run, pursued by our fleet. We were, of course, considerably superior now, but it was little use. For about half an hour the Grand Fleet and ourselves were firing, during which time it is pretty certain that we inflicted very material damage on the enemy, but after that the failing light and the very evident desire of the enemy to get away from such unpleasant company rendered it impossible to turn an undoubted success into a certain and decisive victory, for by that the navy means annihilation.

And at last, about 9, we discontinued the action, but continued to follow them. Right through the darkness there were constant destroyer attacks, and the sky was lighted up the whole night by the flashes of the guns and by fires caused among the enemy by our shells. It was in fact a very awe-inspiring sight.

As is known, the enemy succeeded in attacking the Marlborough, but fruitlessly, as she returned to port, and is no doubt once more at sea.

We continued to cruise about all night and the next day, offering battle to the enemy, but they were scuttling back to security, and we saw nothing of them, and so finally returned home, the battle cruisers and ourselves content that we had been able to attack and hold the German fleet, though we were so inferior in numbers, until our Grand Fleet could join issue with the enemy; and our battle fleet, well satisfied that they at last, after twenty-two months' dreary waiting, had in the end got near enough to give the Germans a taste of our metal. But of course our contentment was clouded by the disappointment that the German fleet had escaped its doom by a chain of circumstances beyond our control. Please Heaven that if, and when, they come again they will not go back, and one more menace to our peace will be destroyed.

Naval Losses of Britain and Germany

By Archibald Hurd

Naval Expert of The London Telegraph

THE battle of Jutland marks a stage in the naval war; for some time nothing will be seen of the High Seas Fleet. The strategical victory of the British fleet became apparent as soon as it was known that the enemy had fled back to port. With each day that passes the material victory is being revealed in its true light. The Admiralty made no secret of our losses; they were immediately announced. The Germans, anxious to produce psychological effects at home and abroad, determined on a policy of concealment.

The course of the disclosures as to the fate of German ships merits examination:

First—It was admitted that "the small cruiser Wiesbaden was sunk" and that the Pommern—the character of that ship not being mentioned—had also been destroyed; the light cruiser Frauenlob was "missing," with "some torpedo boats." The rest of the High Seas Fleet, it was declared, "had returned to our harbors."

Second—It had to be confessed by the Germans that the light cruiser Elbing had been sunk, because neutrals had rescued some of the crew.

Third—A week after the return of the High Seas Fleet to its bases a statement was issued to the effect that "one battle cruiser, (the Lützow,) one ship of the line of older construction, (the Pommern,) four smaller cruisers," (the Wiesbaden, Elbing, Frauenlob, and Rostock,) and "five torpedo boats" (really destroyers) represented "the total loss."

Fourth—It is now known that the battle cruiser Seydlitz was run ashore to save her from sinking; she is practically a wreck, and useless for months, if not forever, but has been got into port. It is asserted by travelers who have returned to Amsterdam that the battle cruiser Derfflinger sank "on being towed into Wilhelmshaven," and it is reported from Copenhagen that the Pommern was not the battleship which was torpedoed in the Baltic by a British submarine in July last, but a new battle cruiser which, after that battleship had disappeared, was named, for territorial reasons, after the German State, thus perpetuating its association with the navy. The story of the sinking of the dreadnought battleship Ostfriesland awaits confirmation.

It will be seen that considerable progress has been made since the Germans, having raced back to port in confusion, chased by Admiral Jellicoe, put into circulation the story of their "victory," without waiting to count their losses.

It is certain that the truth as to the injury suffered by the enemy has not yet been revealed. But sufficient is known to indicate that the reduction of the size of his fleet has been great, particularly if the relative standing of the two navies be remembered.

It may be of some interest to consider what have been the losses suffered on both sides of the North Sea since the war opened on Aug. 4, 1914, if we accept Germany's own assessment of the damage which was inflicted on her on May 31. We are justified in making two corrections in the German official declarations on the evidence now available; the Pommern was a new battle cruiser, sister of the Lützow, being the vessel of that type of the 1914 programme, and the Seydlitz, for all present purposes, may be regarded as no longer effective, if, indeed, she can be repaired during the course of the war. Either she or the Derfflinger may be put down as definitely lost.

Of course, British officers and men are convinced by their eyes, as well as their acts, that a number of other German ships, including at least one battleship of the Kaiser class, and possibly two, as well as two or more battle cruisers, will never fly the Prussian naval ensign again. But on that matter we shall not be wrong in awaiting Admiral Sir John

Jellicoe's dispatch before attempting to reach any definite conclusion, though personally I am sanguine. For our present purpose let the amended German admissions—two battle cruisers, the Lützow and Pommern, and four light cruisers—be accepted in making a calculation as to the relative progress of attrition.

On that basis, what has been the reduction of effective naval strength so far only as capital ships and cruisers are concerned? The ships that count most in all fleets today are those belonging to what is generally described as the dreadnought era. The dreadnought battleship and battle cruiser, apart from their armament and armor, are remarkable for the advance of speed, due to the introduction of the marine turbine—all honor to the Hon. Sir Charles Parsons, the inventor. The increase of speed in the capital ship reacted on smaller cruisers; in fact, a fresh impetus was given to the improvement of all classes of vessels by the investigations of Lord Fisher's Designs Committee in 1904. We gained a lead, and other nations have followed our example. So we may first set out the ships of the dreadnought era (displacements in parentheses) which have been lost in the war, the statistics being based on official admissions:

BATTLESHIPS

Britain	Germany
Nil.	Nil.

BATTLE CRUISERS

	Tons.		Tons.
Invincible	(17,250)	*Goeben	(22,640)
Indefatigable	(18,750)	Pommern	(28,000)
Queen Mary	(27,000)	Lützow	(28,000)
—		†Blücher	(15,500)
—		‡Seydlitz	(24,600)
Totals	3 of (63,000)		5 of (118,740)

*The Goeben is ineffective in the Sea of Marmora. †The Blücher was a contemporary of the Invincible. ‡The Seydlitz is probably as good as destroyed.

LIGHT CRUISERS

	Tons.		Tons.
Amphion	(3,440)	Karlsruhe	(4,822)
Arethusa	(3,560)	Magdeberg	(4,478)
—		Köln	(4,280)
—		Mainz	(4,280)
—		Emden	(3,598)
—		Dresden	(3,396)
—		Königsberg	(3,348)
—		Nürnberg	(3,396)
—		Leipzig	(3,200)
—		Rostock	(4,820)
—		Wiesbaden	(5,600)
—		Elbing	(4,300)
Totals	2 of (7,000)		12 of (45,238)

The above statements show that Germany's losses in the most modern and effective ships—even if she fared no worse than she declares in the battle of Jutland—have been far heavier actually than ours since the war opened. But the real significance is only extracted from the figures, if they be considered on a proportionate basis. Ignoring the 1914-15 shipbuilding programs of England and Germany, about the carrying out of which there may be some doubt, the position in dreadnought battleships and battle cruisers built and building was on the outbreak of war as under:

BATTLESHIPS

Britain	Germany
35, of 818,100 tons	19, of 450,250 tons

BATTLE CRUISERS

10, of 215,800 tons	8 of 186,120 tons
Totals	45 of 1,033,900 tons — 27 of 636,370 tons

Consequently, while on this showing we have lost 6.6 per cent. of our strength in battleships and battle cruisers, Germany is the weaker by 18.5 per cent. of hers. In other words, her proportionate loss has been nearly three times as great as ours.

What is the position as to light cruisers which may be regarded as belonging to the dreadnought period? We possessed thirty-eight, and Germany twenty-seven. In the course of the war we have lost one of these, as well as the Amphion, slightly older; Germany has been robbed of twelve. On that basis our loss has amounted to 5.2 per cent., while the enemy has been weakened by nearly 45 per cent.

But both fleets have sustained other losses of good ships belonging to the years immediately preceding the dreadnought era—vessels which were still effective. I have endeavored to prepare a list of such losses in the following table, taking as a basis predreadnought vessels not older than fifteen years, and thus excluding ships belonging to the last century. Any such arbitrary rule is apt to be misleading, but a line must be drawn somewhere. So we may rule out ships of the predreadnought era launched before 1900. We must include in German losses the battleship Pommern, sunk in the Baltic last July:

BATTLESHIPS

Britain	Tons.	Germany	Tons.
King Edward VII.	(16,350)	Pommern	(12,977)
Triumph	(11,955)	—	
Russell	(14,000)	—	
Totals	3 of (42,305)		1 of (12,977)

ARMORED CRUISERS

	Tons.		Tons.
Natal	(13,550)	Scharnhorst	(11,420)
Argyll	(10,850)	Gneisenau	(11,420)
Good Hope	(14,100)	Yorck	(9,350)
Monmouth	(9,800)	Friedr'h Karl	(8,858)
Defense	(14,600)	Pr'z Adalbert	(8,858)
Warrior	(13,550)	—	
Black Prince	(13,550)	—	
Hampshire	(10,850)	—	
Totals	8 of (100,850)		5 of (49,806)

LIGHT CRUISERS

	Tons.		Tons.
Pathfinder	(2,940)	Bremen	(3,200)
—		Undine	(2,672)
—		Ariadne	(2,618)
Totals	1 of (2,940)		3 of (8,490)

That appears to be a far less satisfactory statement than the earlier one. How does it appear on a percentage basis? In the years 1900-5 we laid down sixteen battleships (predreadnoughts) to Germany's fourteen, so that our loss has been much greater actually and relatively than Germany's. But, on the other hand, we had a very large reserve of slightly older vessels, of which more must be said later on, and we initiated the building of dreadnoughts a year before Germany. Turning to armored cruisers, we began in the same period twenty-three, while Germany put in hand only six. Both navies have been much weakened, ours by eight vessels and the Germans by five. But while our proportionate reduction has been only 34 per cent., in the case of Germany it has been about 83 per cent. In light cruisers of the older types she has also come off worst.

It is in the matter of the yet older ships that we have received the greatest injury, and that fact is due largely, though not entirely, to the Dardanelles operations. Of battleships belonging to the last century, there have gone the Bulwark, (launched 1899,) Formidable, (1898,) Irresistible, (1898,)—three ships we could ill spare—Ocean, (1898,) Goliath, (1898,) and Majestic, (1895,) and we have also had to deplore the Aboukir, Hogue, and Cressy of the armored classes, as well as the Hermes, Hawke, and Pegasus. But, in spite of all that has happened, we possess today thirty-one predreadnought battleships to Germany's nineteen, and twenty-three armored cruisers to one really effective ship of that type—the Roon—in the German fleet, though, let it be added, Germany has two obsolescent vessels—the Fürst Bismarck and Prinz Heinrich.

During every day of the war—a period of 678 days—the British Navy has been commanding the seas. It has been exposed to the enemy's submarines and to the vicissitudes of weather. It has been compelled to take risks. On the other hand, the German fleet has surrendered all the advantages flowing from the command of the ocean communications of the world. We have been drawing for ourselves, as well as the Allies, fresh military strength from the seas; at the same time, by denying their use to the enemy, we have weakened him.

There is no gain without loss. We have had to regret not so much ships, though many have been destroyed, as officers and men. That is the item in the war ledger that is full of sadness. We can, however, contemplate the depletion of material with equanimity. It is demonstrated by the figures that have been quoted that in men-of-war of the latest construction and the greatest efficiency we possess today a larger margin of strength than we possessed when the war opened. Our superiority must be considered, not in the light of the actual number of effective ships destroyed, but in relation to our relative strength when the war opened. That examination shows what proportion of the original modern fleet still remains for the protection of British interests. The position is consoling. For obvious reasons the additions which have since been made to the British forces cannot be taken into account, and therefore the revelation of our standing is, in fact, less gratifying than it would appear were it possible to deal with the matter in all its fullness.

But one fact emerges from this consideration of the naval position. Despite Germany's "victory" of May 31 we hold the seas in greater force than at the beginning of the war.

The Attack On the Petrolite

Story of the Events That Produced the Recent Peremptory Note to Austria-Hungary

SECRETARY LANSING'S sharp note of June 21 to the Austro-Hungarian Government, demanding redress for the attack upon the American oil steamer Petrolite in the Mediterranean on Dec. 5, 1915, has an interesting story behind it, which has not had its share of public attention. The Petrolite, a tank steamer returning to this country in ballast, was compelled to furnish provisions to an Austrian submarine after having been made the target of twelve or fourteen explosive shells, at least one of which struck the vessel, damaging it and injuring a member of the crew.

The first definite report of the event came to the State Department through the Navy Department in the following telegram from Commander Blakely of the United States Cruiser Des Moines. The message had been sent from Canea, Crete, on Dec. 6, and read as follows:

The Des Moines has received the following radiogram from the American ship Petrolite, bound from Alexandria, Egypt, for New York: "Attacked by submarine this (Sunday) morning about 5:20 in latitude 32 degrees 35 minutes north, longitude 26 degrees 8 minutes east. One man wounded, not seriously. (Signed) Thompson, Master." In answer to my inquiry I have received the following information: "Submarine carried Austrian flag. Officers said she looked like a big cruiser. Man wounded by an exploding shell. Petrolite belonged to Standard Oil Company and was commissioned April 14, 1915. At the time she was attacked she was about 350 miles west of Alexandria and just southeast of the Island of Crete, distant about 120 miles."

When the Petrolite reached Philadelphia on Jan. 16 the commanding officer, Captain Thompson, filed a protest next day at Washington, furnishing affidavits to the effect that his vessel was shelled after he had stopped the engines, and that, when he refused to sell supplies, he had been compelled to furnish them by threats. According to Captain Thompson he was in his cabin on the morning of Dec. 5 when his second officer reported the presence, about four miles astern, of a submarine. The submarine began firing just as the Captain reached the deck. Immediately, he says, he gave the order to stop, and swung the vessel around broadside to let the submarine know her identity. Still the firing continued. One shell exploded in the engine room, severly injuring Larsen, a Danish member of the crew. Captain Thompson went out in a small boat to the submarine, which was flying the Austrian flag, and the commander of the underseas craft demanded provisions, declaring that he would have to take them by force if he did not get them by other means. Captain Thompson says he was warned that the Petrolite had better not try to escape, and, as a guarantee that she would not, the Austrian commander took off one of the American sailors from the small boat, threatening to shoot him if any attempt were made to evade his demands. The affidavit adds that when the submarine commander was told that a member of the Petrolite's crew had been wounded he merely laughed.

The United States Government, after a careful investigation of the evidence, sent a brief note calling for a disavowal of the Petrolite attack on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government. The latter sent an unsatisfactory reply, which reached Secretary Lansing on Feb. 25. Neither of these two notes has been given to the public in full, but from semi-official sources the gist of the Austrian reply is ascertained to be as follows:

(1) That the commander of the Austrian submarine fired on the Petrolite because he thought the vessel was about to attack the submarine, the assertion being made that the submarine commander based this belief on the statement in his report to the Viennese Admiralty that the Petrolite changed her course.

(2) That while the Petrolite flew the American flag the commander of the Austrian submarine labored under the belief that the

vessel was an enemy tank ship flying the American flag "as a trick."

(3) That the Austrian submarine commander reports that the Captain of the Petrolite furnished the submarine with provisions voluntarily and refused to accept pay for them, and that the submarine did not forcibly take provisions from the American steamer.

After further investigation, the United States Government has found the facts to be widely at variance with the explanation offered by the Vienna authorities, and is compelled to regard the conduct of the commander of the submarine in attacking the Petrolite and in coercing the Captain as a deliberate insult to the American flag and an invasion of the rights of American citizens. The Austrian contention that the Petrolite's Captain voluntarily gave up supplies is flatly contradicted in the American note of June 21, printed in full below; likewise the claims that warning shots were fired across the Petrolite's bow before she was shelled, and that her appearance was such as to justify the submarine commander in mistaking her for a cruiser. The United States Government therefore asks that an apology be made, that the commander of the submarine be punished, and that a suitable indemnity be paid for injuries sustained.

American Note Demanding Redress for Austrian Attack on the Petrolite

THE note of Feb. 25 from the Austro-Hungarian Government, which attempted to defend the submarine attack of Dec. 5, 1915, upon the American steamer Petrolite, has been found unacceptable by the United States Government. The rejoinder takes the form of a memorandum from Secretary of State Lansing to Ambassador Penfield, the full text of which follows:

Department of State,
Washington, June 21, 1916.

Frederic Courtland Penfield, United States Ambassador, Vienna:

Evidence obtained from the Captain and members of the crew of the steamer Petrolite, and from examination made of the vessel under direction of the Navy Department, convinces this Government that the Austro-Hungarian Government has obtained an incorrect report of the attack on the steamer. With particular reference to the explanation made by the Foreign Office, the following information, briefly stated, has been obtained from sworn statements of the Captain and members of the crew:

No shot was fired across the bow of the steamer as a signal to stop. When the first shot was fired the Captain was under the impression that an explosion had taken place in the engine room. Not until the second shot was fired did the Captain and crew sight the submarine, which was astern of the steamer, and therefore they positively assert that neither the first nor the second shot was fired across the bow of the vessel.

The steamer did not swing around in a course directed toward the submarine, as alleged in the report obtained by the Austro-Hungarian Government, but the Captain at once stopped the engines and swung the vessel broadside to the submarine, and at right angles to the course of the vessel, in order to show its neutral markings, which was manifestly the reasonable and proper course to follow, and it ceased to make any headway. On the steamer was painted its name in letters approximately six feet long, and the name of the hailing port, and, as has previously been made known to the Austro-Hungarian Government, the steamer carried two large flags some distance above the waterline, which, it is positively stated by the officers and crew, were flying before the first shot was fired, and were not hoisted after the first shot, as stated by the submarine commander.

The submarine commander admits that the steamer stopped her engines. The Captain of the Petrolite denies that the vessel was ever headed toward the submarine, and the examination of the steamer made by an American naval constructor corroborates this statement, because, as he states, the shell which took effect on the vessel, striking the deck house, which surrounds the smokestack, was fired from a point forty-five degrees on the starboard bow. This was one of the last shots fired and indicates that the ship was not headed toward the submarine even up to the time when the submarine ceased firing. The Captain states that the submarine appeared to be manoeuvring so as to direct her shots from ahead of the steamer. The submarine fired approximately twelve shots. The majority of the shots were fired after the ship

had stopped and had swung broadside, and while, as even the commander of the submarine admits, the steamer was flying the American flag. The Captain of the steamer denies that he advised the commander of the submarine that the damage to the steamer was insignificant. He states that he advised him that the steamer had been damaged, but that he had not had an opportunity to ascertain the extent of the damage. The seaman who was struck by a fragment of shell sustained severe flesh wounds.

If the ship had intended to ram the submarine, she would not have stopped her engines, and this must have been evident to the submarine commander. Naval authorities agree that there could have been no danger of the ship ramming the submarine until it was headed straight for the submarine and was under power, and even then the submarine could have so manoeuvred as to avoid collision. The Petrolite was two miles away from the submarine. The engines and funnel of the Petrolite were at the stern, and from the general appearance of the ship no experienced naval officer could have believed that it had opportunity or sufficient speed to attack, even if it had been steaming directly toward the submarine. The conduct of the submarine commander showed lack of judgment, self-control, or willful intent, amounting to utter disregard of the rights of a neutral.

According to the sworn statements of the Captain of the steamer and a seaman who accompanied him to the submarine, the commander of the latter stated that he mistook the steamer for a cruiser. This statement is at variance with the statement in the Austro-Hungarian Government's note that the Captain of the submarine asserted a false manoevure on the part of the steamer prompted the submarine to continue to fire.

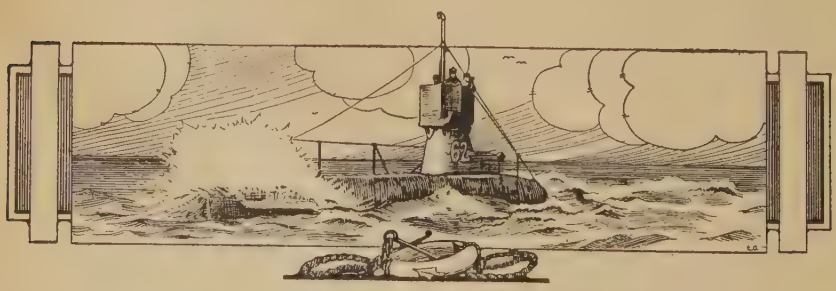
The Captain of the steamer swears that he informed the commander of the submarine that he had only sufficient provisions to reach the port of Algiers, and that he would deliver provisions only under compulsion. He states positively in his affidavit and in conversation with officials of the department that he did not give provisions readily, nor did he say it was the duty of one seaman to help another, and that he refused payment because he felt that he was being compelled to deliver food in violation of law.

The statement of the Captain of the Petrolite is entirely at variance with the report of the submarine commander. The correctness of the Captain's opinion that the wounded seaman was held as a hostage to guarantee the delivery of food seems clear. Obviously, the commander of the submarine had no right to order the seaman to remain on board. The fact that this order was given showed that the commander insisted that food was to be delivered to him, otherwise the seaman would naturally have accompanied the Captain back to his vessel. The outrageous conduct of the submarine commander and all the circumstances of the attack on the Petrolite warranted the Captain in regarding himself as being compelled, in order to avoid further violence, to deliver food to the commander of the submarine.

In the absence of other and more satisfactory explanation of the attack on the steamer than that contained in the note addressed to you by the Foreign Office, the Government of the United States is compelled to regard the conduct of the commander of the submarine in attacking the Petrolite and in coercing the Captain as a deliberate insult to the flag of the United States and an invasion of the rights of American citizens, for which this Government requests that an apology be made; that the commander of the submarine be punished; and that reparation be made for the injuries sustained by the payment of a suitable indemnity.

Please communicate with Foreign Office in sense of foregoing.

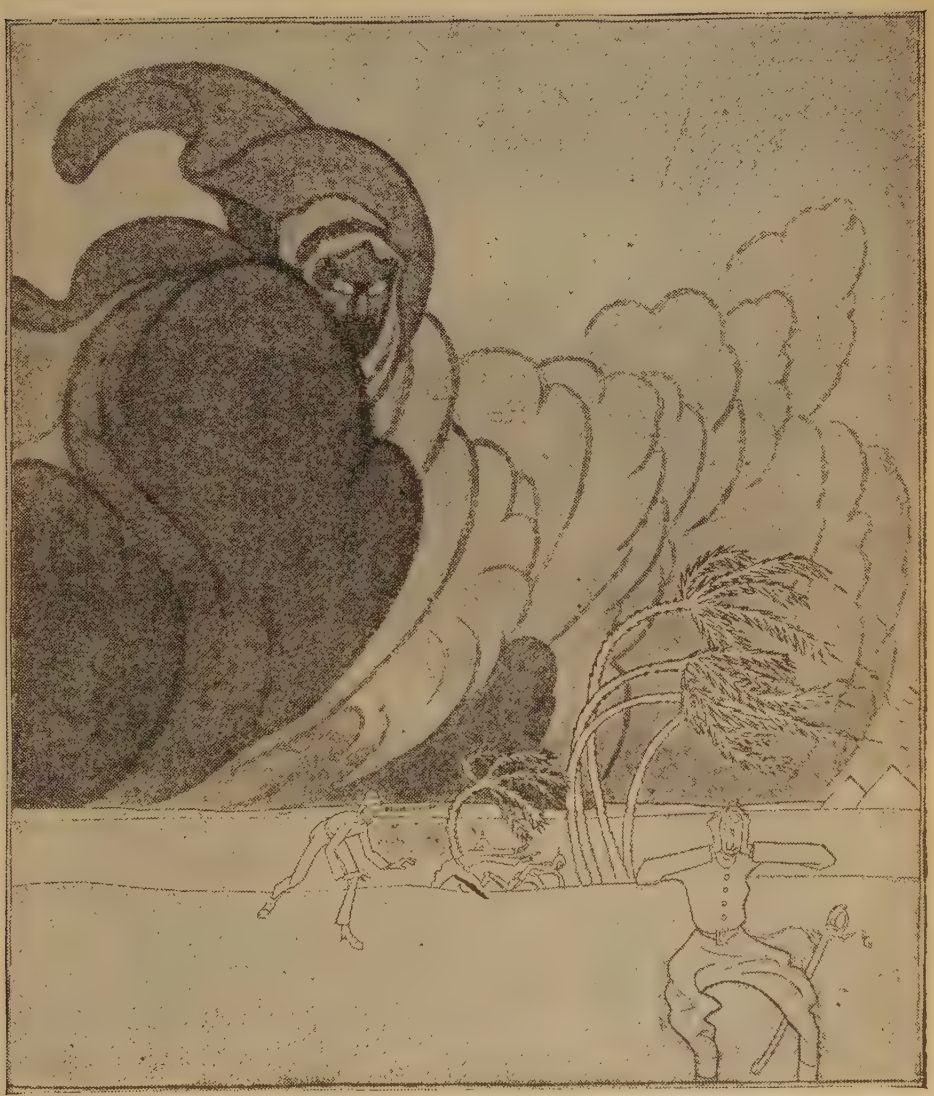
You may add that this Government believes that the Austro-Hungarian Government will promptly comply with these requests, in view of their manifest justness and the high sense of honor of that Government, which would not, it is believed, permit an indignity to be offered to the flag of a friendly power or wrongs to its nationals by an Austro-Hungarian officer without making immediate and ample amends. LANSING.



THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[German Cartoon]

The Holy War



[A German artist's dream of a Mohammedan uprising against the British in India and Egypt.]

Troubles of the Crown Prince

THE KAISER SPIDER: *"What! down again, Willie? Never mind—remember King Robert Bruce's spider! Try again!"*

WILLIE: *"Oh! strafe that Scottish spider! He only fell six or seven times! I've been down sixty or seventy, and I get bumped worse each time! Why don't you try it yourself?"*

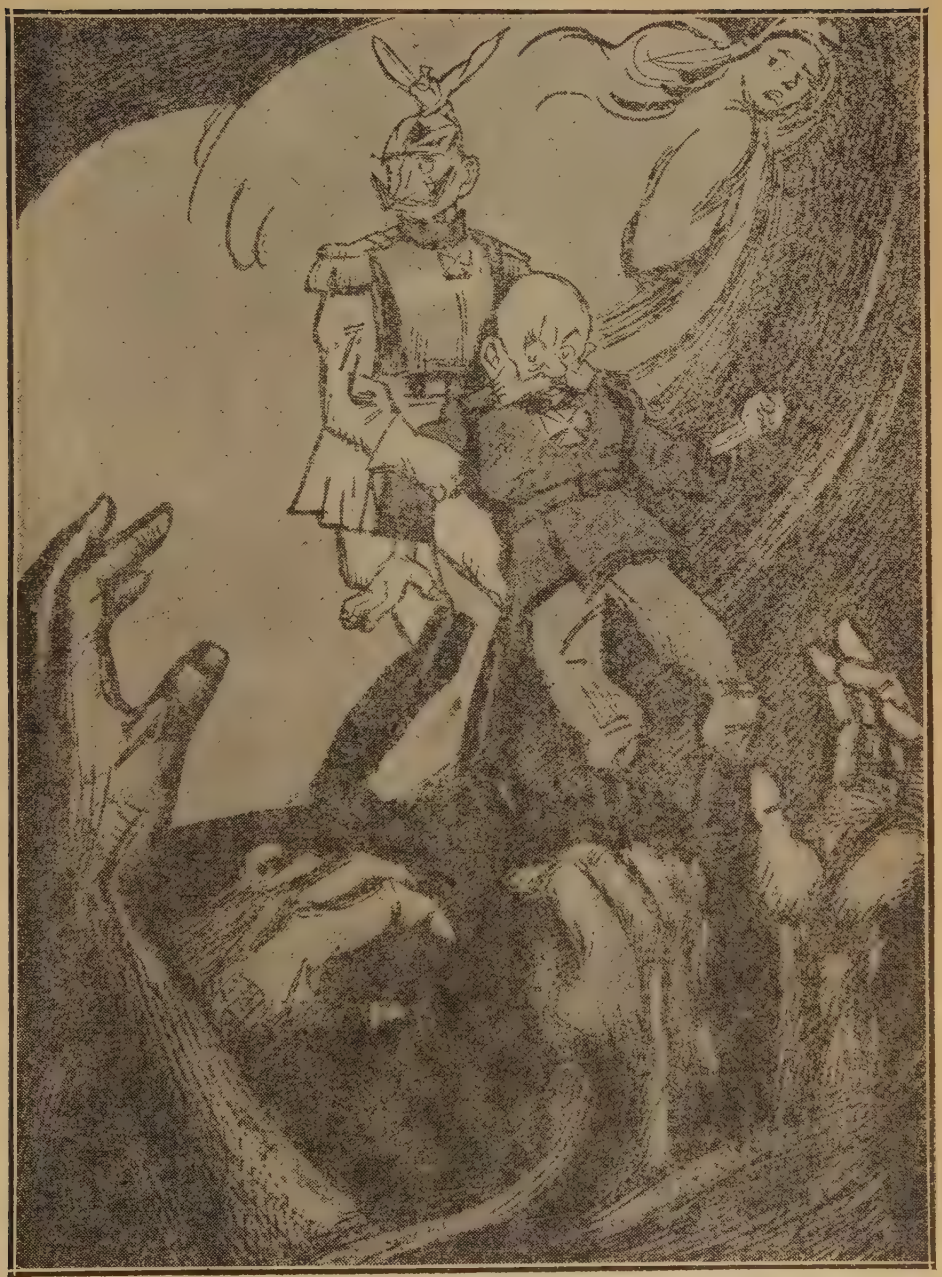
Wanted!

—From The Westminster Gazette.

THE AUSTRIAN EMPEROR: *"I want reinforcements!"*
HINDENBURG: *"I want my Army Corps back!"*
THE CROWN PRINCE: *"I want every man you can spare me!"*
THE KAISER: *"But where are they to come from?"*

[Italian Cartoon]

Toward the Abyss

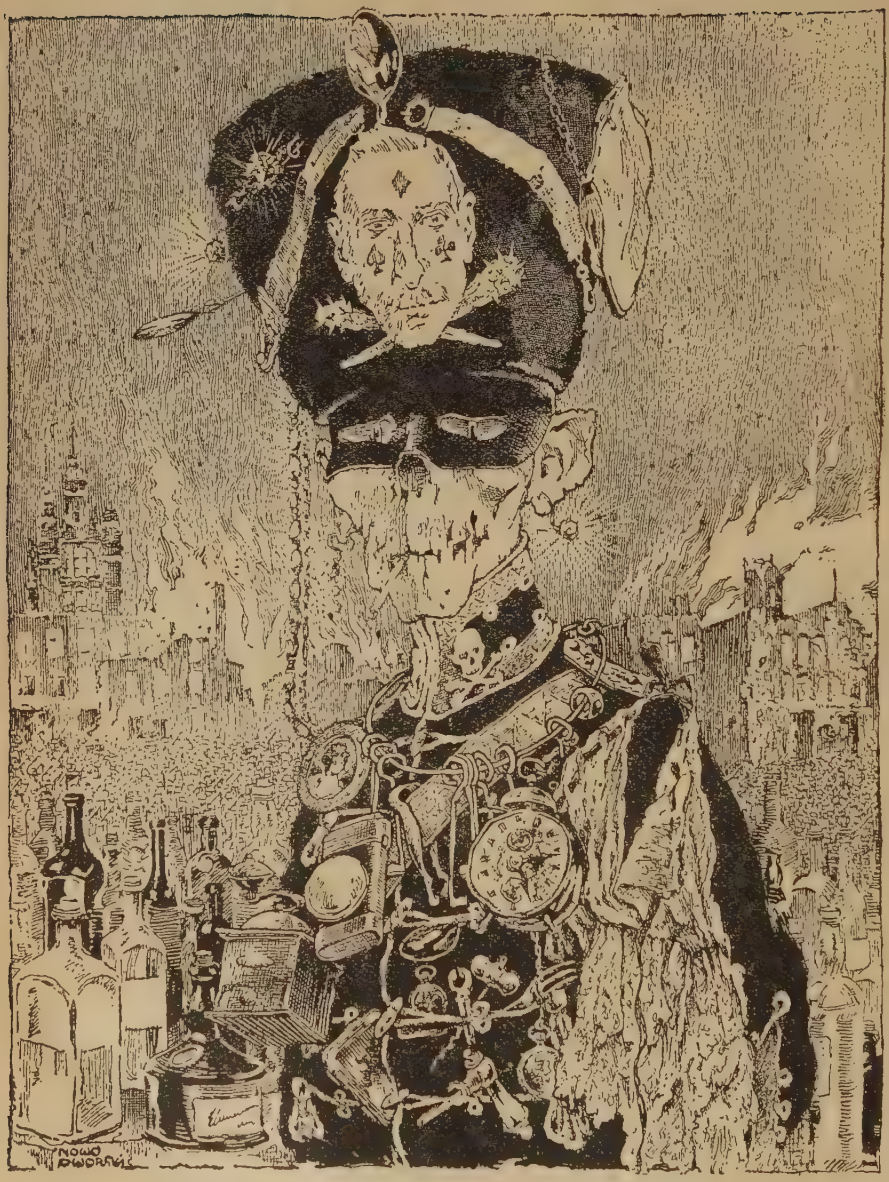


—*From L'Asino, Rome.*

THE KAISER TO HIS ALLY: "Forward! We are making progress."

[Russian Cartoon]

A World Bandit

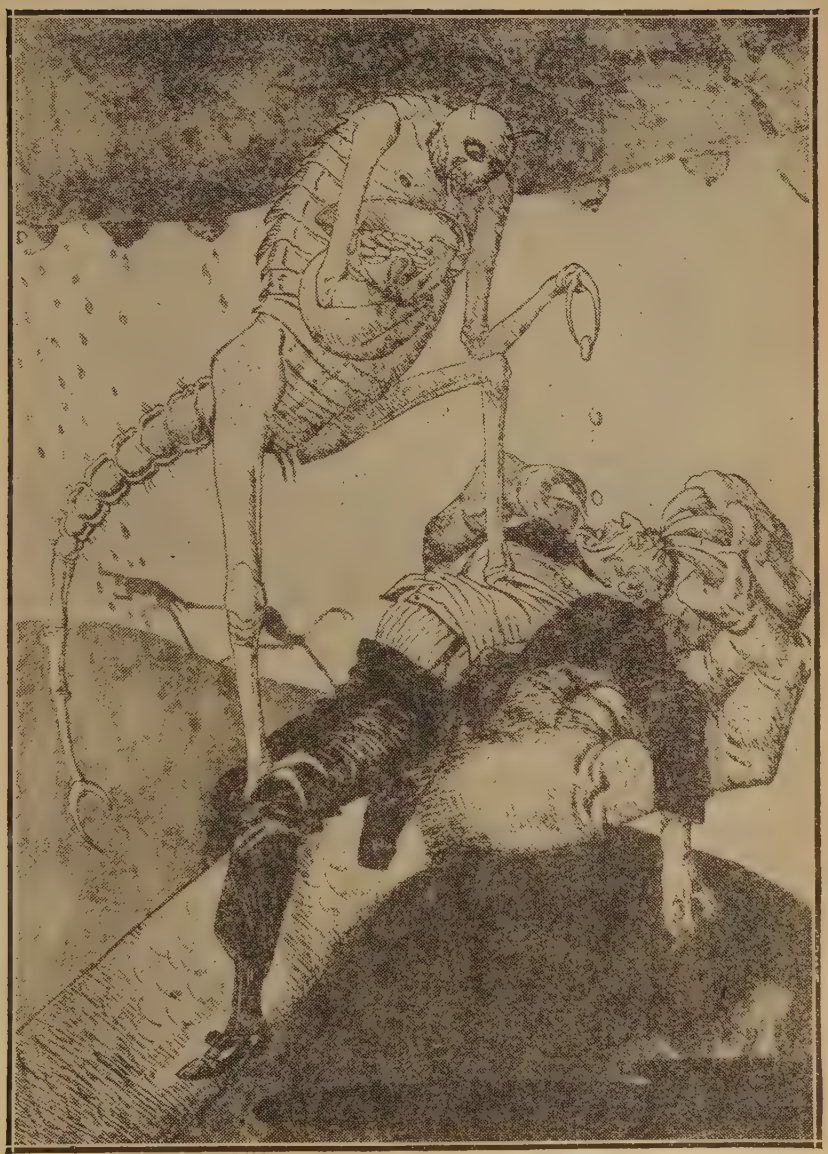


—*From the Mucha, Warsaw.*

The Crown Prince Hohenrobber.

[German Cartoon]

British Profit Hunger



English statesmen never get enough on earth; so much the more certain are they to get it in hell.

[French Cartoon]

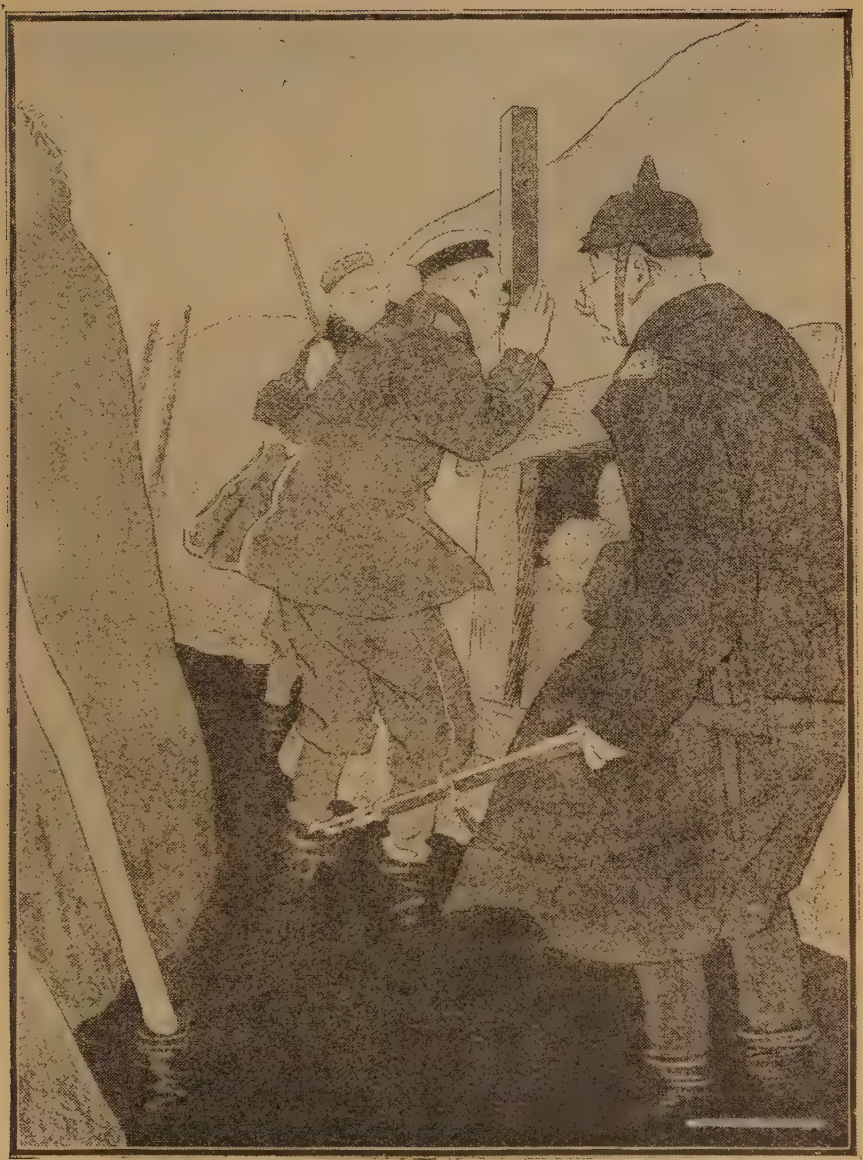
German Arms

—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

"Come, officer, give me your sword."
"We have no sword, but I will pass you my bottle of vitriol."

[English Cartoon]

Gott Strafe!



—*From The Sketch, London.*

HANS (*watching the enemy through the trench periscope, and hailing them*): "Vot vos you?"

THE ENEMY: "Munsters."

FRITZ: "Monsters! Gott in Himmel! Vot vos ve up against now?"

[Hungarian Cartoon]

Let Joy Be Unconfined

—*From Borszem Janko.*

"Dance, children, dance till you fall; I am not weary."

[French Cartoon]

In Galicia

—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

The Latest Joy Ride of the Cossacks.

[German Cartoon]

The Horn of Plenty

—*By T. T. Heine of Munich.*

But the Flood It Pours Over the Earth Is Red.

[Australian Cartoon]

The Injured Innocent

"Germany is a peace-loving nation and never did desire war."—German Chancellor's Reichstag Speech.

—*From The Sydney Bulletin.*

"Can't yer *SEE* what a peace-loving man I am?"

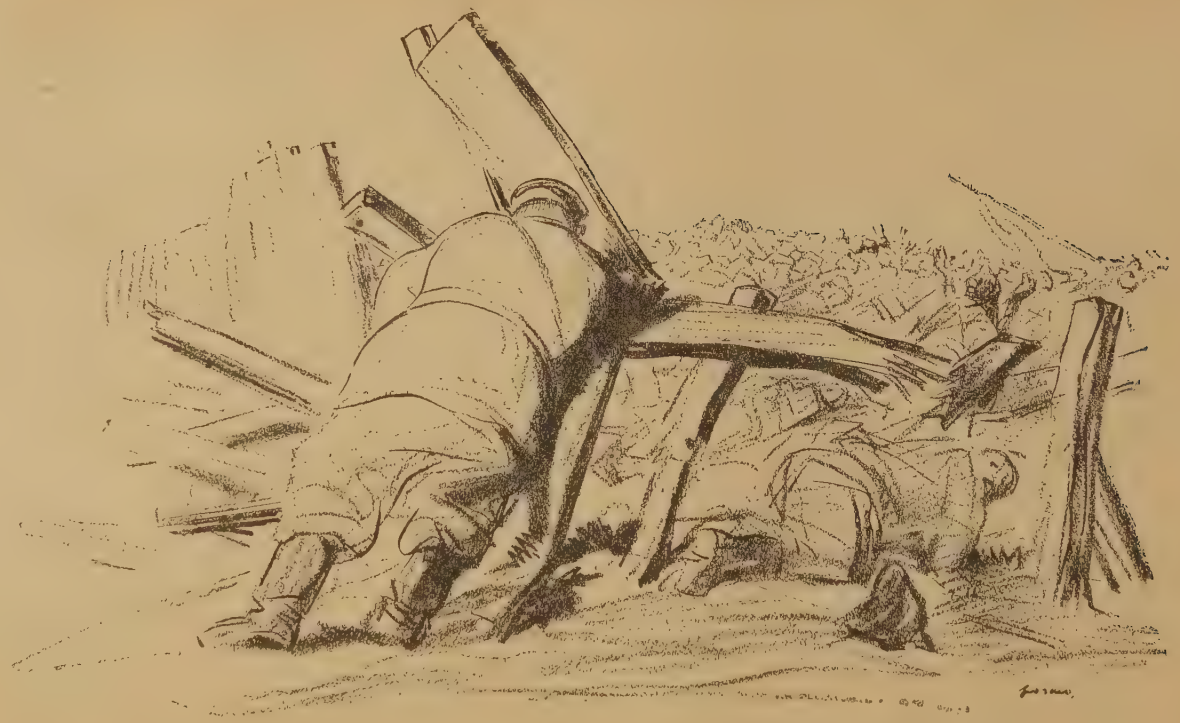
[German Cartoon]

"The Lying-Slander Traffic"

"So long as England's cables are intact she can still send her chief article of export all over the world as usual."

[French Cartoon]

The Russian Drive



—*Forain in Le Figaro, Paris.*

A Simple Shove of the Shoulder.

[French Cartoon]

In the Hospital

—*Forain in Le Figaro, Paris.*

"Don't be discouraged; you can soon go to the front again."

[English Cartoon]

The Home Run

—From London Opinion.

The game will be finished on the stroke of the hour.

[French Cartoon]

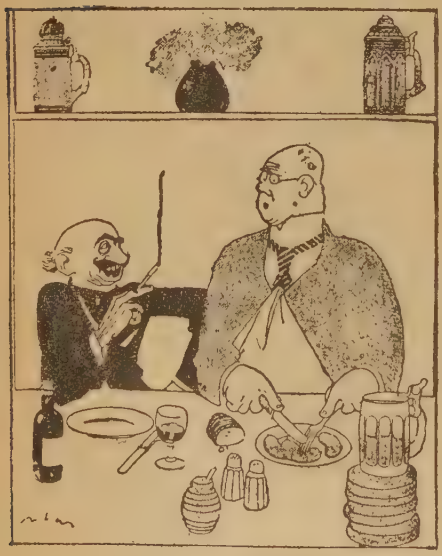
Austrian Tactics

FIRST SOLDIER: "I believe we are decamping."

SECOND SOLDIER: "Be quiet! It's a manoeuvre which the official bulletins call 'breaking contact.'"

[Spanish Cartoon]

A Conceded Claim



—From L'Esquella, Barcelona.

"Every German, you may be sure, is worth three men of any other nation."

"Certainly! Especially at meal time."

[Italian Cartoon]

Overworked

—From the Mondo Umoristico, Milan.

"And you, Baroness, what have you done for the Red Cross?"

"I have taken part in ten benefit balls, three theatricals, and a grand reception with illuminations."

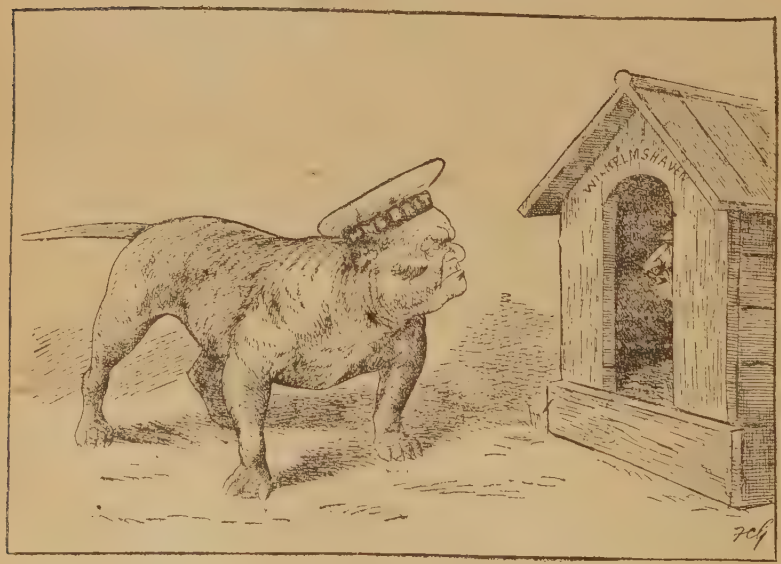
[English Cartoon]

King of the World

The Only Ruler Whose New Conquests Are Undisputed.

Kitchener of Khartum

After the Jutland Fight



—*From The Westminster Gazette.*

THE GERMAN: "*Why don't you go away? I licked you!*"
THE BRITISH BULLDOG: "*Licked me! You mean you escaped by running away. If you think you licked me, why don't you come out?*"

[Dutch Cartoon]

Secret Diplomacy

—*By Louis Raemaekers.*

Planning the First Moves in the Great War.

[Italian Cartoon]

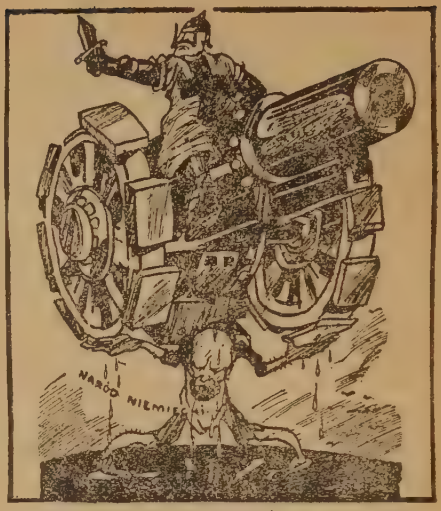
The Battle of Jutland

—From Fischietto, Turin.

"Wilhelm demands the trident, and he most certainly got it."

[Russian Cartoon]

Before Verdun



—From the Mucha, late of Warsaw, now of Moscow.

THE GERMAN PEOPLE: "Hi! You up there. I can't carry this thing much longer."

[French Cartoon]

An Irrefutable Argument

—From Le Matin, Paris.

FRANCIS JOSEPH: "William has not sent me a telegram on our strategic withdrawal from the Italian front."

ARCHDUKE EUGENE: "It was difficult for him to felicitate us * * *."

FRANCIS JOSEPH: "Why shouldn't he? I congratulated him on his naval battle."

[Australian Cartoon]

The Blossom of Victory

—From The Sydney Bulletin.

WILHELM: (*pulling the petals*): "Dis year, negst year, zumtimes, *nevair*."

[English Cartoon]

"Der Tag"

—*Raemaekers in Land and Water, London.*

ADMIRAL WILHELM: "Thank God, the Day is over."

[American Cartoon]

Music Hath Charms—

—*From The Baltimore American.*

A Substitute for Preparedness.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From June 12 Up to and Including July 11, 1916

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

June 12—Germans make unsuccessful assaults on Thiaumont.

June 13—Canadian troops recapture lost British positions southeast of Zillebeke; Germans take trenches west of Thiaumont.

June 16—French check German assaults on Hill 320 and Hill 321 and at southern edge of the Caillette Wood.

June 17—French take the offensive in the Vaux region and carry part of German trenches north of Hill 321.

June 18—Germans repulsed at Dead Man Hill.

June 21—Germans make new drive near Rheims.

June 22—Germans capture new first-line trenches between Fumini Wood and Chenois, in the Fort Vaux sector.

June 24—Germans gain a foothold in Fleury.

June 26-28—British begin heavy offensive against German lines along the entire front; Germans launch an attack in the Champagne district.

June 30—French recapture Thiaumont work.

July 1—British and French troops begin great offensive in the Somme River region and smash seven miles of the enemy's line, taking two towns and 2,000 prisoners.

July 2—British occupy Fricourt, on the Somme; French capture Curlu and Frise; continued deadlock on Verdun front.

July 3—French capture five towns on the way to Peronne; French lose Damloup work, near Vaux, but retake it.

July 4.—Germans reinforce lines on the Somme front; French take two villages near Assevillers; struggle for La Boisselle; French again lose Thiaumont work.

July 5—French carry second German lines from the Clery-Maricourt road to the Somme and cut the railway to Chaulnes.

July 6—British in new offensive crush German lines from Thiepval southward and eastward to Contalmaison.

July 8—French capture Hardecourt and Mamelon; British gain footing in wood east of Montauban and tighten grip on Ovillers.

July 9—French troops south of the Somme sweep forward on two and one-half-mile front and capture Biaches.

July 10—French take Hill 97, overlooking Peronne; Germans enter Trones Wood, but British advance east of Ovillers and La Boisselle.

July 11—British carry their line into Contalmaison; Germans gain footing in Damloup battery, at Verdun.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

June 12—Russians capture Dobronovtze, ten miles northeast of Czernowitz.

June 13—Terrific battle around Tarnopol; Austrains relinquish Torgovitsa fortifications.

June 14—Russians advance along the lower Stripa, force the Dniester at several points, advance along the Zale-Szczky-Kolomea railway, and attack Hindenburg's line north of Pinsk.

June 16—Russians dislodge Austrians on the River Bluichevka between Kozin and Tarnovka.

June 17—Russians separate the three main Austrian army groups operating between the Pripet and Bukowina; Czernowitz in ruins.

June 18—Russian Army enters Czernowitz; Germans routed on the Styr.

June 20—Austrians check Russian drive between Lutsk and Kovel; Russians advance on the southern flank toward Kolomea and Halich.

June 22—German lines from France take over defense of the Kovel-Lutsk region and attack Russians in three groups.

June 25—Russians resume great offensive in Volhynia.

June 26—Germans storm Russian positions southwest of Sokul and take many prisoners.

June 30—Russians take Kolomea, pass the mouth of the Stripa, and push westward; Germans in the north cross the Niemen.

July 1—Russians capture towns north and south of Kolomea; Germans report capture of Russian positions west of Kolki and southwest of Sokul.

July 3—Germans, reinforced, take offensive north of Lutsk.

July 4—Russian cavalry patrols cross the Carpathians and enter Hungary; Prince Leopold's line broken near Baranovichi.

July 5—Russians cut railroad in Galicia between Dalatyn and Korosniezo and rout General Bothmer's army south of the Dniester.

July 7—Russians begin tremendous offensive on the Riga front; Bothmer's army flanked out of Galician positions between the Stripa and Zlota Rivers.

July 11—Russians drive forward toward fortresses of Vladimir-Volynski.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

June 12—Italians advance in the Assa Valley, the Pasubio sector, and along the Posina-Astico line.

June 13—Italians capture strong Austrian line in the Lagafina Valley.
June 16—Austrians repulsed on the Asiago plateau between Monte Pari and Monte Lemerle.
June 17—Italians carry Austrian positions of Malga, Fossetta, and Monte Magari, between the Frenzela Valley and Marcesina.
June 23—Italians push Austrians back in the Assa Valley and on the Asiago plateau.
June 24—Italians advance in the Pasubio sector in the Trentino.
June 27—Italians take Arsiero and continue advance between the Adige and the Brenta.
June 28—Italians capture Monte Giamondo, north of Fusine, and Monte Caviojo.
June 29—Italians storm Fort Mattasone and carry the ridge of Monte Trappola in the Arsa Valley.
June 30—Italians in the Arsa Valley occupy the Val Morbia lines and the southern slope of Monte Spil.
July 2—Italians begin attack on Austrian fortified positions between Zugna Totya and Foppiano, in the Trentino.
July 5—Italians occupy summit of Monte Corno and capture the crest of Monte Sellugion, in the Trentino.
July 9—Italians advance in the Molino Basin and toward Forni.
July 10—Italians win a valley in the Tofane region.

ASIA MINOR AND EGYPT

June 14—British repulsed in attempt to advance on the right bank of the Tigris, near Felahie; Persian volunteers annihilate a British detachment in the Euphrates sector.
June 16—Turks occupy village of Serpoul, in the direction of Bagdad.
June 17—British forces attempting to cross the lower Euphrates River near Korna are driven back by the Turks.
June 23-24—Turks capture Paitak Pass, on the Mesopotamian front.
June 27—Russians defeated in attack east of Servil, in Persia.
July 1—Russians defeated in Persia between Kerind and Harunabad, on the road to Kermanshah.
July 2—Russians capture chain of mountains east of Plantana from the Turks.
July 5—Turks recapture Kermanshah.
July 6—Russians fall back eighty miles in the Bagdad region.
July 8—Russians repulsed in the Caucasus north of Tchoruk with heavy losses.
July 9—Russians occupy railroad station at Delatyn, west of Kolomea, in the south, Gulevitchi and Kachova in the north, and cross the Stokhod River at Ugli.

AFRICAN CAMPAIGN

June 13—British forces reach Makuyuni in East Africa and capture German islands of Ukerewe; Belgians control the entire northwest.
June 16—British occupy village of Kilimanjaro; Portuguese repulse German attack on post of Namaka.
July 1—Germans ejected from Ubena centre east of the Livingstone Mountains and driven northward.

NAVAL RECORD

Russian warships in the Baltic Sea sank two German steamers of small torpedo type, an auxiliary cruiser, and several merchantmen. The German steamer Dorita was destroyed by a Russian submarine.
In the war zone, six British ships, one Norwegian, one Swedish, one Spanish, two French, one Danish, and twenty Italian ships have been sunk.
Teutonic submarines have been active in the Mediterranean. The Italian steamer Le Provedita, the French ships Herault and Ville de Madrid, the British ship Cardiff, and one Japanese ship have been sunk, and the Greek steamer Nilsa attacked.
In the Black Sea the Turkish cruisers Yawuz Sultan Selim and Midullu, formerly the Goeben and the Breslau, sank four Russian transports and several sailing vessels off the Caucasus coast and bombarded the harbor works. Allied fleets bombarded the southern coast of Bulgaria from Porto Lagos to Dedeaghatch. Russian torpedo boats destroyed fifty-four enemy sailing vessels. The Russian hospital ship Vperiode was sunk by an enemy submarine.

MISCELLANEOUS

On July 8 the Entente Allies issued a formal notice of abandonment of the Declaration of London and proclaimed a new decree concerning blockade regulations and contraband.
The Greek Government accepted in their entirety the demands of the Entente powers, promising complete demobilization of the army, immediate formation of a non-political Cabinet, dissolution of the Chamber, followed by new elections, and replacement of objectionable police functionaries. The Skouloudis Cabinet resigned and a new Ministry was formed with Zaimis at the head. The Allies raised the blockade of Greek ports.
An uprising against the Turks occurred in Arabia. The rebels captured Mecca, Jeddah, and Taif.
The United States Government has sent a second note to Austria concerning the submarine attack on the Standard Oil tanker Petrolite.
The German submarine Deutschland crossed the Atlantic in safety and reached the port of Baltimore on July 9 with a $1,000,000 cargo of dyestuffs. United States customs and naval officials found her to be an unarmed, peaceful merchant ship.

Austrian Shelter Huts Among the Dolomite Alps, Illustrating the Difficulties of the Present Italian Offensive.

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

PAOLO BOSELLI

Italy's New Prime Minister, Who Succeeds Salandra, and Who Is An Eminent Professor, Lawyer, and Oldest Member of the Italian Parliament.
(Photo from Central News Bureau.)

PERIOD XXIV.

The Fall of Gorizia—Fight for Bapaume and Peronne—The Battle of Galicia—The British Trade Blacklist—Shooting of Captain Fryatt—Japan and the United States—A Bayonet Charge in Picardy—Britain's Tribute to Belgium—The Allies of the Future—Vitality of France—Italy's Campaign in the High Alps—Review of Recent Naval Battles.

WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

The Allies More Confident

THE progress of the war in the month since the last issue of CURRENT HISTORY confirms the conclusion then reached that the end of the conflict is not definitely in sight. Elsewhere appears a symposium of the views of the official spokesmen of the belligerent nations issued at the end of the war's second year. The one thing upon which they all agree is an inexorable resolution to continue the struggle relentlessly until one or the other is vanquished. It is *guerre à l'outrance.*

The fighting in August was, if anything, fiercer and bloodier than at any previous time, with the advantage on the side of the Allies. It is now evident that Austria is pressed for reserves and that her troops have lost their dash. The Germans still have fresh reserves from no man knows where; they are full of spirit, defiant, and as dauntless as any troops Germany has sent forth, but she has now met foes who are equal in equipment and munitions, and who surpass her in numbers; she has been compelled steadily, even if slowly and stubbornly, to give way in France and along the Russian border. The Russians are making very slow progress in Asia Minor, but the Turks have met another serious check in their campaign against the Suez Canal. The Germans have clearly lost their initiative at Verdun and are losing some of their gains in that region, while the Italians are driving the Austrians not only from the positions they gained in the Spring, but, by the capture of Gorizia, seem to have their grip now on all of Istria, including Trieste.

Talk of peace is heard in Germany, but the Allies frown upon the suggestion, believing that Germany has passed her zenith and that her collapse is only a question of time. Prophecies as to the time yet required to win the war, at the present rate of progress by the Allies, range from one to three years, but some firmly believe that there will be no sanguinary battles after the snow flies and that peace pourparlers will be in progress before the Winter ends.

* * *

Teuton Gains and Losses

AT the end of the second year the Teuton Powers occupied 20,450 square miles of French and Belgian territory, 88,000 square miles of Russian, and 25,000 square miles of Serbian. In the second year they added no French or Belgian conquests; on the contrary, they lost a hundred or more square miles late in July, and are losing a little more each day. Their losses in Russia have been considerable, though they added 30,000 square miles in 1915-16. The Turkish losses in Asia Minor have been several thousand square miles, and the Austrian losses in Italy have very greatly exceeded their previous gains. Germany has lost practically all her colonial possessions.

The Central Empires to date have lost in killed, missing, wounded, and prisoners about 5,125,000, and are spending at least $40,000,000 a day in defensive operations. The Allies' casualties in the 24½ months of war exceed 6,000,000, and they are spending in actual warfare over $60,000,000 a day. The sea is closed to the Germans, the blockade is tighter than be-

fore, and the food question is a serious problem in the Central Empires. There seems to be a recrudescence of submarine activity and a developing possibility that Germany may resume her previous policy of sinking merchant vessels without warning, in which event an open break with the United States would be possible.

The Allies in mid-August seemed about to launch their offensive against Bulgaria from Saloniki, and it is believed Bulgaria will not resist whole-heartedly. There is a story that Bulgaria may yet renounce her alliance with Germany and Austria, in which event it is believed that Rumania would join the Entente. Should this occur, the collapse of the Turkish defense would speedily follow and the end come in sight.

* * *

Purchase of Danish Islands

A TREATY has been agreed to by the Danish and United States Governments for the sale of the small islands owned by Denmark in the West Indies—St. Thomas, St. John, and Santa Cruz—to the United States for the sum of $25,000,000. The treaty has been ratified by the lower house of the Danish Parliament, subject to a popular vote of approval. Opposition has developed in the upper house among the Conservatives, who oppose the sale on general principles. In the American Senate also there is some opposition because the price is regarded as excessive. The total area in acres of the three islands is about 90,000, one-third not tillable. The population in 1901 was 30,527—98 per cent. negroes—against 38,000 in 1860; there are only about 600 whites, nearly all Danes. The imports of the islands aggregate about $1,500,000 a year, of which the United States furnishes about 50 per cent.

Our civil war developed the necessity of a naval base and harbor of refuge in the West Indies, and in 1865 negotiations were opened for the purchase of these islands from Denmark. The matter dragged along, and the United States Senate finally rejected the treaty, but in 1892 negotiations were resumed and the subject has been alive ever since. Fourteen years ago Denmark was willing to take about $5,000,000 for the islands. Since the acquisition of Porto Rico, which is only twenty-six miles away, the necessity for a naval base in the West Indies has been met, but the harbor at San Juan does not admit the heaviest dreadnoughts, while Charlotte-Amalie, the port of St. Thomas, is situated on one of the finest natural harbors in the world. It is felt that this harbor should be in our possession, especially since the construction of the Panama Canal.

President Wilson favors the purchase at the price offered, as do Senator Stone, the Democratic Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and Senator Lodge, the ranking Republican member of the committee; but the feeling is growing that the price is exorbitant and the treaty may fail to receive the necessary two-thirds vote.

* * *

Japan's Growing Population

THE first census of Japan was taken in 1643, following the anti-Christian riots. Christianity had been strictly prohibited and the enumeration was ordered to confirm the religious faith of the people. The total is not given, but in 1721 another census was taken, and the total return of population was 26,065,425. Thereafter a census was taken at irregular intervals, which showed very little change in the total in 100 years, remaining slightly in excess of 26,000,000, exclusive of the Samurai and other ruling classes. When the country was opened to foreign intercourse a system of vital statistics was established, and in 1873 the official census showed a population of 33,300,694. A census was ordered to be taken every six years by a law of 1871, with births added and deaths substracted.

In 1874 the population had reached 33,625,646, and now began a rapid increase at an accelerating ratio. By 1879 it was 35,768,547; in 1888 it was 39,607,234; in 1898, 43,763,855; in 1908, 49,588,804; in 1913, 53,356,788. The increase in the five-year periods shows an in-

creasing ratio, being about 8 per cent. between 1908 and 1913. Japan has 361 persons to the square mile; the United States, 27 2-3; France, 191; Germany, 311; the United Kingdom, 376.

* * *

Britain's Educational System Under Fire

LORD HALDANE exposed an amazing state of affairs in the British educational system in a recent speech in Parliament, which created a profound sensation and may lead to a complete reform of English educational methods after the war. He stated that out of 2,750,000 boys and girls between the ages of 12 and 16 in England 1,450,000 get no education after they reach 13, and only 250,000 go to school after 14 years of age. He stated that 5,350,000 boys and girls in England and Wales between the ages of 16 and 25 get no education at all, only 93,000 get a full-time course, and 390,000 a part-time course at evening schools. The discussion grew out of the proposed trade combinations after the war, and moved Lord Haldane to suggest that, to maintain trade primacy, wider skill and technique in scientific, chemical, and engineering subjects were prerequisites. These could be obtained only by a complete reorganization of educational methods. He cited the fact that there were only 1,500 trained chemists in England, whereas four German chemical firms alone which had played havoc with British trade employed 1,000 chemists. He also called attention to the prodigious wastage of fuel and by-products sufficient in value to pay interest on nearly three billion dollars, due to insufficiency of industrial experts in the country.

The questions raised precipitated a discussion in the House of Lords, in which some of the leading intellectuals participated, among them Earl Cromer, the Bishop of Winchester, Viscount Bryce, the Bishop of Ely, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Earl Curzon, the Archbishop of York, and others. The discussion developed into a debate as to the relative importance of classical and scientific education. Earl Cromer said the "total moral collapse of Germany was one of the most extraordinary and most tragic events recorded in history," and he could not help feeling "that one of the causes of that deterioration of character was that the atmosphere created by humanistic study had lost its hold on German public opinion. The whole national mind of Germany had apparently become materialized." The Bishop of Winchester also referred to the "painful efficiency" of Germany and warned the country not to neglect the humanistic and classical studies. Viscount Bryce thought that the German habit of obedience had cost them much of "initiative, independence of spirit, and free individuality." He believed the fault in England was lack of interest on the part of parents in the progress of their boys' studies, and that there was need to make the teacher's career more effective. He said if there were more demand for experts in England they would be found, but England did not yet appreciate, as did Germany and the United States, the important effects of the application of science to industry.

The discussion brought such acute criticism on the educational system that Arthur Henderson, the Minister of Education, resigned his portfolio, though he still remains in the Cabinet. A commission will be appointed to take up the subject. In the debates the peers frequently referred to America, and held that there had been a change in this country, humanistic education being at present not to so great an extent subordinated to scientific or materialistic study as formerly.

* * *

Prosperity Through War

SOME noted economists are predicting a period of unexampled prosperity in Europe after the war. They argue that millions of men will have been killed or incapacitated for work, and that there will be such shortage in the labor market to replace the billions of structures destroyed that wages will rapidly advance and prosperity proportionately prevail. Statistics prove that active work with labor in demand at high wages invariably produces good times among the masses.

In fact, the war itself is having a most appreciable affect on pauperism, proving again the thesis that unemployed are not unemployable. Walter Long, President of the British Local Government Board, reports that the number of paupers in England decreased 100,000 between 1914 and 1915; pauperism in London declined 20 per cent., vagrancy in England and Wales, 66 2-3 per cent.; the number of homeless people sleeping out in London had fallen from 431 in February, 1913, to 44 in March, 1916. The conclusion is unavoidable that unemployment is mainly the effect of ill-organized industry, with its concomitants of drink, crime, pauperism, and destitution, but with the industrial organization keyed up by military rigor and efficiency the residuum of the idlers and wasters is sucked up and the whole social fabric practically regenerated.

* * *

American Defense

THE House and Senate have agreed upon the American Defense Program; it is the heaviest naval budget in history and the largest army program in our annals. The total defense program agreed upon requires $661,418,000, $110,000,000 to be available at once for the navy. The regular army and National Guard are reorganized, bringing the enlisted peace strength of the army to 187,000, which can be expanded by Executive call to 220,000; Federalizing the National Guard would also add 450,000 men at war strength.

For maintenance of the reorganized army and militia and supplies and equipment Congress appropriated $267,597,000. More than $13,000,000 of this is for development of aeronautics, $11,000,000 for Government plants for the manufacture of armor plate. The Army bill also carried an appropriation of $20,000,000 for a Government plant to produce nitrate for use in manufacturing munitions.

Provision was made for extension and improvement of the coast defenses with appropriations aggregating $25,748,050. To furnish needed officers in the army and the navy the personnel of the Naval and Military Academies was enlarged, the former to 1,760 and the latter to 1,152. For the Military Academy a special appropriation of $1,225,000 was made, the fund for Annapolis being carried in the Naval Appropriation bill.

Congress also provided for the creation of a Council for National Defense, composed of Cabinet officials and citizen experts to co-ordinate the military, industrial, and natural resources of the country in time of war.

In the Navy bill the President is authorized, in the event of emergency, to increase the strength of the navy to 87,000 enlisted men. A Senate amendment providing for 6,000 apprentice seamen, in lieu of 3,500 proposed in the House bill, was approved.

The building program for the navy as fixed by the Senate and concurred in by the House is as follows:

	—Senate.—	
	1st Yr.	3 Yrs.
Battleships	4	10
Battle cruisers	4	6
Scout cruisers	4	10
Destroyers	20	50
*Coast submarines	27	58
Fuel ships	3	3
Repair ship	1	1
Transport	1	1
Hospital ship	1	1
Destroyer tenders	2	2
Fleet submarines	9	9
Ammunition ships	2	2
Gunboats	2	2

*In addition, the Senate bill authorizes one submarine to be equipped with the Neff system of submarine propulsion and to cost, exclusive of armor and armament, $250,000.

* * *

Mass Feeding in Germany

THE City of Berlin recently began erecting enormous public dining halls in order to solve the food problem by communal feeding. One kitchen contains sixty-three boilers which hold 50,000 pints of food, and hundreds of women are employed in the cooking. The kitchen is in the centre and the eating rooms extend from it in two enormous wings. Potato and meat cutting machines are operated by electricity, and motor conveyors carry the food from the principal kitchens to the subordinate kitchens, where food is served from noon until 4 P. M., the following being the bill of fare: Monday, rice and potatoes; Tuesday, meat;

Wednesday, beans and fat; Thursday, meat and macaroni; Friday, beans and potatoes; Saturday, cabbage and mashed potatoes; Sunday, goulash (minced meat) and potatoes. A portion equal to about one and one-half pints is sold for 8 cents.

Public dining halls of this kind are now operated in Hamburg, Frankfurt, Berlin, and Leipsic, and will be generally introduced; it is understood that Berlin is preparing to provide at least 400,000 pints of food per day, but it is claimed that the food problem has been so well solved that the public dining halls may be abandoned.

* * *

IN the year ending June 30, 1916, the merchant shipping cleared from the ports of the United States showed a tonnage of 25,500,000, of which 23,000,000 was foreign; the previous high record was 24,800,000 tons in the year ending June 30, 1914. It should be remembered that this increase is in the face of the German blockade, the closing of the Black Sea, and the withdrawal of all Austrian and German ships from American trade. United States shipping to South American ports in the year increased nearly 500 per cent. and to Europe nearly 250 per cent. Argentina received 190,000 tons of American shipping in the year, against 5,000 in the year ending June 30, 1914, and Colombia 100,000 tons, as against 285 tons in 1914.

* * *

THE British War Office has promulgated an order stating that "No person shall from the date of this Order, until further notice, buy, sell, or deal in raw wool grown or to be grown on sheep in Great Britain or Ireland during the season 1916." The French Government has commandeered at fixed prices all wool in France and Algiers.

* * *

THE stupendous costs of the war are shown in the comprehensive tables of the war loans of each of the belligerents as set forth in detailed figures in this issue. Great Britain's twelfth vote of credit was authorized Aug. 24, 1916. Its amount was $2,250,000,000, bringing the total sum voted by Great Britain for the war between August, 1914, and August, 1916, up to $14,160,000,000. The total domestic, civil, and war expenditure of the United Kingdom is now $30,000,000 a day, which includes large sums spent in the acquisition of American securities to be used as a credit against liabilities to our country. The average daily expenditure of Great Britain for the war remains at about $25,000,000.

* * *

THE income tax in Great Britain for the current year is in some instances more than five times what it was prior to the war. Its operations are best illustrated by the following examples: On an income of $2,500 before the war it was $65; in the current year it is $255. On an income of $5,000 a year it has risen from $140 before the war to $695. An income of $25,000 was taxed $1,310 before the war; the tax in 1916-17 is $7,510. An income of $500,000 was assessed for taxes in 1913-14 $62,290; in 1916-17 it is assessed $285,645—over 50 per cent. If the $500,000 income is liable also for the excess profits tax the total tax collected will be $300,000, or 60 per cent.

* * *

THE hanging of the body of Signor Battisti, ex-Deputy for Trent in the Austrian Reichsrat, by Austrians at Trent, after he had been taken as a wounded prisoner of war at the head of his Italian troops, has caused intense indignation throughout Italy. Battisti was an ardent irredentist in the Austrian House, and when Italy declared war he joined his native Trentinos under the Italian flag. It is reported that he killed himself rather than be captured by the Austrians, and that his corpse was hanged on a gibbet at Trent. The Germans and Austrians liken his case to Casement's.

* * *

ENGLAND is gasping because Winston Churchill is being paid $5,000 for four articles which he is contributing to The London Sunday Pictorial, but in consequence of heavily advertising these articles the circulation of The Pictorial jumped 400,000 in two weeks and is now approximately 2,500,000, the most widely circulated weekly in the world. The articles are not long and the rate of pay-

ment is no larger than has been made by some American weeklies; it is considerably below the price reported paid to former President Roosevelt for his magazine contributions.

Mr. Churchill says Great Britain could not possibly have prevented the war; he maintains that Emperor William "definitely decreed the terms of the Serbian ultimatum and at that time had already resolved to launch his armies."

* * *

GREAT BRITAIN has arranged through a syndicate of American bankers a $250,000,000 loan, secured by $300,000,000 collateral securities, $100,000,000 being American, an equal amount Canadian, and a third bonds and securities of Argentina, Chile, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Denmark, and Holland. The loan will be covered by two-year 5 per cent. notes, to be sold at 99; the proceeds will be expended in the United States to take up maturing loans. The French recently borrowed $100,000,000 for a three-year period. This, with the Anglo-French joint loan of $500,000,000 makes a total of $850,000,000 loaned the two nations by the United States within twelve months. It is estimated that $1,500,000,000 American securities have drifted back to this country since the war began.

Interpretations of World Events

Why the Big Push Drags

TWO very significant pronouncements, made within the last few days, shed a great deal of light on the comparative slowness of the allied offensive on the Somme. The first comes from the French General Malleterre, who, after fighting brilliantly in the earlier battles in Belgium and Northern France, has written brilliantly of the later incidents and strategy of the war. General Malleterre recurs to a point he made a few weeks ago—that the conditions of a great successful offensive must include three elements—a material preponderance, a moral mastery, and closely co-ordinated action. Co-ordination, he says, is at last being reached by the Entente Powers, with the result that the shuttle strategy—the rapid transfer of troops between east and west which, as Bernhardi and Jagow clearly showed, was the fundamental principle of the German Great General Staff—has been rendered impossible. With the Entente Powers successfully attacking in France, on the Isonzo, in Armenia and Galicia, the Central Empires must strain every nerve merely to hold each front with the troops there; they cannot be moved without extreme peril to the weakened sector. Moral ascendency was decisively won, he adds, before Verdun, where the mightiest effort the German Army ever made was broken against the rock of French valor; at Erzerum; at Lutsk. There remains the third element—decided material preponderance. British and French artillery have shown astonishing power on the Somme, and to this power the German Generals have very fully subscribed. But the declarations of Sir Samuel Montagu, the British Minister of Munitions, and of his French colleague, M. Albert Thomas, make it clear that both nations expect to double, perhaps treble, their weight of guns in the next few months. We may therefore accept the conclusion which he has just put forward—that the "big push," effective as it undoubtedly is, will be followed by a still bigger push a few months hence, a push which the Allies expect to end the war.

General Kuropatkin Goes to Turkestan

WHILE on the Teuton side Archduke Friedrich, who originally faced the Russian drive, was superseded by General von Linsingen, and Linsingen has now been superseded, as to the chief command, by Field Marshal von Hindenburg, there has been but one change in the opposing Russian command, and no change in the command on the southern front. And, in passing, it is in-

teresting to record the captures made by the four Generals who are operating under General Brusiloff, as they have just been published by the Russian General Staff. For the period from June 4, when Brusiloff's drive began, to Aug. 12, the figures are, beginning at the north: General Kaledin, 109,509 officers and men; General Sakharoff, 89,215; General Stcherbatchoff, 57,016; General Letchitski, 102,717. Thus the total captures made by the Czar's forces in nine weeks were over 358,000 men and officers, besides 405 cannon, 1,326 machine guns, 338 mine and bomb throwers, and 292 powder carts. The one change in the Russian command has been the transfer of General Kuropatkin to Turkestan, where he goes as Governor. For this transfer there are probably two reasons—the first is, that General Ruzski, who has twice been withdrawn from the front to undergo an operation, is now sufficiently recovered to resume command of the Riga-Dwinsk sector, which Kuropatkin held temporarily; the more important reason is that no man in the Russian Empire knows the whole Central Asian region—and this now includes Northern Persia—better than does Kuropatkin. For ten years he was Governor of the transcaspian region, whence he was called to the War Ministry at Petrograd, where he was when the Russo-Japanese war began. Kuropatkin also knows Persia well. General Ruzski, who goes back to the Riga-Dwinsk sector, also fought in the Russo-Turkish war, and saw service in Manchuria. At the beginning of the war he was head of the Kieff military district, and commanded the army which marched on Lemberg in the Autumn of 1914.

General Smuts in German East Africa

GENERAL JAN CHRISTIAN SMUTS who, when the war began, was Minister of Defense of the Union of South Africa, is now writing "lastly" across the last protectorate of Germany's extensive colonial empire. This is, in reality, a much more arduous task than that so incisively performed by General Louis Botha, the Prime Minister of the South African Union, in the first months of the war, in the conquest of German Southwest Africa. For the latter protectorate, while it has an enormous area, 322,450 square miles, is sparsely populated—one inhabitant to each four square miles—or 80,000 in all, and a great part is open desert. Not only is German East Africa considerably larger, having 384,000 square miles, (as compared with 208,780 square miles for the German Empire in Europe,) but it has a population just a hundred times larger than the former colony, namely, 8,000,000, and much of the country, both along the coast and among the giant mountains in the north, is densely wooded, and therefore very difficult country to fight an offensive campaign in. When the war began there were 4,000 Germans in the East African protectorate, a large proportion of whom formed a defensive force, while at least 40,000 natives had been trained and enrolled as a fighting force. Against these black troops, in their native forests, General Smuts has been fighting, with Belgian aid from the Congo and Portuguese help from Mozambique, and has been constantly tightening the line drawn around them. But the work is hard, since the Germans had covered the whole area of the protectorate with a system of intrenched forts, abundantly supplied with munitions and connected by wireless stations with her other African colonies and by relay(?) with her European territories. Everything was in readiness for the expected war, as is conclusively shown by the fact that, after two years' fighting, the German forces and their black auxiliaries are still well supplied with ammunition, though for the whole period they have been cut off by the British fleet from their home base.

The War and the Temporal Power of the Pope

DURING the war of 1866, which restored the province of Venice to Italy, Austria—supported in this policy by Napoleon III.—steadily resisted the desire of the new Italy to make Rome the capital of the nation. This preserved to the Popes the "temporal power," or power, as temporal sovereigns, over the

Papal States, which, until 1860, had had an area of some 16,000 square miles, (about twice the size of Massachusetts,) with a population of 3,000,000. When the Franco-Prussian war broke out, in 1870, Napoleon withdrew his troops from Rome, and that city, with what remained of the Papal States, was incorporated in the Kingdom of Italy. The Vatican and Lateran palaces, with their gardens and the villa of Castel Gandolfo, were guaranteed in perpetual possession to the Popes; within these palaces they retain a technical sovereignty. But there has remained, in the Vatican, the unrelinquished claim to the temporal power, which would mean the severance of Rome from the Kingdom of Italy; it ceasing to be the Italian capital; the reconstitution of the Papal States as a temporal sovereignty.

In theory at least Austria has consistently supported the claim of the Vatican to temporal power; and Italian publicists are making it clear that, at the beginning of the war, both Austria and Germany revived that claim, with the hope, first, of winning the Vatican over to the cause of the Central Empires, and, through the Vatican, influencing Catholic opinion throughout the world. There was a second purpose—that of breaking the unity of Italy along the old line of cleavage between the Vatican and the Quirinal, the Church and the State. But, say the Italian writers, both the bribes proffered to the Vatican for its support of the Central Empires have proved vain. Cardinal Gasparri gave assurances that the Vatican had no ambition to triumph with the help of foreign bayonets. Cardinal Ferrari, Archbishop of Milan, placed his seminary at the disposal of King Victor Emmanuel's troops. Cardinal Bisleti, an intimate friend of the Austrian Emperor, "burned his Hapsburg bridges behind him." In their own words, the Italian Catholics "laughed heartily at the Protestant Germans, who in Germany defend Luther and in Turkey Mohammed, when they saw them suddenly become the advocates of the temporal power of the Pope." The Italian Catholics declare that the war has separated them from Austria and Germany, but has brought them closer to France and Belgium.

The culmination of this patriotic Italian movement has just been reported from Rome, in the announcement that the Sovereign Pontiff has directed the Italian Cardinals (30 out of 62 members of the Sacred College) "to pray for the success of Italy and her allies." The effects of this decision are likely to be momentous. On the one hand, it imposes on the Catholic Emperor Franz Josef, and on the Catholic Kings of Saxony and Bavaria, a penalty which is little short of excommunication—in some ways, much heavier than excommunication; on the other, it will do much to bridge the chasm between the Church and the State in Italy; to make the Bishop of Rome the effective head of a national Italian Church. It is the first time, perhaps, in centuries, that the See of Peter has taken so definite a stand in a moral question which affects the political life of all Christendom, and it represents the final alignment on the side of the Allies of a great force hitherto neutral. Finally, it puts an end to any possibility of intervention by the Holy See with the purpose of securing peace which might be detrimental to the cause of the Entente Powers. The results of this decision are quite incalculable.

Trieste and the Austrian Fleet

WITHIN a few days after the fall of Gorizia it was announced that the fleet of Austria, which had been using the fortified harbor of Trieste as its base, had departed in the night for an unknown destination. The Franco-British fleet, which had been blockading Trieste, with Italian aid, appears to have been caught napping, and the Austrian ships seem to have reached Pola, at the end of the Istrian Peninsula, in safety. If Pola becomes untenable there remains Fiume, further east, and connected by rail direct with Budapest, through Croatia. The Austro-Hungarian fleet—for, like the army, it is held in common by both halves of the Dual Monarchy—is far from a negligible factor. Powerful modern battleships have been built, well-armed and manned. Austria counts four dread-

noughts, built since 1910, and displacing more than 20,000 tons; with six large and six smaller pre-dreadnoughts, the larger displacing from 10,600 to 14,500 tons, (three of each class.) They have been completely outclassed by the powerful French battleships which, by arrangement with Great Britain, are released from the English Channel to do service in the Mediterranean, France having a number of super-dreadnoughts with guns almost as heavy as those of England, and English ships are co-operating with these in blockading Austria. But one element of the Austrian fleet has been exceedingly active—the submarines, of which Austria had at the beginning of the war about a dozen, and there have been reports of German boats being sent by rail and assembled at Trieste. Very probably the activity of these Austrian submarines, by making it impossible for the French and English warships to wait off Trieste, co-operated in effecting the just recorded escape of the Austrian fleet. Italy has a battle fleet of seven pre-dreadnoughts and six dreadnoughts, displacing about 20,000 tons. Four super-dreadnoughts were laid down in 1914 to displace 28,000 tons and to carry a main armament of eight 15-inch guns, with a speed of 25 knots. It may well be that these four very powerful ships are already in commission. It is quite evident that, should the Austrian fleet elect to come out, there are in the Mediterranean waters the materials for a very pretty fight.

Socialist Agitation for Peace

BOTH neutral and belligerent Socialists have in the past month manifested a strong agitation for an early peace. Representatives of six neutral countries met at the International Socialist Conference at The Hague. A peace program was elaborated by the conference and unanimously adopted. The complete re-establishment of the independence of Belgium and Poland, the creation of a democratic federal union of the Balkan States, and the solution of the Alsace-Lorraine question through a plebiscite among the inhabitants of those provinces were the points agreed upon by all the delegates to the conference. A resolution was passed condemning the proposed allied economic trade war on the Central Powers, and another resolution advocating the settlement of international disputes through compulsory arbitration was adopted.

In Germany the Socialist National Committee issued a manifesto in which it states that the committee renewed its appeal to the Imperial Chancellor to lift the embargo on the discussion of peace conditions. Speaking of the designs for conquest credited throughout the world to the German Government, the manifesto says that "the moment appears to have arrived when the German people should give its free and unrestricted opinion regarding these plans of conquest, the realization of which would be only the germ of new wars and only result in prolonging the war." A universal agitation for the expression of Germany's opinion on the subject is, therefore, urged. In France sentiment among the minority Socialists, favoring the resumption of international Socialist relations, has of late been markedly on the increase. By a vote of 1,824 to 1,075 the National Council of French Socialists, at its quarterly session held in Paris on Aug. 7, decided not to resume international relations.

The Greek Elections and Saloniki

IT is not difficult to trace a connection between the delay in the projected allied drive from Saloniki and the coming general elections in Greece. Indeed, the next few weeks are likely to be decisive, and certain to be critical, in the life of the Hellenic kingdom, and, without doubt, the Entente Powers are strongly influencing the result. Their justification, in international law, is that Russia, France, and England are the three powers which freed Greece from the heavy yoke of Turkey, and which by treaty stand sponsors for the well-being of the Greek Nation. In that treaty each of the three powers bound itself not to put a Prince of its own reigning house on the throne at Athens, with the result that German and Danish Princes succeeded each other on the

Greek throne, and, perhaps more important, at least one very masterful German Princess—Queen Sophia, Kaiser Wilhelm's sister. Perhaps through her influence King Constantine has tried to make Greece a strongly monarchical country, practically taking into his own hands questions which the Greek Constitution assigns to the Ministry, as representing the nation. Eleutherios Venizelos declares, and undertakes to prove it at the coming election, that the Greek people violently resents this "usurpation." Should Venizelos be returned to power, with a strong majority, King Constantine has two courses open to him—either to accept the declared will of the Greek people or to abdicate. In either case, all practical power will be in the hands of the Cretan statesman, whose sympathy is with the Entente cause. That sympathy may very easily, if his Parliamentary majority is large enough, bring Greece into the war on the Entente side, with an army of, perhaps, 200,000 well-equipped men. It is, therefore, entirely comprehensible that the drive northward from Saloniki should wait on the Greek elections. Should these go strongly in favor of Venizelos, and should the drive be completely successful, it would have two chief results—to restore the sovereignty of Serbia and to cut Bulgaria and Turkey off from the Central Empires. The Entente Powers have very strongly influenced the result of the coming elections by compelling Constantine to demobilize the army and send the soldiers home to vote.

The Next Sea Fight

INTERESTING figures have recently become available which make it possible to answer the question: What were the forces of the British and German fleets the morning after the battle of Jutland? Which is the same thing as saying what their forces will be when they meet next in battle. Both countries are rapidly building new ships. England, it is reported, turns out a destroyer a day, besides doing valuable work on battleships and battle cruisers; and Germany, while not as well equipped in navy yards, is, nevertheless, constantly adding to her fleet. So that we have not the final figures for either country, but we can come fairly close to them in each case. At the end of May, just before the great sea fight off Denmark, England had 63 battleships. Of these 23 were pre-dreadnoughts, built before 1905; 10 were dreadnoughts, built between 1905 and 1910, and 30 (nearly one-half of the whole, and, in tonnage, much more than one-half of the whole) were super-dreadnoughts. None of these was lost in the battle of Jutland. Against these, Germany had 20 pre-dreadnoughts, (5 Kaisers, 10 Braunschweigs, 5 Deutschlands,) 8 dreadnoughts, and 12 super-dreadnoughts, or 40 battleships in all. Of these 40 battleships (of which 26 appear to have taken part in the fight) she lost in the battle of Jutland, according to Admiral Jellicoe, 2 battleships of the dreadnought class and 1 of the Deutschland class, which were seen to sink, and, the English Admiral thinks, perhaps one more battleship. This leaves Germany 36 or 37 battleships, as against 63 for England. England had, further, not less than 10 battle cruisers able to do from 28 to 30 knots, the largest of them carrying 13.5-inch guns. Of these, off Jutland, she lost 3, (Queen Mary, Invincible, Indefatigable,) leaving her not less than 7. She also lost 3 cruisers, but of these she has well over 100 left. Germany seems to have had 6 battle cruisers on the morning of May 31. She has admitted the loss of the Luetzow, which almost exactly matched the Queen Mary, lost on the English side. Admiral Jellicoe thought she also lost another battle cruiser and several light cruisers. This would leave Germany 4 or 5 battle cruisers, as against 7 or more for England; or 70 capital ships for England and 41 or 42 for Germany. It is interesting to compare with these the figures for this country: The United States has 22 pre-dreadnoughts, 8 dreadnoughts, and 4 super-dreadnoughts, or 34 capital ships; to these the present program adds 8 capital ships for 1917, (4 battleships and 4 battle cruisers,) 42 capital ships; but what the naval strengths of England and Germany will be when these 8 new

ships are ready it is of course impossible to say.

Sazonoff's Resignation

THE resignation of Sergius Sazonoff, Minister for Foreign Affairs in Russia, long celebrated as Russia's chief Anglophile, came as a thunderbolt from the blue to the friends of the Allies when it was announced on July 23. There was considerable speculation as to the reasons of his retirement. Rumors to the effect that it signified a change in Russia's foreign policy were rife. Premier Sturmer, who took over Sazonoff's portfolio, replied to these reports with a statement in which he says:

> The change in the post of Foreign Minister must not be considered in any sense an indication of the variation of Russia from the line of conduct of the last two years toward her allies. The agreement with them will not be changed. Russia considers it her duty to support all measures England desires to accomplish with regard to Germany, and I, as a tool in the hands of the Emperor, will do my best to work hand in hand with our allies, and will strive to strengthen the friendship between Russia, England, and France.

Premier Sturmer, becoming Foreign Minister, gave up the post of Minister of Interior, which he had held. To this position Alexei Khvostoff, a member of the Imperial Council, has been appointed. As Minister of Justice, a reactionary of the most pronounced type, M. Makharoff has been appointed.

The real cause of Sazonoff's resignation is said to have been a disagreement on the Polish question between M. Sturmer and himself. On July 11 there was held a council of Ministers at the General Headquarters. The Polish and Jewish questions were discussed among other things. Premier Sturmer proposed that Poland be granted an autonomy consisting merely of broad local self-government. M. Sazonoff offered a plan based on the promises to Poland made by the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaievitch, ex-Premier Goremykin, and himself. This plan provided for a full Polish autonomy. Most of the Ministers approved of Sazonoff's plan. Decision was, however, postponed until the following Cabinet meeting. Meanwhile the Premier made it clear that he objected to the project offered by Sazonoff. The latter, in view of the stand he had taken on the subject during the last two years, could not abandon his project unless he resigned from his position as Foreign Minister, which he did. The resignation of Sazonoff, coming in the nature of a demonstration, may force the Premier to alter his plans in regard to the future of Poland. As to the Jewish question, it was decided to renew its discussion with a view to rendering final decision as soon as Minister of Finance Pierre Bark returns from his visit abroad. The sentiments of the Ministers were in favor of making permanent through legislative action the temporary abolition of the "pale" of settlement for the Russian Jews.

The Issue at Stake in Greece

M. Venizelos, former Premier of Greece, and still leader of popular opinion, recently made the following statement of the situation in the course of a long article in the Kyrix:

The constitutional question which will be laid before the Greek Nation is whether the Crown has the right to form its own opinion on great national questions, and to impose it independently of the people's verdict by the repeated dissolution of Parliament, which it justifies on the ground that it has responsibilities toward the Almighty regarding which no explanations are owed to the people. In the matter of foreign policy the Greek people must thoroughly realize that Greece, in view of the position which she attained after the two victorious Balkan wars, cannot exist as an independent political and economic organization without friends and allies in the Balkans for the protection of her Balkan interests, nor without friends and allies among the great powers for the protection of her Mediterranean interests; and also for financial assistance, without which Greece can never recover from the deplorable financial situation which has been the result of the nine months' mobilization.

WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES

[American View]

The Month's Military Developments

From July 15 to August 15, 1916

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

[See Map of Gorizia, Page 991]

THE operations of the last month have followed strictly along the lines of those of the preceding month. In other words the Allies, who alone have been on the offensive, have held to the plan of attacking the Central Powers on all fronts simultaneously in order to neutralize the advantage which the Central Powers possess by reason of their interior position and shorter line of communications. On the fronts in France, in Russia, from the Pripet to the Carpathian Mountains, in Italy both in the Trentino and on the Isonzo, and in the Far East in the Caucasus region, these offensive movements have been in progress. It is no wonder that in same places the Teutonic allies give evidence of cracking under the strain.

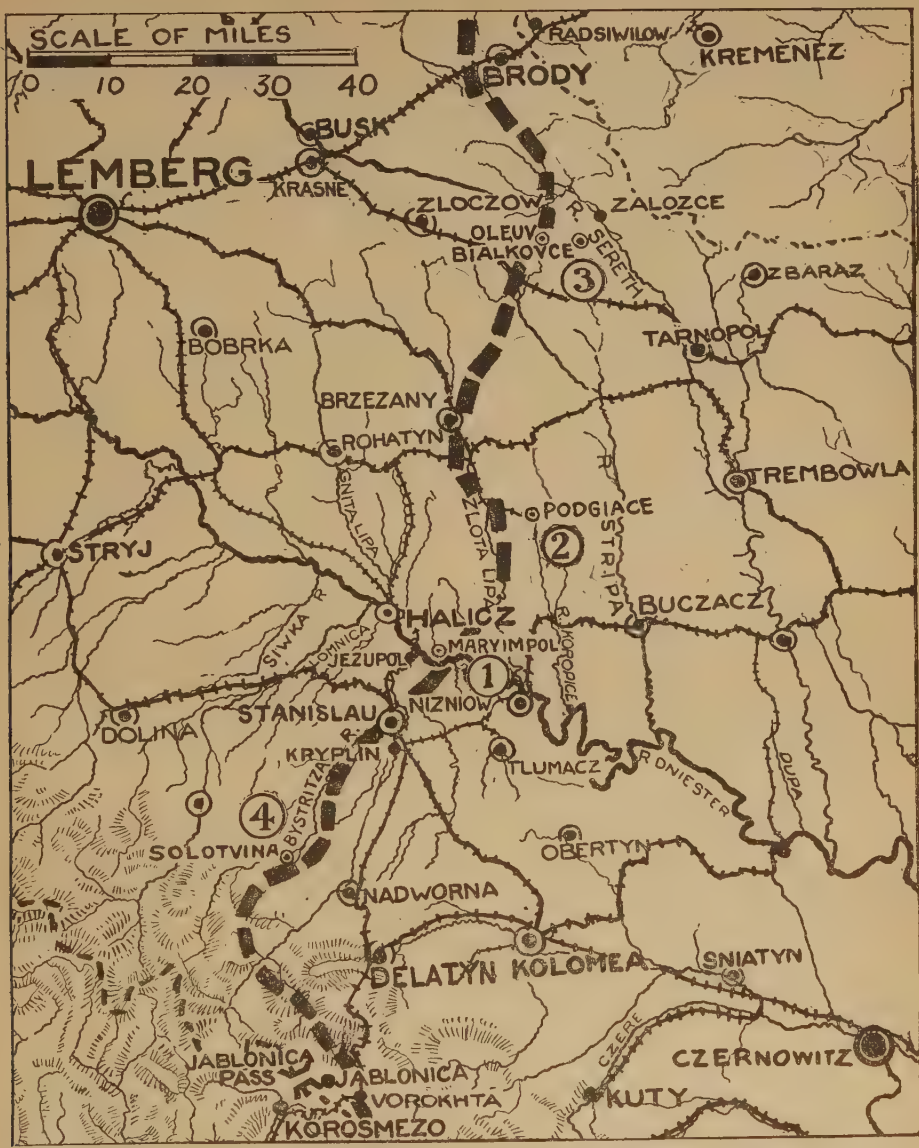
THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE

The most apparent sign of this giving way is noted in Galicia, where the Russian victories have been continuing without interruption. Last month closed with the Russians apparently held along the Stokhod all the way from its source to the Pripet. The Russians had forced the line of the Styr, but when they reached the Stokhod were held back in spite of the desperate attempts to force a crossing. Being checked here, the attack drifted to the south.

It is to be noted that a success in the south by which the Russians obtain the Galician capital, Lemberg, will have the same effect on the line in the north as if they had captured Kovel. Kovel is, or would shortly be, utterly untenable once Lemberg was in the hands of the Russians. Not only do all the railroad systems of Southern Russia and of Galicia centre in this town, but, what is almost as important, behind Lemberg there is nothing to give protection to a defensive line until Przemysl is reached. Kovel is equally necessary to the retention of Lemberg. Therefore, the Teutons in order to preserve their present lines were confronted with the necessity of holding both of these towns.

The Russian campaign during the month past has been most skillfully designed to keep the Teutons completely in the dark as to just which point the main drive was to be against. The attacks shifted first southward and then back again to the north. Then another blow was struck in the south. The result was confusion in the German mind as to just what Russia was really after, a confusion that, as this review is being written, has almost produced disaster. The first break to come was on the line of the Stokhod. In the neighborhood of Gulevitsche, where the great bend in the Stokhod begins, the Russians forced the passage of the river after one of the hardest battles of the war. The Teuton line guarding the entire bend was immediately thrown into jeopardy. Occupying a very sharp salient, the German commander saw the side being crushed in. He had to fall back or lose all the troops and material in the angle. Accordingly the angle was vacated and the most important part of the line of the Stokhod—immediately east of Kovel—was in the hands of the Russians.

It was but natural to presume that, with this line in their hands, the Russians would attempt to drive through directly on Kovel. But they did no such thing. Instead, the point of attack suddenly



RUSSIAN BATTLE FRONT ON AUGUST 16, 1916. COSSACKS SWEEPING ALONG THE NORTH BANK OF THE DNIESTER HAVE OCCUPIED MARYIMPOL (1), SEVEN MILES FROM HALICZ, THE KEY TO LEMBERG. TO THE NORTH THEY HAVE TAKEN PODGIACE (2), AND BIALKOVCE (3), AND IN THE SOUTH, HAVING CAPTURED STANISLAU, THEY ARE THROWING TROOPS ACROSS THE RIVER AT SOLOTVINA (4).

shifted, and a blow was struck in Northern Galicia, which gave them control of Brody. Simultaneously, a co-ordinate effort was started south of the Dniester against Stanislau. Both efforts were successful. The line of the upper Sereth, which the Austrians had held since the days of the great Russian retreat, was forced, and the Russians took all the heights on the west bank.

The advent of von Hindenburg as chief in command of this section made little difference. The Russians were not to be held back. Simultaneously the line along the Dniester was pushed forward, Stanislau taken, the line of the Zlota Lipa River

turned, and the entire Austrian position along the Stripa outflanked. A break in the Teuton lines either north or south meant disaster. At the last minute, the Stripa line was abandoned and in two days the Austrians had retired nearly twelve miles to the line, or what was left of it, of the Zlota Lipa.

The Zlota Lipa, however, will serve only as a temporary expedient. The Russians have crossed it near its mouth and have in absolute possession the last fifteen miles of its course. It is merely a stopping place for the Austrians, not a defensive position at all, as its value as such was destroyed before the Austrians ever reached it. The Russian forces are already ten miles beyond it and are only seven miles from Halicz, the southern key to Lemberg. Austria must make a still further retirement before she can be considered even temporarily safe.

It is beginning to appear that the Stryj-Lemberg-Kamionka line will be the next definite stop. Once this line is forced, if it is, the Russian path is easy, and no halt will be made until Przemysl is reached. The campaign of the earlier days of the war will thus be duplicated. Naturally, the Teutonic lines in the north cannot retain their present positions with such a retirement in the south. They will be similarly affected and, in spite of all the courage and defensive skill of the Germans, will have to fall back in unison with the Austrians in the south. It is as if the entire Teutonic line were a huge pillar resting on a base composed of the Austrian forces. One by one the stones of this base are being eaten away by the Russian attacks. If this process of erosion is not checked, the entire pillar must of necessity fall.

ITALY'S GREAT SUCCESS

While the Russian attacks were in their most desperate phase, and Austria was pushed to the limit to protect the flank of Bothmer's army along the Stripa River, Italy suddenly launched a terrific attack against the Gorizia bridgehead on the Isonzo River. Gorizia is guarded by three powerful defensive features, Mount Sabotino, the heights of Podgora, and Mount San Michele. The second of these has been in Italian hands since last November. The other two have remained steadfastly in Austrian possession, in spite of the most terrific attacks of which the Italians were capable. All the fighting for the Doberdo Plateau, of which we have read so much in the official reports, had for its purpose the flanking of the San Michele position, as it was only by possessing these positions that the Gorizia bridgehead could be taken. The latest Italian attack was launched against Mount Sabotino and San Michele. After a preliminary bombardment of two days, Sabotino fell into the hands of the Italian infantry in the first attack, and San Michele soon met the same fate. Within four days the entire position of the Austrians about Gorizia had fallen into Italian hands. It is self-deception to try to minimize the importance of this victory. The mere fact that the Austrians have for the last two years made such a desperate defense of this river is sufficient proof of the strategical value which their General Staff placed upon it.

A brief study of the map of this country will show what the Italians gained when they crossed to the east bank of the Isonzo and entered Gorizia. Their object is first of all Trieste, and the Istrian Peninsula. This must be realized in working toward an appreciation of the value of the Isonzo crossings. Without Gorizia, the Italians would in the first place be fighting on both sides of the river, but without adequate means of communication between the forces on the two banks. It is axiomatic that when an army has to fight astraddle of a stream its operations can only be successful when there is a broad unobstructed avenue between the opposite shores. This was obtained when Gorizia fell.

Another point is that, had the Italians attempted to drive to the southward from Gradisca and Monfalcone, which points they had taken early in the war, their left flank would have been completely in the air, with no natural or artificial obstacle on which to rest. The only result could have been disaster. Now the position is reversed.

It is the Austrians whose flank is exposed, the Austrians whose main line has been turned and who are being forced from their entire group of positions along the Isonzo River.

The development of the Italian campaign from now on appears, in its essential elements, exceedingly simple. It is to seize the entire Austrian line from Tolmino to Monfalcone, and between these points to straighten their own lines beyond the bends of the Isonzo. Then, with their left flank resting on Tolmino, to swing from that town as a pivot, their right resting continuously on the Gulf of Trieste. So far, they have taken a long preliminary step in this direction. Tolmino is under fire, the Doberdo Plateau has been cleared, and the line from Gorizia to Monfalcone almost entirely straightened out. They are going ahead rapidly and are apparently fully able to cope with any resistance the Austrians can make. For the first time since the declaration of war they are meeting the Austrians on something like even terms. The struggle between the two powers will, for this reason, be watched with increasing interest as the campaign develops.

In so far as this move of Italy affects the war as a whole it is to be carefully noted that the plans of the Entente seem to focus on the destruction of Austria as an armed force. Russian attacks against the main German line, while they have not ceased, have lessened in intensity. The great Russian effort is concentrated against the shattered and battered remains of the Austrian Army. Every effort is being made to sever the Austrian Army from its German neighbor and destroy it. The entire plan of Brusiloff seems to have for its objective not territory, not this town or that, but the men in the Austrian Army.

Italy's blow brings the end of Austria nearer as a distinct possibility. It is good strategy and sound, this business of eliminating the weaker of the Germanic powers, so that full attention may be concentrated on the stronger. It is this strategy which the Germans employed against France at the outset, and which was defeated at the Marne. It was this strategy which they repeated against the Russians only to be defeated on the Pripet. The difference between both these cases and that of Austria lies in the question of reserves. Austria is the most nearly exhausted of any of the belligerents. The Allies have yet to reach the point where exhaustion of reserves seems possible. The Austrian loss since the first Russian offensive was launched on June 4 has been in prisoners alone, approximately 400,000 men. This means that nearly a million men have been put out of action. Harking back to the early days of the war, when Russia put out of action practically the entire first Austrian Army which composed all the regular "standing" troops, it can be well understood why Austria has not any great body of men on which to fall back.

THE WAR IN FRANCE

On the western front the month has not brought any developments of great interest. The main struggle has been for the Baupaume Plateau, which begins just north of the village of Pozières. The British attack was launched from low ground, which gradually mounted to the plateau, after which it drops gently but steadily away to Bapaume. The lip of the plateau has been reached, and is apparently solidly in British hands. The progress was slow and costly, but all advantages of terrain now rest with the British. The Germans, realizing this, have been counterattacking continually, and further British advances have been at least temporarily prevented. The French have made numerous minor gains, but the accomplishments of the Allies during the month have been insignificant except in a purely local relation.

The great battle of Verdun, however, has been brought to a definite conclusion and is a complete German defeat. This is the most tragic occurrence of the war for Teuton arms. A gigantic effort was made, the best soldiery of which the German Army can boast was used up in the effort. The net result has been a few square miles of territory occupied and a casualty list that must approach the half-million mark.

In the Far East, fortune has been

shifting. The Russians by a succession of swift strokes captured the town of Erzingan and completed the occupation of the Caucasus region.

At the same time, the road to Sivas, the last Turkish base before Angora, was laid open. Further south, the honors went to the Turks, who have taken the towns of Bitlis and Mush.

None of these operations has yet reached the point, however, where they exert any influence on the main theatres of operations. It is to the European fields that we must look for definite results.

[GERMAN VIEW]

The Situation on Three Fronts

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung

[See Map of Western Front, Page 999]

LORD DERBY, Parliamentary Under Secretary of the British War Office, recently expressed himself as follows:

"The only way to win the war is to kill Germans. This we are doing, and so are the Russians and the Italians."

Thus speaking he voiced the strategy of destruction which with the initiation of the Verdun campaign took the lead in the military operations. It has been said of the great offensive on the west front that it is analogous to that of the Germans before Verdun and that it is being carried on in pursuance of the rules and the lessons which the campaign against the great French fortress has brought. This means that the victory which clears the path to peace must be based upon the destruction of the enemy.

From the point of view of the Allies the question of the ways and means by which to bring about a decision was simplified at the moment the opening of the great offensives confined the decisive combat to the theatres of operations in the West, East and South. Human material and munitions are the decisive factors. The proper employment and utilization of these two factors on the one hand, and on the other the ability to counterbalance such an advantage on the opponent's side, determine the strategic superiority of generalship. It is from this standpoint that the events of the last few weeks in all theatres of war must be reviewed.

RUSSIAN DRIVE DWINDLES

The development of the Russian offensive on the southeastern front up to Aug. 15 is marked by the following phases:

1. The abandonment of the Russian advance against the line Sarny-Kovel.
2. The occupation of Brody by the Russians.
3. The Teuton counteroffensive in the Carpathians.
4. The opening of the Russian campaign against Lemberg from the southeast and south.

The attacks against the railway line Sarny-Kovel from the south, from the region of Lutsk, and from the east, were aimed primarily at the possession of the important railway communication; the larger strategic aim was to pierce General von Linsingen's front at the point where it joins that of Prince Leopold of Bavaria, and thus to extend the great offensive to the northernmost sector of the Russian battle line. The same purpose is pursued by the Russian attacks in the Pinsk region.

From the south the Russians advanced as far as the western bank of the Stokhod, compelling Linsingen to regroup his front. Against the newly formed front all further Russian attacks were launched in vain. The battle on the Stokhod line in Northern Volhynia ended about the middle of last month with heavy losses to the Muscovite attackers, particularly to the Russian Guards, and therewith

THE DUKE OF AOSTA

Commander of the Italian Army Which Captured Gorizia on August 9, and Which Is Advancing Toward Trieste.

GORIZIA REGION--AUSTRIAN STRONGHOLD WON BY ITALY

By Capturing the Commanding Positions on Monte Sabotino and Monte San Michele on August 6, the Italians Broke the Austrian Resistance, Took the Famous Bridgehead on the Podgora-Gorizia Road, and Occupied Gorizia Itself and the Neighboring Plateaus

(*Drawing © 1916, by the New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial.*)

the northern sector was—temporarily at least—eliminated from the great offensive.

On July 8 the Russians occupied Brody. The drive against this Galician city, situated close to the border and on the railway Rovno-Dubno-Brody-Lemberg, had been launched from the Radsivilov road, whither runs that from Dubno and where the army of Boehm-Ermolli stood.

After the occupation of Brody it was asserted that now the way to Lemberg from the east was clear to the Russians. The advance from this direction, however, was never begun. The reason is that in attempting it the Russians would have exposed themselves to the danger of having their right flank attacked and rolled up by the Linsingen army and their left flank enveloped by the left wing of Count von Bothmer's forces.

On the extreme southern wing of their great offensive movement the Russians had advanced from Czernowitz along the Pruth to the eastern Carpathian pass of Jablonica. This pass was to be forced in order to open the road to the Hungarian plain, with Marmaros Sziget as the immediate goal. The Russian advance in the direction of this plain also has been discontinued. The army of General Pflanzer-Baltin extricated itself from the menacing envelopment. The attempt to break through the Teuton lines had failed in the southernmost sector of the great offensive as similar attempts further north had failed. The Teuton lines held. From new positions immediately before the Carpathians a Teuton counteroffensive was launched.

At the moment of this writing comes the news of the capture by the Russians of Worochta, on the railway to Stanislau, and the town of Jablonica as well as other minor Teuton positions, including Solotvina. Reports from Petrograd indicate a renewal of the offensive in the Carpathians and Vienna admits a slight withdrawal of the Teuton lines. There are, however, no indications thus far of a Russian movement on this theatre sufficiently strong to throw the whole Teuton extreme wing back into the Carpathian passes, and even in that event the natural defensive qualities of these passes preclude a Russian break through to the plain.

The developments of the military situation on the southeastern theatre of war have led to a reconstruction in the high commands on the side of the allied Central Powers. The previous seven great army groups—Hindenburg, Prince Leopold of Bavaria, Archduke Josef Ferdinand, Linsingen, Boehm-Ermolli, Bothmer, and Pflanzer-Baltin—have been merged into two groups, one commanded by Field Marshal von Hindenburg, the other by the Archduke heir apparent, Karl Franz Josef.

Hindenburg's group of armies now comprises the following fronts:

1. Dwina front as far as Dwinsk.
2. South of Dwinsk as far as Wygonowskoje Lake, (north of Baronovitchi.)
3. Front of Prince Leopold of Bavaria as far as Pinsk.
4. Linsingen front from the Pripet marshes to a point northeast of Brody, (comprising the Stokhod front.)
5. Vladimir-Volynski front under General Tersztyanszky von Nadas, almost as far as the Galician frontier.
6. Brody front under General Boehm-Ermolli, to a point west of the Sereth headwaters.

Army group of Archduke Karl Franz Josef:

1. Bothmer front, from southwest of Brody with the Sereth front northwest of Tarnopol almost as far as the Bukowina border, comprising the region north of Stanislau.
2. The Pflanzer-Baltin army has been regrouped. The front from Delatyn to the Carpathian passes has been placed under the command of General Koevess, who led the Austro-Hungarian forces in the Balkan campaign. The front of Pflanzer-Baltin stretches to the Moldava in the southern Bukowina.

With regard to these changes in the high commands it is noteworthy that the Austro-Hungarian heir apparent has been intrusted with the command of the very front on which there rage at this moment the most important battles,

namely, the army group of Count von Bothmer, against whose centre and right wing the Russians are now directing the most significant operations of the great offensive with their campaign against Lemberg from the south.

It is an old tradition of the Hapsburg House never to expose any of its members at a point where a defeat might threaten. The appointment of Archduke Karl Franz Josef to this command is the more significant inasmuch as he was recalled from the Italian front—where he had been in chief command—immediately after the abandonment of the Austro-Hungarian offensive against Italy on the south Tyrolean frontier. We may, therefore, conclude that Vienna does not regard as really threatening the military situation created by the inauguration of the Russian campaign against Lemberg.

The further Russian advance after the capture of Brody against Lemberg was discontinued because Linsingen threatened the Russian right, Bothmer the Russian left. The offensive against the army of Count von Bothmer in the centre and on the right wing had been launched in order to initiate the campaign against Lemberg from the south and the southeast, that from the east having failed.

The right wing and the centre of Bothmer's army were compelled to evacuate their entire positions on the Stripa. In the course of the subsequent fighting against Bothmer's right wing the Russians under General Letchitsky occupied Stanislau. A further advance led the Russian Army under General Tcherbatcheff across the Rivers Koropiec, Zlota-Lipa, and Khomanka, and on to Maryampol. This means that the Russian left wing (Letchitsky's army) and the centre (Tcherbatcheff) joined hands on the comparatively short front, Stanislau-Maryampol. The further Russian advance against Lemberg is to proceed beyond Halicz against the Galician capital, but it is already meeting at this writing (middle of August) vigorous resistance to the west of Stanislau.

The great Russian offensive, which was opened on the immensely long front from the Pripet marshes down to the Bessarabian frontier, has dissolved itself into the campaign against Lemberg.

Major Moraht, the well-known German military critic, writes:

"The elasticity of our lines has preserved our main forces unweakened for coming events. Threatened sectors have been strengthened in order to attain a decision, and the organization of victory for which we are hoping has been prepared by a reformation of the armies and a reconstruction of the commands."

ITALIANS AT GORIZIA

On the 7th of August, after the fighting on the Tyrolean south frontier had become desultory and lost its mobile character, the Italians launched an offensive on the Isonzo front, as a complement to the general offensives of the Allies. Two days later the Italians occupied Gorizia, capital of the Austro-Hungarian crownland of the same name. The possession of this city and district had been the immediate objective of the Italian attacks since the end of May, 1915.

After the Italians had taken Monte Sabotino in the north and Monte San Michele south of Gorizia, the bridgehead of that city had become untenable. Possession of this bridgehead necessarily resulted in the Italian occupation of the City of Gorizia.

Two main possibilities now feature the prospects of the further Italian offensive movements on this front. An advance in the direction of Trieste, or one in the direction of Laibach.

As long as Italy was conducting her own war, consideration of "Irredenta Italia" pointed to Trieste as the objective of any further advance after the fall of Gorizia. Now that Italy, too, has been drawn into the Allies' community of action, it is different. For this community of action Laibach represents a factor of great importance. It is via Laibach that the way leads to the Steiermarck and into Hungary's interior. But the way is a long and difficult one.

With the occupation of Gorizia the Italians have advanced but a tiny step in their "march on Vienna" begun fifteen months ago. The old, formerly beautiful city lies in a basin of the Isonzo Valley.

In order to enjoy, unpunished, the possession of the city, the conquerors must necessarily also have the heights on the eastern bank of the Isonzo, situated to the north and south of the valley. To the east of the city these heights come close together and leave only a narrow path between them, the romantic valley of the Wippach, (Vippachio.) And beyond these heights, the most important of which is covered by the Ternova Wood, lies barren "Karst" terrain. As long as the Isonzo front north of Gorizia is held by the defenders, there can be no question of an advance against Laibach.

The shaping of the military situation on the Isonzo front since the fall of Gorizia indicates that the Italian offensive has chosen Trieste as the immediate goal.

The Austro-Hungarian troops after the loss of Gorizia had at first taken up new positions on the heights northeast of the city and on the Vertojba line, three kilometers to the south, and there resisted an attempt at a continuation of the Italian drive. Through the loss of Gorizia the Austro-Hungarian line had been bent only at one point. The dent was extended by the occupation of the Doberdo Plateau, southwest of Gorizia, and of the territory immediately in front of the Karst Plateau to the east. Against this Italian base of attack the defenders have taken a new, firm position, which runs from the shore of the Adriatic to Monte San Gabriele.

To the north and northeast of Gorizia the defenders have established a further base of support, on the plateau commanding the plain of Gorizia, whence they are stemming the hostile advance.

Seven Italian storm attacks against the heights east of Gorizia, directed from the Wippach Valley, have been beaten off with extremely sanguinary losses to the Italians. In this region the Italian advance has been brought to a standstill. The subsequent development of the offensive will depend upon the outcome of the battles at Monte San Gabriele and Monte Santo, north and northeast of Gorizia. These battles at this writing are being prepared by powerful artillery bombardments.

ALLIES' FAILURE IN FRANCE

The great Anglo-French offensive on the west front, which was begun July 1 on a front of thirty-three kilometers, already has degenerated into trench warfare. The mobility of the fighting on this front consists merely of the gain of a fraction of a trench or the loss of a little wood on this or the other local front. Toward the end of July there were great artillery preparations on the part of the Allies on a wide front, foreshadowing a new drive on a large scale. This drive was to be launched on a line on both banks of the Somme, south of Pozières, on the road from Albert to La Boiselle and Pozières, and further to Bapaume, from Vermandovillers against Péronne. This front comprises the centre of the Anglo-French battle line and the right wing held by the French. Evidently the Allies proposed to re-establish, by a united blow, the lost strategic cohesion between the centre and the right wing. The battle areas which had been isolated and localized by the German defensive initiative were to be joined together once more. But this attempt at a main blow also failed. The result was wholly out of proportion to the extent of the preparations and the strength spent.

Today the Anglo-French front runs as follows: Thiepval-Pozières-Bazentin-le-Petit-Longueval-Maurepas-west of Clery-west of Biaches-Belloy-Soyecourt. With the capture of Maurepas in the first week of August the British scored one more great success. Since then, up to date, the fighting has become weaker and weaker. The "great offensive" which was to prepare the driving out of the Germans from Northern France and Belgium has dissolved itself into the "Battle of Picardy," and there is today only trench fighting left, the trenches continuously changing hands, particularly on the line Pozières-Thiepval.

Should the Allies really succeed, in the course of the coming battles, in occupying the line Bapaume-Combles-Péronne, they would even then have accomplished nothing but a local success in the form of a dent in the German front on a comparatively small stretch. The prospects

for the further development of the military situation as created by the great offensive on the west front are made clearest by the statement of the German General Staff that the Germans have established behind their real battle line defensive positions equal to those wrested from them.

Before Verdun the mobility of action has completely ceased. Now and then there are artillery duels on the eastern bank of the Meuse, before Vaux, and in the region of Fleury village, and still more rarely on the west bank. The Germans evidently have withdrawn strong forces, and the French are unable to take the offensive.

As for the incidental theatres of war, interest centres upon the successes of the Turks against the Russians in Persia and on the Caucasus front.

The Ottomans have recaptured Hamadan in Persia and the Armenian cities of Bitlis and Mush. The Turkish advance against the Suez Canal, on the other hand, has netted no appreciable gains.

The "great offensive" of the Allies from Saloniki is still "impending," as it has been ever since the Macedonian front was established.

The local fighting around Doiran Lake is without any military significance whatsoever.

The Fall of Gorizia

Italy's First Important Victory

[See Graphic Drawing of Gorizia Region Opposite Page 991]

THE Entente Allies at last are in full tide of their concerted movement to close in upon the enemy from all sides, and to end the great European war as our civil war was ended—by pressing the enemy all the time on every front, giving no time for respite and no opportunity to utilize the advantage of inside lines.

Italy's part in this united offensive has given her the most spectacular victory of the month, as well as the first important success of Italian arms in this war. The capture of the Austrian stronghold of Gorizia by King Victor Emmanuel's Third Army, which is commanded by his cousin, the Duke of Aosta, has removed the chief obstacle on the way to Trieste. The latter city is now said to be garrisoned by Germans in expectation of the coming attack.

Courage, imagination, and strategy all figured in the taking of Gorizia, and parts of the story read like romance. The town is dominated by three mountain heights—Sabotino, Podgora, and San Michele. The Italians already held Podgora, but as long as the Austrians retained the other two mountains it was mere suicide to try to take the Podgora-Gorizia bridgehead in the valley below. The capture of these mountain keys of the famous little city was achieved partly by means of powerful new guns, which poured upon the enemy the most terrible rain of shells ever known on the Italian front, and partly by means of underground passages bored through the solid rock.

The Italian attack began on Aug. 4 in the Monfalcone section, east of Rocca, where powerful enemy works were stormed. The Austrians, however, had left large numbers of gas bombs in the abandoned trenches; these exploded just as the Italians entered the captured lines, and while the soldiers staggered, stupefied by the gas, the enemy launched a strong counterattack which drove the Italians back to their own trenches.

The next day the Italian artillery sounded the whole of the enemy's front, distracting his attention and at the same time getting the ranges accurately. Then on the morning of Aug. 6 the successful offensive began. Under an unclouded Summer sky the titanic orchestra of Italian guns began rending the air with

MAP OF THE ITALIAN FRONTIER, COVERING THE CHIEF POINTS OF IMPORTANCE ON THE WAR FRONTS

a terrifying chorus all the way from Plava Heights to Monfalcone. The whole region that had been plowed up by big shells since July 14 was again subjected to a ceaseless hail of explosives for nine hours. No such awe-inspiring cascade of fire ever before had been witnessed on the Italian front. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon the infantry leaped from their trenches and dashed over the shattered earth to complete the work with bullet and bayonet.

As Monte Sabotino had proved practically impregnable, plans had been laid to take it by surprise. For months the Italian sappers had been secretly at work excavating wide passageways through the solid rock from their own lines to within twenty yards of the Austrian defenses. Three of these tunnels, from 240 to 300 feet long, were ready for use when the artillery preparation began. While the cannon thundered on that Sunday morning of Aug. 6, the Italian infantry poured through these subterranean corridors and suddenly burst out at the further end, throwing themselves upon the astonished Austrians and overcoming them before they could organize an effective resistance. Thus the dreaded Sabotino Mountain passed into Italian hands.

On the same day the remaining key of Gorizia, Monte San Michele, was captured. San Michele had been taken and lost by the Italians at least twenty-five times, and for seven months they had held half of the summit; but it had always been dominated by the Austrian fire from the still higher summit of Monte Sabotino, and only when this was taken did the Italians gain final possession of San Michele. Their big guns silenced Austrian batteries on both summits with the aid of twenty-four dirigible balloons, each carrying four tons of explosives. By day and night these balloons were operated in the most daring manner. They were attacked frequently by Austrian aeroplanes, which in turn were driven off by Italian aeroplanes or by guns mounted on the dirigibles.

As soon as the Italians held the dominating heights their big guns turned their attention to shelling the Austrians out of the City of Gorizia, while the infantry was hurled forward to capture the bridge in open battle.

It remained to take the imposing barrier formed by the heights between

Podgora and Gorizia. Here the Austro-Hungarians had taken refuge in hundreds of caves, some of which had been enlarged into vast subterranean halls that served at once as munition depots and as quarters for thousands of men. From one of these tortuous grottoes 800 Hungarians with hand bombs and machine guns maintained an untiring fight for a whole day and night, and until noon the following day. Even then they resisted passively for several hours before they were reduced to the point of suffocation by straw and petroleum fires lighted at the entrances of the cave. Twenty guns and many tons of ammunition were captured with these stubborn fighters.

The battle ebbed and flowed incessantly for three days. The ground was well fortified, and the Austrians fought bitterly for every foot of the remaining ground. Inch by inch, with heavy losses, the Italians conquered first the crest and then the southeastern slopes leading down to the river, storming trench after trench, and driving the enemy back over the bridge that had been battled for so many months. The Austrians blew it up in their retreat. With water up to their necks, carrying rifles above their heads and shouting patriotic songs, the Italians forded the broad stream and carried the eastern bank. Enemy shrapnel, which churned the water into foam, failed to check their progress. Men wounded in the water insisted on being helped to gain the eastern bank. "Then they'll not send us back."

On the morning of Aug. 9 the Duke of Aosta, accompanied by the King, rode at the head of his army into the conquered city. The Austrians, commanded by General Zeiller, had retired eastward through the mountains to Vallone, leaving more than 15,000 prisoners in Italian hands.

The fighting throughout these three days, especially at the bridge leading from Podgora to Gorizia, ranks with the most sanguinary of the war. The Austrians fought desperately, compelling the victors to pay for every gain, so that the casualties on both sides were large. Neither side has reported the figures thus far, but the total for both together is estimated at 30,000.

The victory at Gorizia has been followed up vigorously by General Cadorna's forces, both at that point and elsewhere on the Isonzo front. The Austrians have been driven beyond Vallone and are under heavy pressure all along the edge of the Carso southward. At this writing (Aug. 21) the Italian guns dominate Tolmino in the upper Isonzo Valley and are within a dozen miles of Trieste in the south.

The Battle of the Somme

An Authoritative French Account Based on Official Records

By M. Ardouin-Dumazet

Military Editor of Le Temps and Le Figaro

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY]

THE BATTLEFIELD

THE field on which the battle has began includes two regions of strongly contrasted character. One, in which the British Army is operating, might go under the name of Bapaume, the most considerable place in the direction contemplated by our allies; the other, to the south, might be called the Péronne region, from the apparent objective of the French forces.

The English front, which is the longer —11 miles in the direct line from Gommécourt to Montauban, 15½ miles if we count the curves—is divided by the course of the little River Ancre, an affluent of the Somme, which it enters near Corbie. Save for this deep furrow, enlivened by abundant water, the whole region is a succession of ample undulations between dry ravines. The heights regular little plateaus each with its very extensive village set in orchards or amid large trees, contrasting with the bareness of the slopes, which were formerly covered with rich fields of wheat, of field poppies, or of beet-roots. A few plantations of trees, far apart, are the witnesses to the former sylvan character of the country. The region is remarkably uniform in height; from 400 feet near the Ancre, the slopes rise, 6 miles to the west, to 570 feet at the highest point, that is to say, an imperceptible slope. One of the highest ridges, 538 feet, is near Gommécourt, where the battlefield begins, and is in the neighborhood of Hébuterne. The narrow plateaus, raised on gentle slopes, like long glacis, are, with their villages organized for defense, very strong positions, which can only be mastered by a prolonged bombardment. Therefore at this point the struggle has its alternations of advance and withdrawal; the towns mentioned above, as well as the hamlets of Serre and Beaumont-Hamel, are furiously fought for. On the opposite bank of the Ancre there is a fierce contest about Thiepval, in another region of ridges separated by deeper and more numerous valleys.

The road from Albert to Valenciennes through Bapaume traverses this sector in a perfectly straight line for 10½ miles. This wide, stately-looking causeway was barred by the Germans, to the south of Thiepval, at the hamlet of Boisselle, less than 2 miles from the unfortunate City of Albert, ruined by the enemy. Since 1914, La Boisselle and its neighbor Ovillers, the chief town of the commune, have been the scene of extremely violent combats. The enemy has built very strong defenses at this point; against them, since the battle began, the English have been hammering.

To the south, the battlefield is marked by sharp folds, with dry ravines, on whose flanks the chalk crops out, entering a long, unwatered valley which the narrow-gauge railroad from Albert to Péronne follows as far as Montauban, and which the State road makes use of for a while. The enemy is firmly planted in the villages of this valley: Fricourt, Mametz, and Montauban, a town perched on the slope of a ridge whose highest point, 518 feet, is the highest in the whole region between Albert and Péronne.

The English lines a short time ago extended as far as the Somme, covered the white cliff of the village of Vaux and finished at the brook up-stream from Suzanne. Opposite, on the left (south) bank of the Somme, the French lines began. In view of the coming offensive, a part of our (French) troops were brought back to the right bank, between Bray-on-Somme and the valley of Fricourt, toward

Carnoy. From this point we started for the contest which was to carry us to Hardecourt-in-the-Woods.

The narrow-gauge railroad follows an odd line, to reach Combles. Departing from its easterly course, at a point 3 miles from Curlu, it goes north, curves past Montauban, turns to the east, goes south toward Combles, and reaches Curlu after a loop of 10½ miles. In the midst of the loop is hidden in a fold Hardecourt-in-the-Woods, separated from the Somme by 2 miles of hilly ground. On the bank of the river, stretched out beneath high walls of chalk, is the Village of Curlu, before which the Somme describes one of its oddest meanderings, surrounding an oval plain in great part fringed with peat-mosses. The chord of this loop of the river is cut by the Somme Canal, which is bordered by the long but narrow village of Frise, which the Germans took from us some months ago. To the east of Curlu, between the villages of Hem and Feuillères, a causeway crosses the Somme and the canal and climbs up the slopes of the left (south) bank, skirting at a height of 346 feet, 180 feet above the Somme, the little wood of Mereaucourt.

At this point begins the plateau of Santerre, which extends past Chaulnes and Roye as far as the hills of Lassigny. At first, much broken up, it becomes a level plain from the point where it leaves the road from Péronne to Amiens. In the region near the river, the country is like that on the right (north) bank, ridges and swellings bearing small plateaus which have a village in the centre or at the side: Dompierre, Becquincourt, and Bussus, which form a single group, Herbécourt, Assevillers, Estrées, where begins a dry valley which comes out on the Somme at Bray. In this valley lies a series of villages, the first of which is Fay. Further on, to the south, extends the plain dotted with many villages.

To the east, the plateau, still a succession of ridges, is surrounded on three sides by the Somme, which, beginning with Voyennes—between Nesle and Hem—describes a great loop of which Assevillers, Flaucourt, and Barleux, at crossroads, occupy the centre. The last village, Biaches, lies opposite Péronne. Between Flaucourt and that town there is a distance of only 3 miles. A plateau raised on pretty steep slopes, at a height of 321 feet, or 164 feet above the Somme, separates Flaucourt from Péronne.

Of the two divisions of the battlefield, that of the right bank of the Ancre is less broken up; further on, as far as the Somme, then as far as the Amiens road, the succession of ridges surrounded by ravines and topped by villages, is the strongest part of the region in which the struggle has begun; in that region, however, the successes were most rapid.

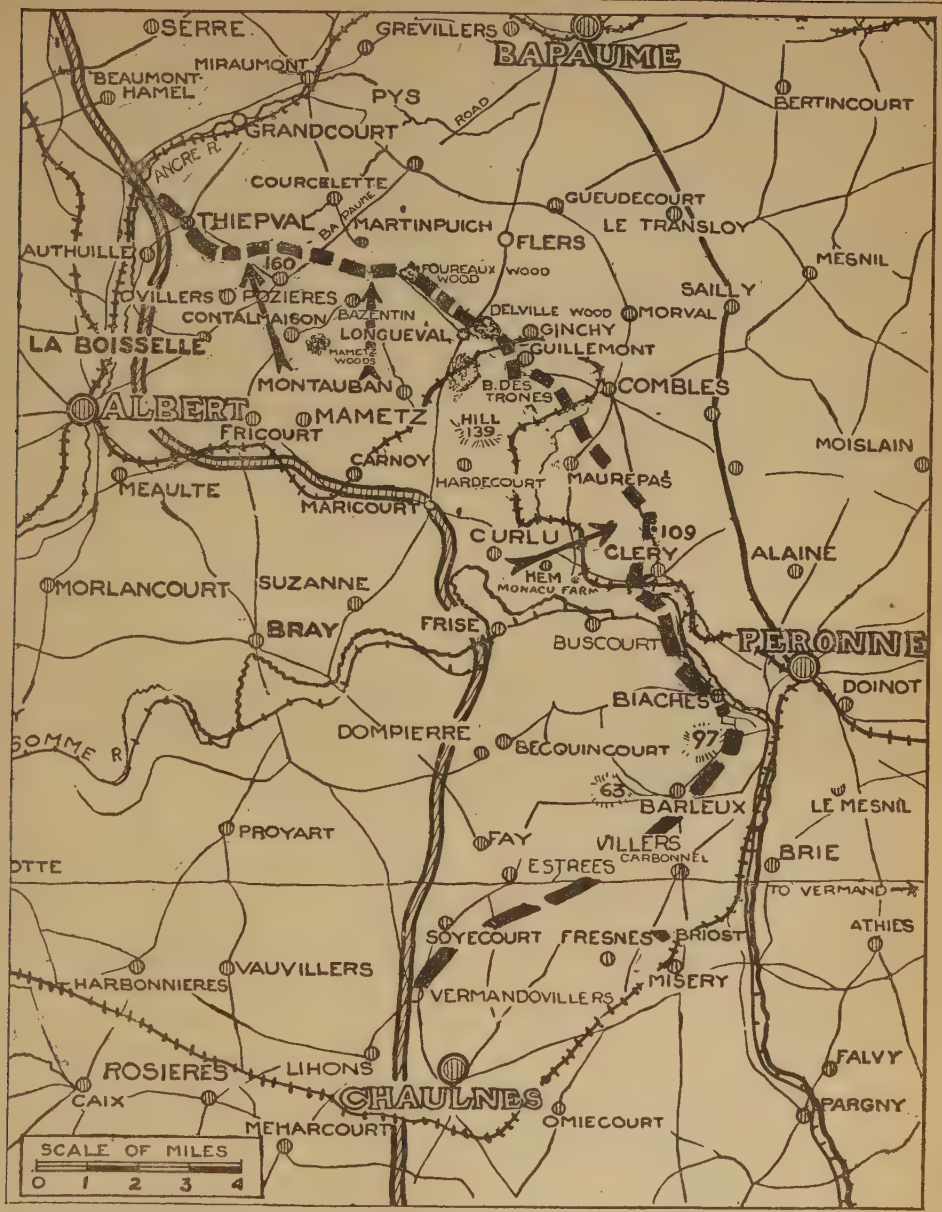
We are now acquainted with the region in which, beginning with July 1, has been fought one of the bloodiest battles of the great drama. We shall follow its different developments.

THE PREPARATION

The bulletins of the preceding week, which made it apparent that the bombardment preluding a great offensive had begun on the English front, were silent as to the participation of the French in this hurricane of fire. Yet our artillery was playing its part, on a front rather restricted in comparison with the English lines, but of a high strategic value. We were fighting on both banks of the Somme, one part of our forces having, as we indicated higher up, crossed the river to take the place of English forces between the river and the road from Albert to Péronne.

The action of our powerful batteries and of the sixteen-inch mortars was preparing an attack of extreme intensity. It was launched on the morning of July 1, (Saturday,) in co-operation with a movement of the British Army, which was active only on a narrow part of its front, and not in the regions of Flanders and Artois, where the bulletins had insistently mentioned cannonades and mine explosions. The British action took place on the confines of Artois and Picardy, principally on the territory of the latter province. The news of the movement arrived with the announcement of the first and important successes. Verdun sank a little into the background.

Until Sunday, July 2, then, the French bulletins had said nothing of the prepar-



PROGRESS MADE BY ANGLO-FRENCH FORCES IN THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME AFTER SIX WEEKS' FIGHTING, SHOWN BY BROKEN LINE

ations; those of the English stated that during the bombardment numerous raids had been pushed forward to the lines of the enemy, whose trenches, leveled by shells, contained few besides dead and wounded; our allies had advanced, at certain points, using gas, as a reply to the cruel methods of war of the enemy.

At the same time aviation played a very extensive rôle; all the captive balloons (drachen) of the Germans were attacked and destroyed; their airmen were pursued unceasingly. Before the battle, the German Army had lost its means of observation. Other machines poured bombs on the railroad stations, the storehouses,

the munition depots and machines of the enemy, and on trains in motion. At the moment when the struggle was begun, the general quarters of the enemy were attacked with bombs dropped from the clouds. The French airmen were not less busy; they destroyed all the drachen and prevented the German aeroplanes from approaching our lines.

THE ATTACK

Thus the attack began when the enemy was deprived of his means of aerial scouting. In both the English region and our own, it was superb in its vigor. Our allies joined battle from Gommécourt to Fricourt, only 2 miles from Albert, their line of attack crossing the Ancre between Beaumont-Hamel and Thiepval. At the point of contact with our troops, they took Mametz and Montauban, thus getting a footing on the highest point, whence radiates, toward the Somme and the upper course of the Ancre, a network of ravines which appears inextricable. Mametz and Montauban had been furiously defended; fierce counterattacks delayed their fall until the evening. Another village, Fricourt, resisted. During this time, an even more violent action was being fought on the road from Bapaume to La Boisselle, where the enemy seems to have collected the most formidable means of defense; the fight extended on the east to Contalmaison, on the north toward Ovillers and Thiepval; the English registered some progress, but without succeeding in forcing the intrenchments.

On the Somme the French obtained successes comparable to those of the English toward Montauban. They attacked on both sides of the valley. Starting on the north, that is, on the right bank, from the neighborhood of Carnoy and Maricourt, they drove the enemy from his trenches and pressed him back on Hardecourt-in-the-Woods, in the great curve marked by the Albert-Péronne Railroad. On the river itself, they captured Curlu, after a fierce struggle.

The success was not less on the left (south) bank, in the loop of the Somme. Dompierre and Becquincourt, which make, as we have seen, a single group with the hamlet of Bussus, were carried by admirably led assaults; to the south, near the road to Amiens and the village of Estrées, Fay, so often fought over through nearly two years, was taken in its turn. We were masters of a front extending from the approaches of Frise, on the Somme, as far as Estrées. On the opposite bank, we held the approaches of Curlu. More than 5,000 prisoners were brought back; guns, machine guns, diverse engines, a mass of material had fallen into our hands. And our losses, thanks to the artillery preparation and the marvelous dash of our soldiers, had been very small.

As always, the enemy tried to counterattack under cover of the night, striking fiercely, especially to the north of Hardecourt, but all his assaults were broken by our barrier-fire; he finally withdrew in disorder, abandoning 200 more prisoners, six of whom were officers. During this time, on the right bank, ourselves taking advantage of the darkness to advance, we approached Herbécourt and Assevillers. The Germans had hastily called up reserves and strengthened their occupation of Frise, a village the loss of which some months earlier we had left severely. But Frise, violently bombarded, was approached by our soldiers, at 2 in the morning, in spite of the obstacles accumulated before it. The enemy was pushed out so rapidly that he had not the time to offer a serious resistance. Frise occupied, as well as Curlu on the other bank, we were masters of the great loop of the Somme. The victors, following up their advantage, mounted the Herbécourt ridge, carried, at its end above the Somme, the wood of Mereaucourt, from which they dominated the bridgehead of Feuillères and Hem. The wood had been covered with trenches; it concealed veritable caverns, whose occupants thought themselves safe from any attack.

On the other bank of the Somme, once Curlu had been taken, our troops, advancing along the river, dislodged the enemy from the deep quarries dug in the chalk and transformed into fortresses. More to the north, our progress was strengthened toward Hardecourt, which was powerfully intrenched, and rising in an amphitheatre in the hollow of a valley as

far as the edge of the plateau surrounded by ravines.

On the same day, that is, Sunday, the English who, during the night, had repelled a formidable counterattack, led by four columns, continued to attack La Boisselle with success; in the evening they took a part of the village. More to the north, they were compelled at certain points to abandon a part of their gains; to the south they carried Fricourt in the afternoon. The whole valley followed as far as Montauban by the narrow-gauge railroad was from that time in the hands of the Allies. A German battalion sent on the following day to Fricourt, finding itself surrounded, surrendered without a fight.

The British troops met with a resistance which increased in fierceness; however, on Monday, July 3, La Boisselle was taken; the German troops capitulated while the neighboring village, Ovillers, saw the struggle resumed with increased bitterness. In the morning our allies occupied a part of the enemy trenches. The contests on the Ancre were not less violent, especially to the south of Thiepval; yet the English made headway; they had taken up to this point 4,300 prisoners. From that time the conflict was carried on with growing fury, but all the German attacks against La Boisselle were broken against English tenacity.

FRENCH PROGRESS

While the English were fighting, to the south of Arras, as far as the Ancre, other battles of which no account has been given, and while, before Albert, this fierce struggle had been going on, the French continued to progress in the loop of the Somme. Starting from the Mereaucourt Wood, French battalions advanced toward Assevillers, carried Herbécourt, whose defensive organization seemed to defy all assaults, and attacked Assevillers, still more formidably guarded. Joined by other elements coming through Dompierre and Becquincourt, they occupied the outskirts of the village, and, after a new artillery preparation, rushed forward with magnificent vigor against the strongly defended ruins. Assevillers was in our hands.

To the south, Estrées was approached. The enemy had strongly covered this village, because of its situation on the high road from Amiens to Péronne; he held his ground there on the evening of Monday, July 3. In the remainder of the loop, our progress was considerable: Flaucourt, only 3 miles from Péronne, was taken; further north, passing the Mereaucourt Wood, we captured Feuillères, important because of the bridges over the canal and the Somme, and the causeway across the marshes. From Feuillères, ascending the left bank, our soldiers reached the fortified Chapitre Wood, took it by assault, and reached the hamlet of Buscourt. On Monday evening, the enemy held in the loop of the Somme, only Belloy-en-Santerre, where reinforcements that had been dispatched to him were dispersed by our guns; Barleux, Biache, at the gates of Péronne, and Villers-Carbonnel, very important because at the crossroads of Roye and Amiens, and the point of passage, through Pont-les-Brie, of the Somme and the canal. At the close of July 3, we held as trophies ten batteries of artillery, five being of large calibre, many machine-guns, trench guns, without counting guns put out of action by the bombardment, and more than 8,000 prisoners. This figure was raised to 9,500 on the following day, the English on the same day reaching 6,000.

The storms and rainy weather which followed did not stop our progress. On Tuesday, July 4, in spite of continuous torrents, our troops continued their advance in the loop of the Somme. Estrées, entered house by house, was almost completely conquered; to the east, Belloy-en-Santerre was likewise taken. Between this village, Assevillers, and Barleaux, woods, furrowed with trenches, surrounded with a network of barbed wire entanglements, fell to us in their turn. Only 1,100 yards separated us from Barleux, the last village which remained to the Germans in the loop of the Somme.

The Germans, during the night of Tuesday-Wednesday, July 4-5, bombarded and then attacked Belloy; they succeeded in occupying a part of it for a time, on the east, but were driven out by a counterattack. In the morning, they still held

the east of Estrées, in assaulting which they had spent their forces. During this time, we made headway along the banks of the Somme, from Feuillères as far as the Sormont Farm, which is only 2⅛ miles from Péronne.

To the north of the Somme, we took Hem on July 5, after a sharp contest.

All these events were developed before Péronne, whose railway station, on the main line from Paris to Cambrai, is the centre of supplies for the whole of this part of Picardy, of the Vermandois and Santerre.

Three days after the taking of Hem, we carried Hardecourt-in-the-Woods, at the point of contact of our left wing with the right wing of the English.

But our principal action had as its stage the loop of the Somme, where we little by little pushed the Germans back to the river, upstream from Péronne, while, downstream from the town, all the left (south) bank came into our possession.

On Friday, July 7, going forward from Belloy and Estrées, we drove the enemy out of his trenches and brought back 400 prisoners.

On Sunday, July 9, our troops undertook a new advance toward the east, along the whole front, from the river near the Sormont farm to Belloy-en-Santerre, Flaucourt being at the centre of the line. This attack, prepared by our artillery, conducted with vigor and a remarkable cohesion of its different elements, secured for us a gain of one and one-quarter miles of ground along this whole front. Biaches, only 1,100 yards from the southern fortifications of Péronne, and separated from it by the Somme and its marshes, was captured; toward the south we got close to Barleux and occupied the approaches to this village, the last held by the Germans in the loop. The battle was continued throughout the night, and, in the morning, secured for us the complete occupation of the ridge which dominates Biaches, and whose summit, covered by the Maisonette estate, is at an elevation of 318 feet, exactly 164 feet above the water level of the Somme, (which, at Péronne, is 154 feet above sea level.) This point completely commands the town of Péronne, its railroad stations, and all the roads which radiate from the capital of the old Vermandois district.

On the English front our allies met with fierce resistance, which was concentrated from the banks of the Ancre toward Thiepval, to the point of contact with our left wing near Montauban. To the south of Thiepval the Germans had fortified a part of the ground by the creation of a powerful redoubt, called the Leipzig redoubt, at which they had been working ceaselessly for twenty months. In the afternoon of Friday, July 7, this work, after a smashing bombardment by British cannon, was the prize of a superb assault. In other combats carried on to the south, at La Boisselle, that is, on the road to Bapaume, gained for our allies a whole network of trenches on a front of 2,000 yards, and to a depth of 600 yards. Between La Boisselle and Fricourt two small woods were captured.

On the same day, July 7, there were furious battles at Contalmaison, between La Boisselle and Bazentin-the-less. The Germans sent the Prussian Guard forward at 7 o'clock in the morning. It was repulsed and forced to retire to the north, leaving the ground covered with dead and abandoning 700 prisoners in the hands of the English. The English, following up this success, made a superb assault on Contalmaison, which, at noon, gave them the village; but a counterattack retook it. However, they remained on its outskirts.

The following days were not less stirring. On Saturday, July 8, the British troops started from Montauban and the wood of Bernafay toward the Trônes Wood to co-operate with our attack on Hardecourt. While we were taking this village they approached the wood, supported by the French infantry, and took it. The enemy, coming back in dense masses, was thrown back again.

On Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday, July 9, 10, and 11, the struggle was continued in the Trônes Wood and on its outskirts. On the morning of July 11 it was almost in the hands of our allies. A night assault, preceded by a violent bombardment, at the same time regained Contal-

maison for them, and they strongly consolidated their position in the village. This success was completed by the capture of the Mametz Wood.

The total of prisoners captured by the English was 7,500 men. The battle between the Ancre and the Trônes Wood lasted without interruption for ten days and ten nights; it won for our allies a gain of from one and one-quarter to two and one-half miles in advance of their lines; the territory of five villages was freed from German occupation.

In mid-July the Germans twice attempted to retake from us the approaches to Péronne, taking advantage of the thick mists arising from the marshes and peat mosses of the Somme. Thanks to this veil of fog, on the evening of Saturday, July 15, they made a sortie from Péronne by the "Paris suburb." Creeping along the banks between which sleeps the canalized river, they pressed in our outposts and got as far as the approaches to Biaches. Violent assaults gained this village for them. While this was going on other German troops made their way up the flanks of the Maisonette Hill, driving in our outposts and taking possession of the ridge. But their success was brief. Our reserves retook the position. Another counterattack recovered Biaches for us. Some enemy groups were able to maintain themselves for a short time in a little wood between the two positions.

The second attempt took place on Monday evening, July 17, during torrential rain, and was kept up during the night. Repulsed in six assaults against the Maisonette Ridge, the Germans, supported by batteries installed on Mont Saint-Quentin, above Péronne, succeeded in reaching the heart of Biaches, thanks to the dead weight of the successive masses of troops launched in that direction. All day the struggle went on in the ruins of the village; our soldiers retook most of the houses, the enemy holding his ground only in the eastern part. During the forenoon of Tuesday, July 18, he was driven from the foothold to which he had been clinging.

In the heart of the Santerre Plateau, near Chilly, a village close to the important railway station of Chaulnes, the Germans sketched a diversion by hurling themselves brusquely against our trenches.

During the same period, on the British front the fighting went on incessantly without an instant's respite from Ovillers —that is, from the approaches to the Valley of the Ancre—as far as the narrow-gauge railway from Albert to Péronne, on the level of Guillemont. The British artillery covered the German positions with its fire, big mortars severely hammering it; infantry attacks were sent forward at several points on Thursday, July 13.

This bombardment of extreme violence continued during the night of Thursday-Friday, July 13-14. Before dawn, on the day of our national festival, July 14, our allies launched, on a front of four and one-half miles, a powerful attack, carried out with so much ardor that the first lines immediately fell into their hands. The enemy had intrenched in the hamlets and woods, and it required terrific assaults to dislodge him. In the afternoon, Bazentin-le-Petit, Bazentin - le - Grand, Longueval, and the Trônes Wood were taken and occupied. Of these different positions the most important to the enemy was Bazentin-le-Petit. Three times the Germans directed counter-attacks against this village in the hope of retaking it; the last attack, carried out with considerable forces, permitted them to dislodge the English. But the English returned to the charge and once more took possession of Bazentin-le-Petit. On this side the enemy only reained a foothold in the southwestern part of the Wood of Preuze, which separates Bazentin-le-Petit from the district of Contalmaison; he was driven out in the forenoon of July 17. During these combats more than 2,000 Germans surrendered.

The fighting continued with the same violence during the whole of Saturday, July 15, and was equally favorable for the English, whose front was extended both east and west. The Delville Wood, which spreads like a fan between the road from Longueval to Flers and Longueval to Ginchy, was completely taken; and German counterattacks had no result beyond causing heavy losses to

the assailants. To the north, and at 1,300 yards from Bazentin-le-Grand, the Wood of Foureaux, which occupies the culminating point of the Artois Ridge, was approached. During the battle a squadron of English horse charged the enemy—the first intervention of British cavalry since the battle of the Marne. The Wood of Foureaux was not taken, but our allies were able to organize its outskirts.

Sunday, July 16, was consecrated to the consolidation of the ground gained. On Monday, July 17, the British troops resumed the fight. Near the Bapaume road they attacked the village of Ovillers, defended by a battalion of the Prussian Guard, whose resistance was superb, but the débris of that heroic troop, 124 men and officers, were compelled to surrender. For twenty months this village had withstood all the efforts of the Allies to take it.

On their right wing the English gained a not less important success in capturing the Waterlot Farm, whose large buildings had been organized as a fortress. This property is half way to Guillemont, a village whose southern outlet is covered by the French troops at Hardecourt. From each of the three points, the Waterlot Farm, the Wood of Trônes, and Hardecourt, the distance to Combles is just over two miles, and Combles is the principal place between Albert and Péronne.

This English position, extending from Longueval through the Delville Wood to the Waterlot Farm, was the object on Tuesday, July 18, of a violent counterattack by the Germans. After having covered the wood with tear-producing and asphyxiating shells, they rushed to the assault, and a very fierce struggle took place.

During the first seventeen days of the battle of the Somme the British forces captured 10,779 men and 189 officers. They also brought in 8 large mortars, 9 heavy cannon, 37 field guns, and 66 machine guns.

A part of this struggle took place under the eyes of Kaiser Wilhelm, who came to bring encouragement to his troops and to study the situation with his own eyes.

[Between July 20 and July 30 a sanguinary battle was fought over the possession of Delville Wood, which was finally retaken by the British. Meanwhile the French advanced over a front of several miles, and the allied line was straightened out on the higher ground, with steady advances over a front of twenty to thirty miles, driving a wedge into the Germans in the centre of Picardy and imperiling their entire line in that region. The battle is furiously proceeding as this issue goes to press, with the Allies slowly but steadily advancing.]

With the Germans on the Somme

By Cyril Brown

The Berlin Staff Correspondent of The New York Times

The battle of the Somme, the bloodiest of the war, has been raging now for two months. Upward of 1,500,000 men are locked in a death grapple. The awful music of great artillery continues night and day, and desolation overwhelms village after village in the pathway of the Allies. England and France now have the heaviest guns, the most ammunition, the strongest forces; and they seem also to have gained the upper hand in the fierce aerial fighting that has become a special feature of the battle. Yet the Germans, though dying by thousands, are naturally inflicting still heavier losses upon the attacking forces, and they have given comparatively little ground in the last month. Both sides still claim ultimate victory. In Mr. Brown's article, written about the middle of August, we have a glimpse of the quieter aspects of life behind the German trenches.

THE battle of the Somme as I have seen it from the German side is replete with impressions of cannonading of incessant violence, cyclones of steel, and sudden squalls of fire that wipe out whole villages in minutes, the hail of a thousand tornadoes criss-crossing the ruined countryside, ammunition that makes the mounds which I had seen at Verdun look like ant hills, mortar batteries as thick as mushrooms, and then the singing, cheering processions of flower-garlanded youngsters and the silent tramp of the rested veterans, and the motor pilgrimage of pain intermingled with strings of ambulances loaded to capacity.

It is just like other battles except that on the Somme you cannot get away from it. It haunts you while you are being kept awake by the French airbombs, follows you into the trench, is with you in the high tree-tops and aeroplanes and other high observation points. Pictorially here is the same old front which has been seen and described to a point of boredom, but with a new sensation—the tingling realization that here on the Somme front the flower of the manhood of three nations is locked in a death grapple, fighting for the decision of the world war, that it counts more men and guns, more shells and dead and mangled to the front foot than any battle in history.

FRENCH FLIERS AT WORK

War reporting with the Germans is no longer a pleasant pastime, at least not on the Somme. The very first night out, French fliers wrecked my slumber by liberally dropping bombs on the French town in which I was quartered. The mournful wail of a German military siren heralded their approach. As the booming German anti-aircraft guns went into action one had the novel sensation of lying abed and through a window seeing the fire points of German shrapnel bursting about the flash of the French aircraft, momentarily caught by the German searchlights, but feeling reasonably safe, as the French nightmoths generally attack railway stations. Next morning, motoring out of the town, it was interesting to note that for the benefit of the German soldiery practically every street bore affixed to a house a red sign reading, "Protection from fliers," and pointing out the quickest way into bombproof sub-cellars of the furthest front.

I dropped in at a hospital filled exclusively with allied wounded, the local Palais de Danse, whose mirrored walls multiplied the misery ad infinitum. * * * Across the street, at the hospital for Germans, motor ambulances arrived in a steady procession. The wounded were carried in at one door and the dead out another while the French townspeople looked on with ill-concealed hatred. The German losses, I am told, are believed to average only one-third of the Allies' losses, as near as can be estimated.

RAISING OATS UNDER FIRE

It is worthy of notice that Germany's defensive fight against England, the "hunger war," is being carried right up to the trenches. Every arable square

inch in this part of France in German hands which I have seen is under cultivation, and promises a bumper crop of rye, oats, wheat, and barley, little damaged by the battle of the Somme except immediately back of the trenches and about the villages which are under heavy fire. French civilians were already busy getting in the harvest, ably assisted by the German reserves, and it was a paradoxical sight to pass for miles American harvesters, reapers, and binders and motor threshing machines, working peacefully within the roar and range of the guns.

Motor anti-aircraft guns were almost as thick in the fields as the American harvesters, indicating the heightened French aerial activity on the Somme, where the French and English flying corps appear to be at the very top of their form.

The German fliers are forced as never before to extend themselves barely to hold their own and to keep the score a few points ahead of the allied fliers, who appear to have greatly outnumbered them at the beginning of the offensive. The Fokker fighters have evened up the numerical handicap by greater individual brilliancy.

Still another phase of the food war is to be seen here at the front. The aristocratic old Colonel showed me part of his regimental piggeries, ten very fat, grunting hogs, so busy eating that they paid no attention to the correspondents or the French shells howling overhead. The titled swineherd told me that each German company at the front now has a troop of ten hogs to eat up its food scraps. Efficiency could go no further.

CARRIER PIGEONS IN USE

An apparently deserted moving van, stranded in a field, aroused curiosity to the stopping point. It proved to be a carrier pigeon camp. Owing to the damp, unfavorable flying weather the little feathered dispatch carriers, each with a metal number fastened about its neck, were resting inside the van in numbered crates. Absolute military order and discipline prevailed in the carrier pigeon camp.

These unneutral birds are carried in crates into the front trenches at night and principally used when the drumfire has destroyed the telephone wires, thus making impossible all other means of getting messages back to the division headquarters. It is in these times that the carrier pigeons prove of the highest military value, winging their way swiftly and surely through the shellfire. And though the casualties are heavy in the pigeon corps Germany's pigeon reserves are said to be inexhaustible.

The carrier pigeons are also used for transmitting dispatches and particularly photographic films from aeroplanes operating over the allied lines. For the latter purpose a neat little leather harness, with a long, slender tube is attached to a band under the pigeon's body.

The penultimate front and its immediate rear are in general more important than the first-line trenches for sizing up the present condition and the prospects of the modern battle. Here the most significant fact was the right of the "shiller" divisions behind the front—the uniformed laborers engaged in laying line after line of field fortifications, digging and delving as if against time. For the Germans, while not admitting the necessity, are, nevertheless, preparing to defend every foot of French soil by a stand every few hundred yards or so.

HEAVY MORTARS IN ACTION

I joined the gunners at a kicking and snorting mortar battery, consisting of four giant bucking broncos of steel, which threw up their tails viciously at every shot and pawed the runway with their caterpillar feet. Salvos were being fired on schedule time, one salvo a minute.

Standing directly behind the first mortar and looking about 200 yards up into the air, I saw the heavy projectile in flight at the start of its journey, visible for just a few seconds. Timing the projectile, I found it was fifty-nine seconds before it was heard to burst at its destination. * * *

The faces of the German gunners told their own story. The good nature of these skilled Teuton mechanics had given place to a grim set expression as if biting their jaws together and nerving them-

ENORMOUS NEW FRENCH GUN USED IN BATTLE OF THE SOMME

This 400 Millimeter or Sixteen-Inch Monster Is One of the Many Upon Which the French Munitions Workers Have Been Toiling for Months. These Are the Guns Which Are Doing Such Terrible Execution Against the Fortified German Trenches.

(*Photo © Illustrated London News.*)

A SIXTEEN-INCH SHELL

Hoisting a Monster Shell to Feed the Lord of Battle Shown on the Reverse of This Page.
(Official Photograph.)

selves to fight off the physical fatigue of long weeks of continued cannonading. In their shirtsleeves and perspiring, with facial muscles drawn and strained, they reminded me of overtrained athletes toward the end of a hard-fought long-distance race who realized that they must not "crack" before breasting the tape. They continued working their battery automatically, with the disciplined perfection and finished form of veterans.

I walked down a narrow, winding pathway through a jungle of underbrush full of infantry reserves. It was the strangest gypsy colony I had seen on any front. The men were living in galvanized zinc sheds, semi-cylinders about ten feet in diameter, easily transportable, quickly set up, absolutely rainproof, and resembling miniature models of the Zeppelin hangars. Eight men could sleep beneath each zinc dome.

These reserves were enjoying a well-earned rest. After two weeks in the hell of the first trenches under fire, they were in particularly high spirits. Most of them were engaged in beautifying their sylvan quarters, building rustic fences about their zinc huts and ornamenting the pathways with rustic borders.

DESTROYING BALLOONS

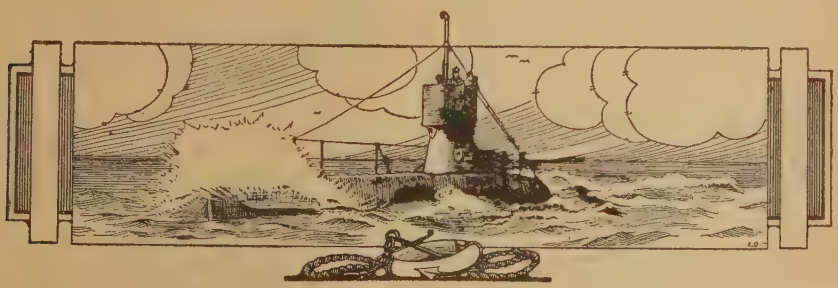
On the way to the trenches I stopped to see a captive balloon company. Forty men were just dragging an inflated yellow bag from its hangar, while the officers tested it thoroughly preparatory to going up.

I gathered that captive ballooning on the Somme is more thrillingly dangerous than on any other front. The commander told me how they are constantly pestered by the French fliers, whose latest dodge is to swoop down on the balloons and shoot fire darts into them at close range. He showed me one that had failed to catch fire, a vicious-looking steel thing a foot and a half long, with a rocketlike head.

I also was introduced to one of his youngsters, who had a very narrow escape from death during an attack by a French aviator on a balloon. This was Lieutenant Ruthenburg, who said:

"I was up 1,800 feet when a French aeroplane approached and shot fire darts at the bag. I did not stop to ascertain the damage, for if you do not leap out of the gondola in the nick of time you run the risk of getting caught under the burning envelope or of the balloon dropping on top of you. I leaped overboard promptly with my parachute. I fell 150 feet before it opened, but landed unscratched, only to find the balloon had not been hit by the French aviator at all."

The intensity of the artillery fire on the Somme makes the utmost demands on the skill and endurance and nerves of the captive ballooners here, who admittedly have their hands full to hold their own, but appear to be doing it. In no fighting arm on the Somme front is the ascendency so marked as to justify sweeping generalizations, much less prophecy. At first blush there seems to be little to choose between the locked foes. A longer study of the great battle front from all angles tends to correct this impression, and warrants the opinion that the margin of Teuton supremacy on the ground is small, but adequate for all practical purposes, while in the air it is still smaller, but enough to turn the very slow scales of battles. If the Teutons can maintain this margin of safety—and I saw no reason here for believing they could not—they have ultimate victory in the battle of the Somme clinched.



The Battle of Galicia

[Translated for Current History Magazine from the Russian of V. Philatoff]

SCORCHING heat, and clouds of dust over the highways from the constant march of columns of infantry and cavalry. They are manoeuvring in the rear; these manoeuvring groups are not the striking units; they are the destruction-bringing units destined to be wedged into the Austrian lines, whose front has been pierced by the striking units ahead. We see, moving at full speed in clouds of dust, boxes of cartridges and shells; automobiles seemingly carrying very small loads—only a few dozen flat wooden boxes with rope handles; precious loads, to be carried at full speed—boxes of munitions.

They meet the wagons of the sanitary department going in the opposite direction—and the blue-gray columns of prisoners. It is most remarkable that, in both streams, the men are cheerful. Our wounded are quite enthusiastic.

One of these was a non-commissioned officer, about 30, who lay quiet—wounded in the chest and hip. He said:

"I was brought back from their second line. When we seized their first line we found nothing to take; only a few scattered munitions—and their dead. They immediately began a counterattack. We had not even the time to pull up the machine guns when we saw them coming on in massed formation at a run. I could see it was not more than a verst [about 1,200 yards] to their second line. And I said to my boys: 'When they get closer we shall run out to meet them, but in the meantime—shoot!' Then I saw our battalion commander [Major] running toward us, shouting: 'Get ready for an attack!' As soon as they were between 150 and 100 paces from us our boys yelled 'Hurrah!' and rushed at them like one man.

"As I ran I glanced right and left. It was a bit frightful—yelling, firing their rifles, some hatless, some toppling over—all running. As was expected, the Austrians were taken by surprise; some of them surrendered; others attempted to run back; it was a general stew! Not many of our boys stayed with the prisoners; they all ran after the men who were running away. And all the time their artillery was giving it hot to whoever happened to be there, whether they were our boys or theirs.

"When we were nearly at the trenches we were a good deal fewer; some were killed, some wounded, and some completely out of breath. I got almost to the wires; then I dropped; my heart was squeezed out and my throat was parched. I was not on the ground a moment—there were five others with me—when an Austrian passed me—bzz!—right into the wires! I just raised my rifle and got him in the back.

"When I looked back there were many of our soldiers around; the officer commanding the half company crawled into the ditch and said: 'Boys, come ahead! Forward! We've got them with a single blow!' He crossed himself and sprang to his feet, shouting 'Hurrah!' and we all followed into the passage where my Austrian fell. We only stopped to pull up the posts; but wherever the wires had been broken by our shells we rushed on without stopping; in a minute we had jumped into the trench. There were a good many Austrians there, but it was a bit awkward for them. Five of us, jumping into the trench, fired right and left; but it was impossible for the Austrians to fire; they would have killed too many of their own men. At one go we cleared fifty or sixty yards of the trench. Then some of our boys came up and began firing both ways.

"Well, it was quite impossible for the Austrians to hold on in the trench itself, and those of them who crowded into the side trenches had to surrender without a struggle. They let us take six machine guns in good shape and four bomb-throwers—also more than 400 prisoners—all that was left of a battalion [1,000 men.] We called on our reserve

company for reinforcements. But before we had time to look round and find out where their third line was the shells began to rain on us; what with the dust and smoke it got quite dark.

"I pressed close to the wall of the trench. Then—hu-hu!—something splashed into the trench quite close to me, fire blazed like lightning in my eyes. * * * When I came to I realized that I was seated against the wall of the trench, with two of our boys lying at my feet, and the whole trench was smashed up. I tried to stand up, but there was a pain in my leg, and my whole right side wouldn't work. But I felt I was alive. Some of our boys came up and bandaged me. I lay in the trench until dark; when the sanitary department came to carry me out our battalion commander came to bid me good-bye. We kissed each other, and he promised to mention me for a second degree St. George's Cross!" He already had the fourth and third degrees.

II.

The nearer we come to the battle front the more crowded becomes the traffic. Our automobile needs careful steering and often has to stop, but we are all in a hurry, and want to go ahead at full speed. In the midst of it all, a misjudged turn—something cracks—we are all pushed to one side; the machine stops. * * * I continue my journey with a doctor in his gig, who is hurrying to the aid of a wounded Captain. We are able soon to distinguish the explosion of the enemy shells from our own guns; the shells cutting their way through the air, whistling and hissing; that terrifying hiss, followed by an explosion, which means the shattering of human bodies, many of them maimed for life.

We follow a deep ravine; about 1,200 yards further lies a thick gray mist, from the midst of which come thunder and lightning. That means a battery of our guns. We leave the horses behind, and walk forward. No one pays the slightest attention to us. They are carrying heavy black shells by hand; the shells weigh ninety pounds each; no wonder the men's muscles are strained to the utmost, as they push them into the guns; the shining brass case glides lightly forward, the catch snaps, and then the shot roars out, deafening us. People no longer speak; they yell, for every one is deafened by the roar of the guns.

Somewhat to the side, behind an improvised curtain of tarred cloth, lies our Captain, a young man, with a bandaged shoulder, the sleeve of his shirt cut, and his coat thrown over the other shoulder only. But his face is not pale, and he is quite cheerful. * * *

Then the doctor and I walk over to look at the guns. The six-inch howitzers are courtesying (from the recoil) as they send out their shells. In shape and color they remind us of a row of frogs in a marsh.

Toward evening the infantry is going to begin to force its way across the river. I am very anxious to go forward to see, but the commanding officer refuses to allow me until after dark. So I remain, possessing my soul in patience and listening to the music of the artillery.

III.

The sun was moving toward the Carpathian Mountains, which were not more than seventy miles away. Its rays gilded the quaint Galician landscape. The mountain ridges here rise parallel to each other, like petrified waves, and the deep valleys between them were already darkened by the shadows of evening. But the beauties of the landscape do not compare with the joyful sight which met my eyes—our artillery, hammering away in a businesslike fashion at the Austrians, while they rather feebly replied; our guns sending stroke after stroke, in the spirit of the old Slavonic challenge, "We have set forth!" But in the work of the Austrians one feels a disconcerted spirit.

Our attack is to begin as soon as the sun sets. It will not be easy; the positions are well fortified. And in the last five months the Austrians have not been napping. They have done a good deal of barbed-wire knitting, strengthening their trenches and digging rabbit holes.

As soon as darkness came on, the whole line of artillery fire grew perceptibly calmer. Only rifle fire, with an occa-

sional machine gun, continued to increase. * * * A skyrocket flies up into the night; then another and another. The searchlights begin to blaze.

From the observation post we can clearly see the explosions on the other side. They flash like lightning, but in the opposite direction—from earth to heaven. The shrapnels look like falling stars—falling singly and in groups.

More explanations by telephone, and my Lieutenant says: "They are starting!"

Explosions can no longer be seen. Heavy shells are being sent against the Austrian artillery. Of course, fire of this kind, (censor,) but it is very important: First of all, it makes the enemy nervous, so that they cannot attend to their own fire with full concentration; and if we succeed in hitting an Austrian battery a great gain is immediately apparent, for that battery's regular work is instantly upset.

At first the Austrians answered our artillery fire. Then, for two or three minutes, they were silent; longer, perhaps, for in such strenuous surroundings it is almost impossible to judge time accurately. Rifle fire increased steadily, both sides evidently shooting. The machine guns keep up their song; the Austrians are evidently running the cartridge ribbons through them gayly.

All at once the whole line of Austrian guns sent up a single roar, all firing together.

"Now, hold tight!" said an artilleryman, crouching down. The Austrians had been saving their fire, economizing in case of a possible attack. Now they opened with regular hurricane fire.

The Lieutenant remains at the telephone, his superior officer advancing toward the river. I follow him. We go forward, bending close to the ground, for we may fall in with a few stray Austrian bullets here. After going a few paces downward a whole loop of the river comes suddenly into view. A fugitive ray of white light runs tremulously over the grass and shrubs along the shore; when it stops for a few seconds everything looks as if plunged in liquid silver, and each little bush casts a long, black shadow Over the line of the river bank dozens of shrapnel shells are exploding; at times they break over the water, and then the river seethes, as if boiling, under the lash of hundreds of bullets.

"They are exhausting their force in an effort to take the river!" said the Captain.

"Is that what you call a curtain of fire?"

"Yes, and a pretty solid one, too!"

I have served throughout the campaign. Until Verdun the curtain of fire had only reached an elementary stage. Generally, in repelling an attack, the practice had been to fire at the attacking party, at the "living target," as we used to say. The only instance I had seen of firing, not at the attacking party, but in front of them, was at the end of May, 1915, in General Brusiloff's army. The Teutons had broken through our front at Moszieska, (south of the Lemberg-Przemysl railway,) and their offensive was stopped by our barrier fire.

But now the curtain of fire is growing to be a normal phenomenon, in meeting every important attack. It is founded chiefly on the psychological effect. The picture now before my eyes gave me a clearer idea of what a curtain of fire is. Our men had to advance to the river * * * and to cross it. So the Austrians aimed, not at the trenches, nor in front of them, but at the river bank close to the water, where there were no attacking columns yet, but where they must go in order to cross the river, bringing with them boats or rafts, and building bridges.

When the fire is aimed directly at the attacking party the only possible way of escape lies in advancing, because the shrapnel bullets and broken pieces of the shells (which burst in the air) fly past their target. If the attacking party stops, they will be wiped out by steel and fire. Therefore, it is more profitable for them to press ahead. The enemy's fire then advances with them, and so practically drives them forward to the attack.

The curtain of fire, on the contrary, is well in front of you and you must consciously push your head into this guillotine. It is as if, in a thunderstorm, you

were running from door to door; as you advance, the drops of steel become fewer, but heavier.

The Captain, as an experienced artillerist, had defined the situation accurately at the start; and our attacking parties were drawn back, without entering the zone of the fire screen.

The Austrians continued their fire for thirty or forty minutes. Then realizing that the danger was over, they carried their fire further on, aiming at our trenches, our artillery, and, in general, the rear of our positions. A few shrapnel shells burst over the slope on which we were lying, so we decided to move back to the cover of the observation post. It (censor) but it would shelter us from the shrapnel.

Taking a couple of hours to rest, we organized the attack once more, with everything afire and aflame. Then, somewhere far ahead, we hear our men shouting "Hurrah!" This means that, at some point, they have got across the river and are charging with the bayonet.

Dawn is near. Our faces drawn and blanched with fatigue, we drink some tea in the sod hut of the observation post. Then we go over to the staff post of the ——th Infantry Regiment.

IV.

Immediately after this I went south to the point where the River Stripa had already been crossed.

Crossing the Stripa!—Perfectly ridiculous! A little stream, not more than thirty-five paces wide, and quite shallow. The one difficulty is, that it flows through a marsh, in some places three-quarters of a mile wide. Needless to say, when Autumn comes, it will be greatly dried up, but just at present it is a serious material obstacle.

And how the Austrians have fortified it! They have dug many trenches, protecting them with barbed wire entanglements, charged with strong currents of electricity. And all this has been smashed and destroyed, because they were not strong enough to defend it.

It is beyond question that the Austrians placed their reliance on the Stripa, keeping their main forces further north, on the line between Lemberg and Tarnopol. But their line was broken through, to the south, close to the mouth of the Stripa. The fighting is on the further (west) bank there now, while only a short time ago both banks were in the hands of the Austrians. On this (east) side the trenches have been hammered to pieces, for we struck at them first, and with great care. In themselves the trenches are not particularly strong; they are pretty deep, with numbers and with loopholes for rifle fire, and not very strongly covered. The wire entanglements are also pretty thick and well made, but nothing extraordinary. The descent to the river is very steep, and there is a military bridge at the bottom, which spans both the stream and the marshes. It has suffered noticeably by shell fire, besides which the Austrians tried to set fire to it. But hurriedly mended by our engineers, it serves well enough for our men to cross over. Even the artillery was able to get over, and is booming away ahead somewhere on the Austrian (west) side of the river.

At the Austrian end of the bridge are two half-burned corpses; sappers who died the death of the brave when the bridge was burning.

Beside the road, down the slope, there used to stand a straight row of village huts; now nothing is left of them except a few bricks and some charred posts. A good many cellars have been adapted for human habitation.

Only yesterday the battle was seething at this spot. Now it is strewn with silent corpses, abandoned rifles, and cartridges. Our medical corps are walking this way and that, looking for the wounded. In battles like this we gather in a good many of them. The Austrians in their hurried retreat have no time to pick them up, and we take possession of the battlefields, with all their trophies.

How England's Blockade Is Operated

By Sir Frank Newnes

Assistant Secretary of the Committee on Detention of Neutral Ships

Sir Frank Newnes, the London publisher, who is performing important duties in the Blockade Committee headed by Lord Peel, recently gave the members of the American Luncheon Club the most detailed description of the British system of blockade thus far offered to the public. Remarking that the blockade began with the Order in Council of March 11, 1915, and that the total stoppage of Germany's trade through neutrals has been an enormous task, he explained the methods used as follows:

EVERY ship east or west bound passing up or down the English Channel or by the north of Scotland is stopped by one of the British men-of-war, boarded, and examined. These ships are armed merchantmen and are on duty right across from the north of Scotland to Norway, one ship every twenty miles—they are manned by the Royal Naval Reserve men from the mercantile marine who are used to examining ships' papers and documents. A copy of the ship's manifest is then wired up to London—and to give you some idea of the labor involved some ships have between 300 and 600 different descriptions of goods on board, all of which have to be sent out—and thus these telegrams run to many thousands of words.

The telegraphed manifest goes at once before the Contraband Committee, which sits every day and all day, presided over by E. M. Pollock, King's Counsel and Member of Parliament for Warwick. The committee considers each item, and if it has any reasonable suspicion that any items are destined for the enemy the ship will be detained and ordered to unload the suspected items at a suitable port. If she has nothing suspicious the ship can proceed at once; and I may say that the Contraband Committee works so expeditiously that its decision on the ship or goods is nearly always given the same day that the manifest is put before it.

When the manifest is telegraphed to the Contraband Committee it is also telegraphed to the War Trade Intelligence Department, which has been created for the purpose of supplying information on which the Contraband Committee can decide whether certain goods should be allowed to go forward or not.

In addition to the Contraband Committee there is the Enemy Exports Committee, presided over by Commander Leverton Harris, M. P., which deals with goods exported from Germany. This is a much simpler task than dealing with imports into Germany, as America and other countries, for the purpose of their customs, already require that the country of origin shall be given, and the effect has been that the export trade of Germany was almost immediately killed, and there is no doubt that this has been one of the great causes in the fall of the mark, as it compels Germany to pay in gold and not in goods.

When suspect goods are unloaded from a ship they are at once put into "prize," and the owner of the goods has to make a claim for their restitution and must bring an action for their recovery. Such actions are tried in the Admiralty Court, which is presided over by Sir Samuel Evans; and the goods are released, condemned, or dealt with as the court may deem just.

I have already told you that the desire of the British Government is to carry out this blockade with as little delay or inconvenience to neutrals as is possible, and I will now give you some of the arrangements made to insure this:

(1) Guarantees by importers—Agreements have been made with representative associations of merchants in

neutral countries, under which they undertake that goods consigned to them will not be exported to Germany nor be used in the manufacture of goods which are for export to Germany. The first of these was the Netherlands Oversea Trust, which was so successful that similar associations were formed in other countries —in Denmark the Danish Merchants' Guild, and in Switzerland the Société Surveillance Suisse.

Goods can now be exported from this country practically under license only, and such licenses are usually granted if the goods are consigned to these associations.

(2) Agreements with shipping lines—Agreements have been made with many shipping lines under which their ships are allowed to go forward, even if they have contraband on board or are carrying goods which our authorities suspect are for the enemy, on their undertaking to return such goods to this country for the prize court or to retain them in a neutral country until after the war. And in addition to this:

(3) Bunker coal from any port in the British Empire is refused to neutral ships unless they comply with certain conditions which insure that the goods they carry do not go to the enemy.

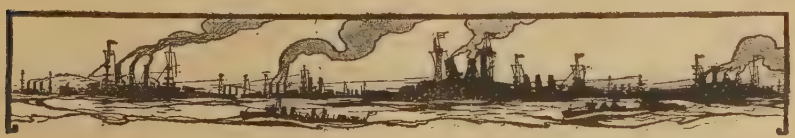
Both these classes of ships are called "white ships," and they are a large and increasing number, and most of the leading lines have made such arrangements. I would strongly advise any of you, when shipping goods, to see that the ship is a "white ship." If a ship is not a "white ship," there is, of course, a presumption that it is or may be carrying suspected goods, and thus it may be delayed and you suffer the suspicion attaching to other people's goods.

(4) Skinner Scheme—This is a scheme which was suggested by Mr. Skinner, the American Consul General in London. It is this: A department has been opened in the British Embassy at Washington to which an American exporter can go and give particulars of the nature and amount of the goods he desires to export, and also the name of the consignee. The department will at once cable here to the Contraband Committee, who will cable him whether his goods would pass the blockade or not, and thus he can decide whether to ship them. If he ships the goods, the papers are marked accordingly, and some American lines will now take only goods which have passed the Skinner scheme.

(5) Rationing—It has been found that since the war broke out certain neutral countries have been importing a vastly increased amount of certain goods beyond their pre-war and normal requirements, and unless they were formerly importing large quantities of these goods from Germany and Austria there is an overwhelming presumption that they were imported for the purpose of re-export to Germany, and there is no doubt that this was done on a large scale.

To avoid this the system of rationing has been adopted under which the import of a given article into a neutral country is limited to the amount of its true domestic requirements. It is a very fair system, allowing as it does any neutral to carry on its own legitimate trade and to supply its own wants.

You will note thus that it may happen that when you apply to the War Trade Department for a license to export certain articles to neutral countries it may be refused not because there is any doubt in regard to your consignee, but for the reason that the country has already been supplied with the rationed amount of such goods.



The British Trade Blacklist an Object of Controversy

GREAT BRITAIN'S announcement on July 18 of a list of more than eighty firms in the United States with whom British subjects were forbidden to trade has met with almost universal condemnation in this country, and has been made the subject of a vigorous note of protest by the State Department at Washington, the text of which is printed herewith. As stated in that note, the blacklist seems to the Government of the United States "to embody a policy of arbitrary interference with neutral trade against which it is its duty to protest in the most decided terms."

The effect of a statutory boycott of this kind, it is contended, is to prevent even neutrals from trading with the blacklisted firms for fear of incurring the displeasure of the British blockading fleet, and thus ultimately to ruin the concerns named. Even some British papers, such as The Manchester Guardian, have supported the view of the United States, holding that the blacklist is ethically unsound, tending to establish a theory of international law which is essentially vicious, and which England herself will have cause to regret later when she may herself be a neutral.

The British Government, on the other hand, is inclined to stand firmly on the ground taken. "Personally," says Lord Robert Cecil, Minister of War Trade, "I cannot see any way by which we can forego our undoubted right to prevent our subjects from providing resources of trade to our enemies. There is not likely to be any change in the policy of the Allies as a result of neutral protests. Italy in her action in announcing a blacklist is likewise merely following the policy outlined at the Paris conference." The British Foreign Office also pointed out the fact that "long before the British statutory blacklist was put into operation the French Government prohibited its nationals from doing any business with any enemy subject." An official of that office gave the following to the press:

From strictly legal points of view the blacklist system is a piece of purely domestic legislation which simply prohibits British subjects from dealing with certain persons. The right of any Government to impose such prohibition on its own nationals is hardly open to dispute.

I would quote on this point from Sir Edward Grey's reply to the American Ambassador on Feb. 16 last: "His Majesty's Government readily admit the right of persons of any nationality resident in the United States to engage in legitimate commercial transactions with any other persons. They cannot admit, however, that this right can in any way limit the right of other Governments to restrict the commercial activities of their nationals in any manner which may seem desirable to them, by the imposition of prohibitions and penalties which are operative solely upon persons under their jurisdiction."

Apart from the question of international law there is a further question as to whether we have done something which is unreasonable, or should seem unjust. The old English definition of the word enemy was a person domiciled in enemy territory, and had as its obvious basis a desire only to hit at individuals in so far as they were in a position to help their belligerent State. Unfortunately, in modern conditions of commerce, credit and communication, a German firm in America can help Germany in many ways, at least as much and sometimes more than a firm of the same standing in Germany. We do not criticise such firms for so doing, but is it unreasonable that we should in these cases refuse to allow their available capital to be swelled, or their position to be maintained by trading with us? Is it unreasonable that we should say that if a firm is really out to help our enemies it shall not at the same time enjoy all the benefits of friendly commercial intercourse with our country?

The blacklist of the Allies extends to all neutral countries, and has met with protest in many of these besides the United States. The total number of boycotted firms exceeds 1,500, as follows: Spain, 167; Brazil, 140; Netherlands, 120; Argentina and Uruguay, 95; Morocco, 88; Portuguese East and West Africa, Guinea, and Rio Muni, 87; Japan, 86; United States, 85; Norway, 83; Portugal, 79; Sweden, 72; Netherlands and East

Indies, 70; Ecuador, 69; Persia, 56; Greece, 50; Philippines, 44; Peru, 41; Chile, 35; Bolivia, 22; Cuba, 10; Central America, 5; Paraguay, 3; Colombia, 1.

The British Government promptly followed its blacklist announcement with modifying explanations, which, though not causing any alteration in the formal protest of the United States, somewhat calmed public opinion in this country. Ambassador Spring-Rice held several conferences with Acting Secretary Polk at Washington, in which he gave assurances that the blacklist did not have the far-reaching application imputed to it; that it would not affect existing contracts, and would not be extended to those who traded with blacklisted firms. The text of the British memorandum on whose strength Sir Cecil Spring-Rice made these statements is in part as follows:

There is no idea of blacklisting a neutral firm merely because it continues to do business with a firm that is blacklisted, but if a neutral firm habitually and systematically acted as cover for a blacklisted firm, cases would be different.

Regarding payments to blacklisted firms, our action does not affect payments by neutrals, and we habitually grant licenses to British firms to pay current debts to blacklisted firms, unless it is clear beyond doubt that such payments would be passed on to or create a credit for enemies in enemy territory.

The United States remains convinced that the Allies' plan of individual boycott is a pernicious mistake, and the British Government's reply to the appended note is awaited with interest.

Text of American Note on British Blacklist

THE United States Government formally protested against the British commercial blacklist in the following note, telegraphed by Frank L. Polk, Acting Secretary of State, to Walter Hines Page, American Ambassador in London:

Department of State,
Washington, July 26, 1916.

You are instructed to deliver to Sir Edward Grey a formal note on the subject of the Enemy Trading act, textually as follows:

"The announcement that his Britannic Majesty's Government has placed the names of certain persons, firms, and corporations in the United States upon a proscriptive 'blacklist' and has forbidden all financial or commercial dealings between them and citizens of Great Britain has been received with the most painful surprise by the people and Government of the United States, and seems to the Government of the United States to embody a policy of arbitrary interference with neutral trade against which it is its duty to protest in the most decided terms.

"The scope and effect of the policy are extraordinary. British steamship companies will not accept cargoes from the proscribed firms or persons or transport their goods to any port, and steamship lines under neutral ownership understand that if they accept freight from them they are likely to be denied coal at British ports and excluded from other privileges which they have usually enjoyed, and may themselves be put upon the blacklist. Neutral bankers refuse loans to those on the list and neutral merchants decline to contract for their goods, fearing a like proscription. It appears that British officials regard the prohibitions of the blacklist as applicable to domestic commercial transactions in foreign countries as well as in Great Britain and her dependencies. for Americans doing business in foreign countries have been put on notice that their dealings with blacklisted firms are to be regarded as subject to veto by the British Government. By the same principle Americans in the United States might be made subject to similar punitive action if they were found dealing with any of their own countrymen whose names had thus been listed.

"The harsh and even disastrous effects of this policy upon the trade of the United States and upon the neutral rights upon which it will not fail to insist are obvious. Upon the list of those proscribed and in effect shut out from the general commerce of the world may be found American concerns which are engaged in large commercial operations as importers of foreign products and materials and as distributers of American products and manufactures to foreign countries and which constitute important channels through which American trade reaches the outside world. Their foreign affiliations may have been fostered for many years, and when once broken cannot easily or promptly be re-established.

"Other concerns may be put upon the list at any time and without notice. It is understood that additions to the proscription may be made 'whenever on account of enemy nationality or enemy association of such persons or bodies of persons it appears to his Majesty expedient to do so.' The possibilities

of undeserved injury to American citizens from such measures, arbitrarily taken, and of serious and incalculable interruptions of American trade are without limit.

"It has been stated on behalf of his Majesty's Government that these measures were aimed only at the enemies of Great Britain and would be adopted and enforced with strict regard to the rights of neutrals and with the least possible detriment to neutral trade; but it is evident that they are inevitably and essentially inconsistent with the rights of the citizens of all the nations not involved in war. The Government of the United States begs to remind the Government of his Britannic Majesty that citizens of the United States are entirely within their rights in attempting to trade with the people or the Governments of any of the nations now at war, subject only to well-defined international practices and understandings which the Government of the United States deems the Government of Great Britain to have too lightly and too frequently disregarded.

"There are well-known remedies and penalties for breaches of blockade, where the blockade is real and in fact effective, for trade in contraband, for every unneutral act by whomsoever attempted. The Government of the United States cannot consent to see those remedies and penalties altered or extended at the will of a single power or group of powers to the injury of its own citizens or in derogation of its own rights. Conspicuous among the principles which the civilized nations of the world have accepted for the safeguarding of the rights of neutrals is the just and honorable principle that neutrals may not be condemned nor their goods confiscated except upon fair adjudication and after an opportunity to be heard in prize courts or elsewhere. Such safeguards the blacklist brushes aside. It condemns without hearing, without notice, and in advance. It is manifestly out of the question that the Government of the United States should acquiesce in such methods or applications of punishment to its citizens.

UNNEUTRAL FIRMS NOT SHIELDED

"Whatever may be said with regard to the legality, in the view of international obligation, of the act of Parliament upon which the practice of the blacklist as now employed by his Majesty's Government is understood to be based, the Government of the United States is constrained to regard that practice as inconsistent with that true justice, sincere amity, and impartial fairness which should characterize the dealings of friendly Governments with one another. The spirit of reciprocal trade between the United States and Great Britain, the privilege long accorded to the nationals of each to come and go with their ships and cargoes, to use each the other's shipping, and be served each by the other's merchants is very seriously impaired by arbitrary and sweeping practices such as this.

"There is no purpose or inclination on the part of the Government of the United States to shield American citizens or business houses in any way from the legitimate consequences of unneutral acts or practices; it is quite willing that they should suffer the appropriate penalties which international law and the usage of nations have sanctioned; but his Britannic Majesty's Government cannot expect the Government of the United States to consent to see its citizens put upon an ex parte blacklist without calling the attention of his Majesty's Government, in the gravest terms, to the many serious consequences to neutral right and neutral relations which such an act must necessarily involve. It hopes and believes that his Majesty's Government, in its natural absorption in a single pressing object of policy, has acted without a full realization of the many undesired and undesirable results that might ensue.

"POLK, Acting."

The Fryatt Case

A British Sea Captain Executed by Germans for Trying to Ram a Submarine

CAPTAIN CHARLES FRYATT, master of the Great Eastern Railway's steamer Brussels, which was captured by German warships on June 23, 1916, and taken to Zeebrugge, was tried by German court-martial at Bruges, Thursday, July 27, condemned to death by shooting, and executed that afternoon. The charge against him was that of attempting to ram the German submarine U-33. At Zeebrugge, when the prisoners were searched, a watch was found on the person of Captain Fryatt, which had been presented to him by the Mayor of Harwich in a public demonstration in honor of this act. The inscription on the watch showed that it was presented to him on account of his successful escape with his steamer from a submarine which he attempted to ram when called upon to surrender. The German authorities, having established his identity by this watch, imprisoned him at Bruges, while the other prisoners were sent to Ruhleben. His trial was brief and ended in his summary execution as a "franc-tireur."

The first news came through a Reuter dispatch from Amsterdam July 28 in a German communiqué, in which the shooting was justified in the following terms:

The accused was condemned to death because, although he was not a member of a combatant force, he made an attempt on the afternoon of March 20, 1915, to ram the German submarine U-33 near the Maas lightship. The accused, as well as the first officer and the chief engineer of the steamer, received at the time from the British Admiralty a gold watch as a reward of his brave conduct on that occasion, and his action was mentioned with praise in the House of Commons.

On the occasion in question, disregarding the U-boat's signal to stop and show his national flag, he turned at a critical moment at high speed on the submarine, which escaped the steamer by a few meters only by immediately diving. He confessed that in so doing he had acted in accordance with the instructions of the Admiralty.

One of the many nefarious franc-tireur proceedings of the British merchant marine against our war vessels has thus found a belated but merited expiation.

The news of the execution created intense indignation in England, and was sternly denounced in neutral countries. It appears that the British Foreign Office had apprehensions of the fate of Captain Fryatt when he was first arrested. On June 28 Sir Edward Grey asked the United States Ambassador at Berlin to ascertain the names of the prisoners on the captured Brussels. Mr. Gerard replied on July 1 that the officers and crew were safe at Ruhleben. On July 18 Sir Edward Grey telegraphed the United States Ambassador as follows:

* * * His Majesty's Government are now in receipt of information to the effect that it is stated in the Telegraaf on the 16th instant that Captain Fryatt of that vessel is to be tried by court-martial at Ghent on the charge of ramming a German submarine, and Sir E. Grey will be greatly obliged if the United States Ambassador at Berlin can be requested by telegraph to be good enough to inquire whether this report is correct.

Sir E. Grey will be grateful if Mr. Gerard's reply can also be communicated by telegraph.

On July 20 Sir Edward again telegraphed Ambassador Gerard:

Sir E. Grey would be greatly obliged if the United States Ambassador at Berlin could be requested by telegraph to take all possible steps to secure the proper defense of Captain Fryatt in the event of the court-martial being held, and if his Excellency could be informed confidentially that his Majesty's Government are satisfied that, in committing the act impugned, Captain Fryatt acted legitimately in self-defense for the purpose of evading capture or destruction.

On July 25 the following was sent, marked "immediate":

Sir E. Grey would be greatly obliged if the United States Ambassador at Berlin could be informed that should the allegations on which the charge against Captain Fryatt is understood to be based be established by evidence, his Majesty's Government are of opinion that his action was perfectly legitimate.

His Majesty's Government consider that the act of a merchant ship in steering for an enemy submarine and forcing her to dive is essentially defensive and precisely on the same footing as the use by a defensively armed vessel of her defensive armament in order to resist capture, which both the United States Government and his Majesty's Government hold to be the exercise of an undoubted right.

The next day the British Foreign Office addressed the American Ambassador at London, prefacing its remarks with a copy of the German communiqué of July 28, and adding:

His Majesty's Government find it difficult to believe that a master of a merchant vessel who, after German submarines adopted the practice of sinking merchant vessels without warning and without regard for the lives of passengers or crew, took a step which appeared to afford the only chance of saving not only his vessel, but the lives of all on board, can have been deliberately shot in cold blood for this action.

If the German Government have in fact perpetrated such a crime in the case of a British subject held prisoner by them, it is evident that a most serious condition of affairs has arisen.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is therefore obliged, on behalf of his Majesty's Government, to request that urgent inquiry be made by the United States Embassy at Berlin whether the report in the press of the shooting of Captain Fryatt is true, in order that his Majesty's Government may have without delay a full and undoubted account of the facts before them.

Mr. Page replied by sending to Sir Edward Grey the following paragraph of a telegram which he had received from Mr. Gerard:

Berlin, July 27, (5 P. M.)

Referring to your telegrams Nos. 821 and 824, I brought the case of Fryatt, Captain of the steamship Brussels, to the attention of the Imperial Foreign Office in writing on the 20th and 22d, and requested an opportunity to engage counsel. A verbal reply was made yesterday, stating that the trial was fixed for today at Bruges. It was added that the Foreign Office had requested a postponement if possible.

I have today received a written reply stating that it is impossible to grant a postponement, inasmuch as German submarine witnesses could not be further detained.

Major Neumann has been appointed by the German authorities to defend Fryatt. He is in civil life an attorney and justizrat.

On July 31 Mr. Asquith, the Premier, made the following statement in the House of Commons:

I deeply regret to say that it appears to be true that Captain Fryatt has been murdered by the Germans. His Majesty's Government have heard with the utmost indignation of this atrocious crime against the law of nations and the usages of war. Coming as it does contemporaneously with the lawless cruelties to the population of Lille and other occupied districts of France, it shows that the German high command have under the stress of military defeat renewed their policy of terrorism. It is impossible to guess to what further atrocities they may proceed. His Majesty's Government, therefore, desire to repeat emphatically that they are resolved that such crimes shall not, if they can help it, go unpunished. When the time arrives they are determined to bring to justice the criminals, whoever they may be, and whatever their station. In such cases as this the man who authorizes the system under which such crimes are committed may well be the most guilty of all. The question of what immediate action should be taken is engaging the earnest consideration of the Government.

Again on Aug. 15, replying to a question, the Premier said:

This country will not tolerate a resumption of diplomatic relations with Germany after the war until reparation is made for the murder of Captain Fryatt. Some of our allies have suffered by brutalities even more gross and on a more extended scale than ourselves by action of the German authorities. We are in consultation with them as to the best, most effective steps to be taken, and as to what conditions should be expected in the terms of peace to secure reparation that will satisfy justice.

A member asked if the Government was "prepared to make a statement that

Emperor William is wanted for willful murder in this case." No answer was returned to this.

The shooting of Captain Fryatt has kindled a flame of hatred toward Germany no less violent than that which followed the execution of Miss Cavell. The act is denounced as judicial murder by all the allied naval and military experts, as well as by the best-informed naval critics in Holland and other neutral countries. On Aug. 10 the German Government issued the following statement in reply to the utterances of English officials on the subject:

It is only too intelligible that the English Government attempts to justify Captain Fryatt's action, for it is itself in a high degree a fellow-culprit. Captain Fryatt, acting as he did, acted only on the advice of his Government.

The British Government's statement intentionally misleads the public. Captain Fryatt did not attempt to forestall an under-water attack, without warning, by the submarine. The U-boat was above water, and signaled to him when above water to stop, according to the international code of naval warfare. Therefore, he did not merely attempt to save the lives of his crew, because they were not endangered. Moreover, on March 28, 1915, Captain Fryatt allowed the submarine, which was approaching his ship for the purposes of examination, to draw up close, so as to ram her suddenly and unexpectedly, his object being to destroy her, and so gain the reward offered by the British Government. This act was not an act of self-defense, but a cunning attack by hired assassins. Captain Fryatt boasted of his action, though happily he failed to attain his object. This was brought home to him during the trial by witnesses from the crew of the submarine in question, whose evidence was against him. The British Parliament believed he had succeeded and praised his conduct, and the British Government rewarded him.

The German War Tribunal sentenced him to death because he had performed an act of war against the German sea forces, although he did not belong to the armed forces of his country. He was not deliberately shot in cold blood without due consideration, as the British Government asserts, but he was shot as a franc-tireur, after calm consideration and thorough investigation. As martial law on land protects the soldiery against assassination, by threatening the offender with the penalty of death, so it protects the members of the sea forces against assassination at sea. Germany will continue to use this law of warfare in order to save her submarine crews from becoming the victims of francs-tireurs at sea.

Naval experts in the United States hold that Captain Fryatt was entitled to be regarded as a prisoner of war and that decisions in American courts upheld his act as an act of a belligerent.

The German Admiralty admit in their Appendix to the Naval Prize Regulations, June 22, 1914, and published Aug. 3, 1914, that the crew of an armed enemy merchant vessel are to be treated as prisoners of war if they resist capture. Thus, if Captain Fryatt's vessel had been armed, had resisted capture, and had later been captured, he would have been treated as a prisoner of war.

But the nature of arms is not designated and Dr. Hans Wehberg, a German international lawyer, does not specify what shall constitute defense, the legality of which he admits, (Das Seekriegsrecht, 1915):

The resistance of enemy merchant ships to capture would be then only not permissible if a rule against this had found common recognition. But in truth no single example can be produced from international precedents in which the States have held resistance as not permissible. Much rather in the celebrated decision of Lord Stowell in the case of the Catharina Elizabeth resistance was declared permissible, and Article 10 of the American Naval War Code takes up the same standpoint. Also by far the greater number of authors and the Institute of International Law share this view.

(Article 12, Paragraph 3 of the Oxford Rules says that it is permissible to public and also private enemy ships to defend themselves against the attack of an enemy ship.)

Also de lege ferenda the prevailing view is to defend. Should great merchant ships worth a million allow themselves to be taken by smaller ships only because the latter comply with the requirements of a so-called warship?

(This consideration also led the Committee of the Institute of International Law to recommend to that body that resistance should be declared permissible. Of the remarks of Rolin-Jaequemyns, Annuaire de l'Institut, XXVI., Page 518 et seq., Page 284.)

The enemy merchant ship has then the right of defense against an enemy attack, and this right he can exercise against visit, for this is indeed the first act of capture. The attacked merchant ship can indeed itself seize the overpowered warship as a prize.

(See also Fiore, Annuaire de l'Institut, XXVI., Page 517, and the prevailing opinion hereon. See Triepel, Zeitschr.f. Volkerrecht a.a.O., Page 285.)

Thus, in the light of German law and

German legal interpretation thereof, Captain Fryatt was acting well within his rights in attempting to ram a hostile submarine. Had he been armed he might have been successful. Even then he would have been a prisoner of war, for the Germans would have been estopped, under their own regulations, from treating him otherwise. As it was, he used the only arm available—his ship. And because he used his ship and not a gun he was tried, convicted, and executed by a court of German naval officers as a "franc-tireur of the sea."

Our Relations with Mexico

LITTLE actual progress toward a settlement of the Mexican question has been made during the month, but the two Governments have exchanged friendly notes and come to a full agreement as to the next step to be taken. The various points at issue, notably Mexico's demand for the withdrawal of our troops and our demand that the border be safeguarded against murderous raids of Mexican outlaws, are to be submitted to a joint commission, consisting of three members from each nation. This plan was definitely proposed by General Carranza in his note of July 11, (presented by Señor Arredondo on July 12,) and was accepted by President Wilson with the suggestion that the powers of the commission be somewhat enlarged. This was answered promptly by General Carranza's appointment of Mexico's three Commissioners:

Luis Cabrera, Minister of Finance in the Carranza Cabinet and former Confidential Agent in Washington for the Carranza Government.

Alberto J. Pani, President of the Mexican National Railways.

Ignacio Bonillas, Sub-Secretary of the Department of Communications.

Some unavoidable delay has occurred in appointing the American members. Meanwhile General Pershing's force remains in Mexico, and the National Guard contingents from all the States continue in their encampments all along our side of the border, where they are receiving nilitary drill under regular army officers and becoming the nucleus of a well-prepared army of defense for future emergencies. The border raids have ceased, at least for the present.

The diplomatic correspondence on the subject begins with the Mexican note of July 11, which harks back to the American note published in the August number of CURRENT HISTORY. It is addressed to Mr. Lansing and reads as follows:

Mexico City, July 11, 1916.

Mr. Secretary: I have had the honor to refer the note of your Excellency, dated the 7th inst., which was transmitted to our Confidential Agent, Eliseo Arredondo, and upon doing so I wish to mention that I have received instructions from the First Chief in charge of the executive power of the Union, suggesting that you convey to his Excellency, President Wilson, the idea of naming three Commissioners to represent each of our Governments to meet in some place of mutual designation, hold conferences and resolve at once the point regarding the definite withdrawal of the American forces now in Mexico, draft a protocol of agreement regarding the reciprocal crossing of forces and investigate the origin of the incursions taking place up to date, so as to be able to ascertain responsibility and arrange definitely the pending difficulties or those that may arise between the two countries in the future, all this to be subject to the approval of both Governments.

The purpose of the Mexican Government is that such conferences shall be held in a spirit of the most frank cordiality and with an ardent desire to reach a satisfactory agreement and one honorable to both countries, with the understanding that if the United States Government accepts the idea hereby suggested this shall be the recommendation made to the Commissioners designated. The Mexican Government considers this the most efficacious medium of reaching a satisfactory solution and hopes the United States will state whether the suggestion is acceptable, in order that it may be immediately put in practice and that the Mexican Government may send the names of its delegates. Assure his Excellency of my highest consideration. C. AGUILAR.

A cordial assent to the proposition was granted in the American reply, which was handed to Señor Arredondo, the Am-

bassador Designate of Mexico at Washington:

Washington, July 28, 1916.

Mr. Secretary: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your Excellency's note transmitted under date of July 12 by Lic. Eliseo Arredondo, your Government's Confidential Agent in Washington, informing me that your Excellency has received instructions from the Citizen First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army charged with the executive power of the Union to propose that each of our Governments name three commissioners, who shall hold conferences at some place to be mutually agreed upon and decide forthwith the question relating to the evacuation of the American forces now in Mexico, and to draw up and conclude a protocol or agreement regarding the reciprocal crossing of the frontier by the forces of both countries, also to determine the origin of the incursion to date, in order to fix the responsibility therefor and definitely to settle the difficulties now pending or those which may arise between the two countries on account of the same or a similar reason; all of which shall be subject to the approval of both Governments.

In reply I have the hónor to state that I have laid your Excellency's note before the President and have received his instructions to inform your Excellency that the Government of the United States is disposed to accept the proposal of the Mexican Government in the same spirit of frank cordiality in which it is made. This Government believes, and suggests, however, that the powers of the proposed commission should be enlarged so that, if happily a solution satisfactory to both Governments of the question set forth in your Excellency's communication may be reached, the commission may also consider such other matters the friendly arrangement of which would tend to improve the relations of the two countries; it being understood that such recommendations as the commission may make shall not be binding upon the respective Governments until formally accepted by them.

Should this proposal be accepted by your Excellency's Government, I have the honor to state that this Government will proceed immediately to appoint its commissioners, and fix, after consultation with your Excellency's Government, the time and place and other details of the proposed conferences.

Accept, Mr. Secretary, the assurances of my highest consideration.

FRANK L. POLK,
Acting Secretary of State.

The response to this was handed to Mr. Polk by Señor Arredondo a week later, the text being as follows:

Mexico City, Aug. 4, 1916.

Mr. Secretary: In due reply to the courteous note of the Department of State, dated July 28, 1916, I have the honor to say to your Excellency that the First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army, in charge of the executive power of the Mexican Republic, congratulates himself upon the laudable efforts of the American Government to arrive at a solution of existing difficulties between the two countries, and, to that effect, considering it of the greatest importance that a prompt decision be reached of the points which have caused the existing differences between the United States and Mexico, referred to in the note of the Mexican Government dated July 4 last, has seen fit to appoint at once a commission of three persons, constituted by Licentiate Luis Cabrera, Engineer Ignacio Bonillas, and Engineer Alberto J. Pani, to whom instructions have been given to devote their attention preferably to the resolution of the points mentioned in the previous note of this department.

Licentiate Eliseo Arredondo has been authorized to treat with the Department of State the matter of details relating to the place and date on which the Commissioners of the Mexican Government should meet the Commissioners of the United States in order to commence their labors.

I reiterate to your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

C. AGUILAR.
Secretary of Foreign Relations.

At the present writing (Aug. 21) the American members of the commission have not yet been appointed, owing to the inability of two of those chosen by President Wilson to serve. The delay has nettled General Carranza, necessitating an informal explanation.

An official decree issued on Aug. 17 by the Mexican Government threatens to add another point of difference between the two countries. It provides that henceforth all foreigners who intend to acquire lands, mines, water rights, oil wells, timber lands, or fisheries must make formal declaration that they renounce their treaty rights and will claim only the same privileges as Mexican citizens. In other words, they must renounce the right to demand protection of their Governments. Authorities on international law regard it as very unlikely that any Government will recognize such a decree.

The Irish Situation

Collapse of the Home Rule Plan—Execution of Sir Roger Casement.

HENRY EDWARD DUKE, a barrister and Unionist member of Parliament for Exeter, was appointed the new Chief Secretary for Ireland on July 31, in succession to Augustine Birrell. Lord Wimborne, who resigned as Lord Lieutenant after the Dublin outbreak, but whose resignation had not been accepted, withdrew it a few days later, and thus the Dublin Castle rule for Ireland, which was to have been abolished by the substitution of an Irish Parliament with the six Ulster counties excluded, was formally set up again.

This announcement was the signal for a fresh outburst of bitter protest from John Redmond, the Nationalist leader, and other Nationalist members. A declaration issued by the Nationalist Party in Parliament declared that its members considered themselves absolved from association with the Coalition Government, and free to oppose it independently in any circumstances.

The debates in the House of Commons on the Irish question were marked by intense bitterness. The Government was freely charged with breach of faith in failing to present the Home Rule bill, and in setting up again the control of Irish affairs at Dublin Castle by a Unionist Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary.

LLOYD GEORGE'S PLAN FAILS

In the House on July 24, Mr. Lloyd George made a frank confession of his failure to reach a settlement. His words, which follow, are in answer to a bitter speech of criticism by John Redmond:

There was a clear understanding between the parties that the Ulster counties should not be automatically included, and that that should be made absolutely clear on the face of the bill (the proposed Home Rule bill.) That is all the Government asked for, and that is the only thing they say at the present moment. The second point is the alteration in the form of the agreement with regard to the number of Irish members. Here I say at once the heads of the settlement have been departed from. The Irish members were to remain in undiminished numbers in this House until a permanent settlement had been carried through and embodied in an Act of Parliament. Mr. Redmond asked me: Why have we departed from that? I will state quite frankly why. It is perfectly true that the suggested alteration was placed before Mr. Redmond after the statement of the Prime Minister. The position was this: The whole of my honorable friends who represent the Unionist Party found it to be quite impossible for them to vote for a proposal which would maintain the Irish members in undiminished numbers in the Imperial Parliament after a general election and after a Home Rule Government had been set up in Ireland. They informed us that if they supported the proposal there would not be a single supporter of it in their own party, and that even members of the Unionist Party who were prepared to agree to bringing Home Rule into operation immediately would object to that particular proposal.

What, therefore, was the alternative proposal? The proposal was that until the dissolution the Irish members should remain in the Imperial Parliament in undiminished numbers; that, after the dissolution the provisions of the Home Rule act should come into operation, but that the Irish members should be summoned to the Imperial Parliament in undiminished numbers whenever the Imperial Parliament came to consider a permanent settlement.

The objection raised by the Unionist members to the proposal was this: They said Home Rule for three-fourths of Ireland would have come into operation, and that after dissolution, if the Irish members were here in undiminished numbers, it might make the difference between, say, a Liberal and a Unionist Government.

They considered that to be perfectly unfair from the point of view of the ideas which they represent, and they stated quite distinctly that it would be impossible for them to assent to it. Therefore, we were face to face with the fact that the agreement could not be put through without that modification.

The Government are in a position to introduce a measure for bringing the Home Rule act into immediate operation for all the counties of Ireland except six. The powers of the Home Rule act in respect of that part of Ireland will be absolutely unimpaired except in regard to the Court of Appeal. Mr. Redmond says if there is any attempt to force the bill with these modifications upon Irish members they will resist it—that they will not merely resist these provisions, but they

FIELD MARSHAL PAUL VON HINDENBURG

German General Recently Placed in Supreme Command of all Forces of the Central Powers on the Eastern Front.

ADMIRAL REINHARD SCHEER

German Vice Admiral Who Commanded the Kaiser's Fleets in the Battle of the Skagerrak, and Who Was Made a Full Admiral Immediately Afterward.

(Photo from Central News Service.)

will resist the whole bill. If that is the view of Irish members it would be idle for the Government to bring in a bill for bringing Home Rule into immediate operation under any conditions. I deeply regret it. I think it is a disaster. Honorable members know their difficulties, which are undoubtedly very great. But at the same time I wish that they could have seen their way. Let them believe that it would be imposible for us to attempt to bring the Home Rule act into operation during the war except under those conditions.

I consulted the Prime Minister in respect of every turn and every move of the negotiations. I can say on my conscience that we have done our best. We have failed. I regret it in my heart. I have been for twenty-six years a member of this House and I was elected on Home Rule. The contest was fought on Home Rule in a constituency which cared perhaps far more for Disestablishment than anything else. I have had differences of opinion with my honorable friends from Ireland on many points, but on one point I have never had any difference, I have voted consistently for every proposal to give self-government to Ireland. I still believe at this moment that you cannot govern a high-spirited and courageous race—and not even the bitterest opponents of Home Rule will deny those qualities to the Irish people—against their will. You cannot govern them except with their consent. I regret from the bottom of my heart these misunderstandings, failures to get consent. * * * But the Government ought not to, and will not, force this proposal upon them.

TWO STUMBLING BLOCKS

On July 28 Mr. Lloyd George gave the following statement to The Associated Press:

There were two points on which there was disagreement at the end of the negotiations. One dealt with the means by which the exclusion of the six Ulster counties was to continue or to be brought to an end. This, to my view, although I believe Mr. Redmond differs on that point, was less a matter of substance than of words. The Nationalists agreed it was impossible that the Ulster counties should be coerced into an Irish Parliament. It was understood that when they were willing to come in no one would seek to keep them out. Their exclusion for the present would not have affected in the slightest degree the full powers given to the Nationalist part of Ireland under the Home Rule act. The question of their coming in voluntarily afterward could have been decided when it had been seen how home rule was working out.

The second point was connected with Irish representation at Westminster. It is not unnatural that the Unionists contended that Ireland is proportionately over-represented in the House of Commons, and that it would not have been fair, either to the portion of Ireland remaining outside of the home rule scheme or to the other parts of the British Isles, to have retained such a full representation of Irish constituencies in the Commons after the larger part of Ireland had a Parliament of its own to settle its domestic affairs. However, the scheme of settlement proposed stated in so many words that when Irish affairs were to be discussed in the London Parliament the full Irish representation should be called to participate as before the existence of the Irish Parliament.

Although the re-establishment of executive rule in Ireland at Dublin Castle indicates that home rule has been abandoned, the idea persists that the Nationalists may yet be brought about to accept the Lloyd George proposals and a truce proclaimed until the Imperial Conference of all the self-governing dominions after the war can permanently settle the Irish question.

THE SINN FEIN REBELLION

The report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the causes of the Irish revolt was made public July 4, 1916. The following were the conclusions:

It is outside the scope of your Majesty's instructions to us to inquire how far the policy of the Irish executive was adopted by the Cabinet as a whole, or to attach responsibility to any but the civil and military executive in Ireland; but the general conclusion that we draw from the evidence before us is that the main cause of the rebellion appears to be that lawlessness was allowed to grow up unchecked, and that Ireland for several years past has been administered on the principle that it was safer and more expedient to leave law in abeyance if collision with any faction of the Irish people could thereby be avoided.

Such a policy is the negation of that cardinal rule of Government which demands that the enforcement of law and the preservation of order should always be independent of political expediency.

IMPORTATION OF ARMS

We consider that the importation of large quantities of arms into Ireland after the lapse of the Arms act, and the toleration of drilling by large bodies of men, first in Ulster and then in other districts of Ireland, created conditions which rendered possible the recent troubles in Dublin and elsewhere.

It appears to us that reluctance was shown by the Irish Government to repress by prosecution written and spoken seditious utterances, and to suppress the drilling and manoeuvring of armed forces known to be under the control of men who were openly declaring

their hostility to your Majesty's Government and their readiness to welcome and assist your Majesty's enemies.

This reluctance was largely prompted by the pressure brought to bear by the Parliamentary representatives of the Irish people, and in Ireland itself there developed a widespread belief that no repressive measures would be undertaken by the Government against sedition. This led to a rapid increase of preparations for insurrection and was the immediate cause of the recent outbreak.

We are of opinion that from the commencement of the present war all seditious utterances and publications should have been firmly suppressed at the outset, and if juries or magistrates were found unwilling to enforce this policy further powers should have been invoked under the existing acts for the defense of the realm.

We are also of opinion that on the outbreak of war all drilling and manoeuvring by unrecognized bodies of men, whether armed or unarmed, should have been strictly prohibited, and that as soon as it became known to the Irish Government that the Irish Volunteers and the Citizen Army were under the control of men prepared to assist your Majesty's enemies if the opportunity should be offered to them, all drilling and open carrying of arms by these bodies of men should have been forcibly suppressed.

It does not appear to be disputed that the authorities in the Spring of 1916, while believing that the seditious bodies would not venture unaided to break into insurrection, were convinced that they were prepared to assist a German landing.

We are further of opinion that at the risk of a collision early steps should have been taken to arrest and prosecute leaders and organizers of sedition.

MR. BIRRELL'S RESPONSIBILITY

For the reasons before given, we do not think that any responsibility rests upon the Lord Lieutenant. He was appointed in February, 1915, and was in no way answerable for the policy of the Government.

We are, however, of the opinion that the Chief Secretary as the administrative head of your Majesty's Government in Ireland is primarily responsible for the situation that was allowed to arise and the outbreak that occurred.

Sir Matthew Nathan assumed office as Under Secretary to the Irish Government in September, 1914, only. In our view he carried out with the utmost loyalty the policy of the Government, and of his immediate superior the Chief Secretary, but we consider that he did not sufficiently impress upon the Chief Secretary during the latter's prolonged absences from Dublin the necessity for more active measures to remedy the situation in Ireland, which on Dec. 18 last in a letter to the Chief Secretary he described as "most serious and menacing."

We are satisfied that Sir Neville Chamberlain, the Inspector General of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and Colonel Edgeworth-Johnstone, the Chief Commissioner of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, required their subordinates to furnish, and did receive from their subordinates, full and exact reports as to the nature, progress, and aims of the various armed associations in Ireland. From these sources the Government had abundant material on which they could have acted many months before the leaders themselves contemplated any actual rising.

For the conduct, zeal, and loyalty of the Royal Irish Constabulary and the Dublin Metropolitan Police we have nothing but praise.

We do not attach any responsibility to the military authorities in Ireland for the rebellion or its results. As long as Ireland was under civil government those authorities had nothing to do with the suppression of sedition. Their duties were confined to securing efficiency in their own ranks and to the promotion of recruiting, and they could only aid in the suppression of disorder when duly called on by the civil power. By the middle of 1915 it was obvious to the military authorities that their efforts in favor of recruiting were being frustrated by the hostile activities of the Sinn Fein supporters, and they made representations to the Government to that effect. The general danger of the situation was clearly pointed out to the Irish Government by the military authorities, on their own initiative, in February last, but the warning fell on unheeding ears.

GENERAL MAXWELL'S REPORT

General Sir John Maxwell, who was in charge of the military operations in Ireland, submitted his report May 25; it was made public in July. The summary of his report follows:

(1) The rebellion began by Sinn Feiners, presumably acting under orders, shooting in cold blood certain soldiers and policemen. Simultaneously they took possession of various important buildings and occupied houses along the routes in the City of Dublin which were likely to be used by troops taking up posts.

(2) Most of the rebels were not in any uniform, and by mixing with peaceful citizens made it almost impossible for the troops to distinguish between friend and foe until fire was opened.

(3) In many cases troops having passed along a street seemingly occupied by harmless people were suddenly fired upon from behind from windows and roof tops. Such were the conditions when reinforcements commenced to arrive in Dublin.

SNIPING WAS CONTINUOUS

(4) Whilst fighting continued under conditions at once so confused and so trying, it is possible that some innocent citizens were shot. It must be remembered that the

struggle was in many cases of a house-to-house character, that sniping was continuous and very persistent, and that it was often extremely difficult to distinguish between those who were or had been firing upon the troops and those who had for various reasons chosen to remain on the scene of the fighting, instead of leaving the houses and passing through the cordons.

(5) The number of such incidents that has been brought to notice is very insignificant.

(6) Once the rebellion started the members of the Dublin Metropolitan Police—an unarmed uniformed force—had to be withdrawn, or they would have been mercilessly shot down, as, indeed, were all who had the bad luck to meet the rebels. In their absence a number of the worst elements of the city joined the rebels and were armed by them. The daily record of the Dublin Magistrates' Court proves that such looting as there was was done by such elements.

(7) There have been numerous incidents of deliberate shooting on ambulances and those courageous people who voluntarily came out to tend to the wounded. The City Fire Brigade, when turned out in consequence of incendiary fires, were fired on and had to retire.

(8) As soon as it was ascertained that the rebels had established themselves in various centres, the first phase of operations was conducted with a view to isolate them by forming a cordon of troops round each.

(9) To carry out this streets were selected, along which the cordon could be drawn. Some of these streets, for instance, North King Street, were found to be strongly held, rebels occupying the roofs of houses, upper windows, and strongly constructed barricades.

(10) Artillery fire was only used to reduce the barricades, or against a particular house known to be strongly held.

(11) The troops suffered severe losses in establishing these cordons, and, once established, the troops were subjected to a continuous fire from all directions, especially at night time, and invariably from persons concealed in houses.

LOSSES AMONG THE TROOPS.

(12) To give an idea of the opposition offered to his Majesty's troops in the execution of their duty, the following losses occurred:

	Killed.	Wounded.
Officers	17	46
Other ranks	89	288

(13) I wish to draw attention to the fact that, when it became known that the leaders of the rebellion wished to surrender, the officers used every endeavor to prevent further bloodshed; emissaries were sent in to the various isolated bands, and time was given them to consider their position.

(14) I cannot imagine a more difficult situation than that in which the troops were placed; most of those employed were draft-finding battalions, or young Territorials from England, who had no knowledge of Dublin.

(15) The surrenders, which began on April 30, were continued until late on May 1, during which time there was a considerable amount of isolated sniping.

(16) Under the circumstances related above I consider the troops as a whole behaved with the greatest restraint, and carried out their disagreeable and distasteful duties in a manner which reflects the greatest credit on their discipline.

(17) Allegations on the behavior of the troops brought to my notice are being most carefully inquired into. I am glad to say they are few in number, and these are not all borne out by direct evidence.

(18) Numerous cases of unarmed persons killed by rebels during the outbreak have been reported to me. As instances, I may select the following for your information:

J. Brien, a constable of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, was shot while on duty at Castle Gate on April 24. On the same day another constable of the same force named M. Lahiff was shot while on duty at St. Stephen's Green. On April 25 R. Waters of Recess, Monkstown, County Dublin, was shot at Mount Street Bridge while being driven into Dublin by Captain Scovell, R. A. M. C.

All these were unarmed, as was Captain Scovell. In the last case the car was not challenged or asked to stop.

(19) I wish to emphasize that the responsibility for the loss of life, however it occurred, the destruction of property and other losses, rests entirely with those who engineered this revolt, and who, at a time when the empire is engaged in a gigantic struggle, invited the assistance and co-operation of the Germans.

CASEMENT'S TRAGIC END

The melancholy tragedy of Sir Roger Casement, one of the moving spirits in the Irish revolt, ended with his death on the gallows for high treason. He was hanged at Pentonville Prison at 9 o'clock Thursday morning, Aug. 3. He was executed in his own clothes, but was not permitted to wear a collar. A Roman Catholic priest ministered to him during his last moments, and led the procession to the scaffold. Casement had been brought up in the Protestant faith, but became a convert to Roman Catholicism after his trial and took his first communion the morning of his death.

Two hours before the execution a crowd of men and women gathered before the prison gates, and when the prison bell announced that the trap had been sprung there was a mocking, jeering yell from

the crowd; but, elsewhere, behind the prison, thirty Irish men and women were assembled, and when the clang of the bell announced that the doomed man had paid the penalty, they fell on their knees and remained thus for some minutes in silent prayer.

Earnest efforts were made to secure a commutation of Sir Roger Casement's sentence. The Senate of the United States passed a resolution asking that clemency be exercised. Pope Benedict also interceded in his behalf, and an impressive petition to this effect was presented, signed by the most distinguished Catholic and Protestant clergymen and laymen of the United Kingdom.

The British Government, through Lord Robert Cecil, issued the following formal statement regarding the execution:

No doubt of Casement's guilt exists. No one doubts that the court and jury arrived at the right verdict. The only ground for a reprieve would be political expediency, a difficult ground to put forward in this country. This country never could strain the law to punish a man for the same reason that it could not strain the law to let one off.

The Irish rebellion began with the murder of unarmed people, both soldiers and police. No grievance justified it, and it was purely a political movement organized by a small section of Irish people who still hate England and were assisted by Germany. There was and is in this country the greatest possible indignation against these people. There is no doubt that Casement did everything possible to assist this rebellion in co-operation with the Germans. There can be no doubt that he was moved by enmity for this country. The contention that he landed in Ireland for the purpose of preventing the rebellion is demonstrably false. No such assertion was made by counsel at the trial.

Casement was much more malignant and hostile to this country than were the leaders of the rising, who were caught with arms in their hands. He visited military prisons in Germany with the intention of persuading Irish soldiers to throw off their allegiance. All sorts of promises were made for the improvement of the conditions of these men to induce them to join the Irish legion. An enormous majority thus approached refused and thereafter were subjected to increased hardships by the Germans. From among these Irish soldiers a number have since been repatriated as hopeless invalids, and they subsequently died. They looked upon Casement as their murderer.

Nor is there any ground, public or private, so far as we know, which can be quoted in mitigation of Casement's crime, and I do not think any Government doing its duty could interfere with the sentence which has been passed on him.

Irishmen throughout the world expressed deep indignation in that the sentence was not commuted. The American press generally advocated that course very strongly.

MAGAZINISTS ON WAR THEMES

What Is Militarism?

By the Editor of The London Times' Literary Supplement

WE have all been talking for a long time about militarism, especially Prussian militarism; but it is not even now too late to ask what we mean by it, because many people seem to think that it cannot be separated from its epithet Prussian; in fact, that it is bad because it is Prussian, and because the Prussians are bad. But the Prussians have just as much right to be militarist as any other nation. We must not be misled by their conviction that they are necessarily saved into a belief that they are necessarily damned. There was a time when Frederick the Great was to the English people the Protestant Hero. They admired in him just what we condemn now in the modern Prussian; but they called it by a different name. So there are people in England now who really do admire the Prussian state of mind; at least, they would admire it if it were English. It seems to them wrong in the Prussians only because they are Prussians, just as it seems to the Prussians themselves right because they are Prussians. Such people, whether Prussians or English, are not capable of thinking clearly about militarism at all.

The first thing to be said against militarism is that it is a kind of national hypochondria. Just as the hypochondriac sees life in terms of death, sees it as a perpetual effort to avoid death, so the militarist sees peace in terms of war, sees it as a perpetual effort to avoid defeat in war. Now the Prussian, we must confess, has some excuse for his hypochondria. He is like a man who has actually suffered from a very serious illness. It is a hundred years and more ago that Prussia was conquered and dismembered and almost destroyed by Napoleon. But a shock of that kind stays long in a national memory. Further, all the romance of Prussian history has gathered around the Prussian struggle for freedom; at least, for what the Prussian calls freedom. That struggle is the great achievement of Prussia, the only one of which she can be morally proud. The rest of her history is, in the main, flat burglary. Even then she was fighting only for herself; but she did fight in such a way that she seemed to the rest of the world worth fighting for. Unfortunately she was confirmed then in a belief which she had held before, that her sole national function was to fight for herself, and even when she was not fighting to conceive of peace in terms of war.

Needless to say, there is some excuse for her, apart from Jena and its consequences. No one has ever liked Prussia; she has always been geographically weak, and therefore has always wished to make herself geographically stronger at the expense of some one else. She is like a self-made man, and one who has made himself by ruthless competition, at first with other little tradesmen, and afterward as a huge joint stock company. Such a man, especially if he has been once bankrupt and several times very near bankruptcy, sees all life as a struggle for life; and that is how Prussia sees it. That is why she is militarist; and she can make out a case why she should be militarist.

Even before the war, when she was at the height of her strength, she was still thinking of her weak frontier; she had persuaded herself that she was afraid of the Russian peril. History, according to her notion of it, consisted of an incessant and inevitable struggle between the Teuton and the Slav; and the moment had come when the Teuton must get his blow in first if he was not to be overcome later. The Prussian says that he is fighting in self-defense; we say that he is fighting to dominate Europe; but

the difference between us is not so great as it seems; for, according to the Prussian idea, he will never be safe until he dominates Europe; and he has a right to dominate Europe because other nations will not let him alone. If they would let him alone he would be an innocent lamb.

This state of mind is not confined to Prussia; and there is always some excuse for it, just as there is some excuse for the perpetual fears and precautions of the hypochondriac. Men do fall ill and die, and we must all die some day; and nations do attack each other, they do rise and fall; and, so far as we know, they are all subject sooner or later to an inevitable process of decay. But the Prussians have been more hypochondriacal—that is to say, more militarist—than any other people. That which is in other nations an occasional weakness is with them an obsession, so that they have become quite unable to distinguish between real and imaginary dangers. There is always a hypochondriacal faction in every country; but in Prussia that faction is the nation; and, as to the private hypochondriac the doctor is a priest, so the officer is a priest to every Prussian.

For the Frenchman or the Englishman there are many and diverse romances in life; and his country means to him many different things. But for the Prussian there is only one romance, a sick-room romance of war and victory; and his country means to him his army. That is his one achievement, and whatever else he does well is subordinate to it. The Prussians, as nobody can deny, have a great power of organization; but even that is a part of their hypochondria. They organize their country as a hypochondriac of strong will and methodical habits organizes his life. He may learn to play golf well or to walk far and fast; but he has learned it all to keep himself in health; and so the Prussians have organized themselves better, perhaps, than any other people, but always with an eye to war. And the aim of their organization is not freedom or a full, rich life, but victory in that war which they are always expecting. They protest, and truly, that they have not in the last century made war so often as some other nations. So a hypochondriac might say that he has not been ill so often as some more healthy-minded persons.

But the Prussians more than other nations have thought about war and have organized themselves for war; they have behaved always as if war could be the only end of their relations with the rest of the world; and they have at intervals willed war and made it more ruthlessly than any other people. Often they have got their way without war, because other nations knew how well they were prepared for it and that they would make it without scruple if they could not get their way otherwise. So they might say that their method has been justified, that it has, in fact, insured peace, if it were not that the effect of this method has been cumulative.

The whole of Europe has known for many years that the Prussians would make war whenever they thought that the moment for it had come. They were always aware of the mailed fist even when it was disguised in the velvet glove. Elsewhere there were squabbles and threats of war; but the bark of other nations was worse than their bite. And all the while Prussia was waiting to bite, because she alone of all the nations had no desire for a permanent peace, no belief that it was possible. She infected the rest of Germany with her hypochondria, and she might infect the whole world if she got any advantage in this war. For the power of hypochondria lies in the fact that there is always some reason for it.

The Prussians can make out a case for themselves and for every brutal act they have committed in this war. There is no way of proving that they are wrong by absolute logic. It all depends whether you hope or fear most from life. The militarist fears most, and so any events which make the nations fear make them also militarist. And they are tempted to militarism most of all by an event so large and so disagreeable that it affects their whole conception of the nature of life, such as the Prussian victory in 1870. Then it seemed that a nation which organized itself for war, and willed war at

the moment best suited to its own purposes, had the very gods on its side. Then there was in England and all over the world a real admiration of Prussia and a belief, expressed by Carlyle, that the Prussians were God's chosen people. Compared with them other nations seemed to lack purpose and faith. As for France, she was frivolous and corrupt, and God had given judgment against her at Sedan.

The whole world began to believe that Prussia was illustrating the Darwinian theory, that by her victories she was proving herself to be the fittest of all nations to survive, and that other nations must imitate both her actions and her way of thinking, if they were not to be destroyed by the wrath of God, or the cosmic process, or whatever name was given to that power which was supposed to support and even to sanctify the Prussian method. In fact, the mind of Europe was darkened by the Prussian victory, and the hopes of Europe, even when they still seemed to be hopes, had become fears. It seemed to all the nations that they had been living too easily, that they had deluded themselves about the nature of the universe. All those things with which they had concerned themselves, such as freedom, equality, art, philosophy, were luxuries, and dangerous luxuries, in the world as it was. Their proper concern was their own existence, which was necessarily and rightly threatened by other nations and would be destroyed by any other nation which, like Prussia, had a superior sense of reality.

Everywhere there spread a belief that organization and efficiency were the highest virtues in a nation; and this meant always organization and efficiency directed against other nations. It was not that things were to be done well for the sake of doing them well; but that they were to be done well with an eye to that incessant war which, whether open or disguised, must always be carried on between the nations. The Prussians were perhaps the only people in Europe who actually enjoyed this view of life. They felt that a universe in which the struggle for life was the supreme fact was perfectly suited to their peculiar faculties. They were to themselves the best scholars in that ugly school and sure to take all the prizes. Other peoples did not like the prospect, but it seemed to them full of unwelcome truth. If they were to survive they must learn from Prussia; and for fifty years they have been learning from her.

But now we are beginning to see that she had learned her lesson too well; that she has, in fact, reduced it to an absurdity. The rest of Europe, even if it thought a struggle inevitable, tried to put it off. Prussia, sure that she must win in that struggle, refused to delay it. And this refusal, this utter faith in her unlovely doctrine, has produced a combination against her, a counterfaith stronger than her own. In what seemed to her the moment of triumph, for which she had prepared with such fanatical diligence, it has threatened her with a danger that she never bargained for, with a diligence and a fanaticism at least equal to her own. Now we see, and she must see soon, that the actual facts of human nature are against her.

Men are of such a nature that they will not endure the Prussian theory of life when it is thoroughly and ruthlessly practiced. They will not endure a nation that lives for the struggle for life. That is the lesson of this war, if only we have the wit to learn it. It is that militarism does not protect the nation which is most thoroughly militarist, that the greater the triumphs of militarism the more certainly they produce a state of mind in the victors which, dangerous to the rest of the world, is more dangerous still to themselves. Disasters may come to the nation which trusts too much in righteousness. They are nothing to the disasters which come to the nation that trusts altogether in unrighteousness.

But there is a danger, in all the exasperation and strain of this conflict, that we shall ignore this most obvious lesson, that we ourselves shall catch the Prussian disease from our enemies. And no talk about Prussian militarism will preserve us from that disaster. Nothing will preserve us from it except a clear understanding of the nature of militar-

ism and of the fact that it is ultimately based upon fear, not upon hope; that it is hypochondria, not health. This is a dangerous world, and the only way to safety in it for nations, as for individuals, is to live dangerously. Prussia has tried to live safely, and she has been more threatened in her national existence than any other nation. She has trusted in herself rather than in righteousness because righteousness seemed too dangerous to her. The lesson of the present war is that it is safer at last to trust in righteousness. But that is a lesson which all Europe as well as Prussia has yet to learn, and the war will have been a ghastly waste of all good things unless it teaches that lesson, unless it is known in history as the event which refuted all the heresies of 1870.

England's Purpose Regarding Germany

By Dr. Paul Rohrbach

Noted German Publicist

Dr. Rohrbach is the author of a new brochure on the war, entitled "Der Deutsche Krieg," in which he elaborates this latest German view of England's policy.

DURING the negotiations that preceded the war were England's concessions in the matter of the African colonies and the Bagdad railway a mere mask? These concessions were far-reaching and undoubtedly created an excellent impression in Germany. It was clear that, at any rate, a portion of the British Government did not believe in a German attack, and it was clear that the German Chancellor had begun to trust England. * * * It is one thing to come to terms with a Germany which feels itself under the pressure of its Continental position with France in the west and Russia in the east, but it is quite another matter to arrange things with a Germany victorious over France and Russia, and not obliged to consider them. The Britisher felt that in the latter case nothing could prevent Germany, with the money she would force from France, from building a fleet equal in power to that of England. There was nothing to prevent Germany from presenting Italy with French North Africa, and in this way making an Italian sea of the Mediterranean. England was faced with this question, Will the future give birth to a Germany which will be in a position to oust England from her predominant position? England decided this question affirmatively, and took her fatal decision.

England was always in a position at any time to prevent the war. All she had to do was to tell Russia that the mobilization of the Russian armies against Germany would not be followed by the participation of England in the war. Had England taken this attitude there would have been no war.

Instead of this England satisfied herself in Petrograd with undecided and half-hearted notes and negotiations, and as the Russian Government, which desired war, determined not to listen to the British advice, such as it was, the catastrophe was inevitable.

England's aim in this war is by no means to destroy Germany as a great power on the Continent. All England wishes to destroy is German competition in trade and the German fleet, mercantile and naval. In England it is considered possible to deprive Germany of her fleet without impairing her land power. It is regarded as in the best interests of England to give Germany enough military power to cope with France and Russia should these powers rise again and assert themselves. It would have been wiser for England had she arranged to accept our victory as inevitable and secured herself for the future. But England did not agree to this. She preferred to fight for the continued supremacy of England on the oceans and beyond them. Good. * * * Experts

were right when they expected the troops of the English Regular Army to show excellent fighting value. There is no doubt that the French would have been broken in the first storm had not their left wing been strengthened by the British, not only numerically, but still more in solid fighting power. In the decisive hour of the early campaign, and to a large extent, also, today, the British form the backbone of the enemy's resistance. This must be candidly admitted.

Central Europe—Central Africa

By Dr. Paul Leutwein

This article was written for the Europäische Staats- und Wirtschafts-Zeitung by one of the younger German authorities on colonial politics and economics, who spent much of his early life in Africa and enjoys considerable prestige among his countrymen.

SERIOUS discussion of the proposed economic union of the Central Powers is in full swing, thanks to the energetic action of the Central European societies. By means of his many-sided and illuminating book, "Central Europe," Friedrich Naumann has spread the idea so well that we may already speak of it as the popular thing in the two empires. "Central Europe" has already become a slogan, though it is by no means always understood in its complete significance.

Despite the fact that the pressure of the times has forced both empires to play the joint rôle of the "closed commercial State" in an economic sense, there are still a great many business men who cannot conceive of a victory over domestic frictions, because of their fear of new tasks. Others lack the historical spirit that would teach them out of the history of the German Tariff Union how the effect of an economic union on the broadest kind of a basis is full of unexpected blessings and how all domestic struggles are put aside, as if automatically. They also lack that intuitive thought by which our Friedrich List was enabled to see the brilliant economic and political development of Germany through a protective tariff and a uniform railroad system fifty years beforehand. Others, again, halt at the notion of a "solid commercial State," as they seem to believe that the period of practical proof in a politico-economic sense will then be followed by an autarchy of the broadest kind. These persons shall receive my attention, as it is necessary to show them that an economic Central Europe is not the absolute end, but is solely intended to form a doubly powerful factor in the future struggle for international commerce by the allied powers.

The problem of Central Europe, with its extension to Bulgaria and Turkey, is being brought to the front almost too much, especially from the German side. The South German who knows the feelings our grandfathers entertained toward Prussia will easily understand that the laudable intention is liable to misinterpretations, especially on the part of those of our allies who, like Turkey, are the least ripe for the thought of economic union, and are, besides, accustomed to regard such deals as somewhat violent attempts at opening up their territory by the advanced States. It must be made clear to them that the German friend regards their interests the same as his own, and that he is by no means striving, because of the feeling of his present isolation, spasmodically to obtain in allied lands territory producing the raw material, the lack of which he must feel at present.

The most effective way to allay such apprehensions is by the avowal that Germany is by no means inclined to place all hopes for her economic future upon the Central European economic union alone, and that, as before, she holds fast to the plan of creating her own fields for the production of the raw material that she needs; that, in a word, Germany will

keep her eyes upon the colonial problem in connection with international commerce as well as upon that of Central Europe.

What raw materials are most needed by our country in war and peace has been revealed to us with desirable clearness by the long period of isolation. I mention cotton, rubber, copper, rice, corn, fibres, and the luxuries, tobacco and coffee, from the viewpoint of taxation; and, finally, the fat and oil producing plants. To what extent the latter were used we see by the shortage of vegetable butter, oils, soaps, cosmetics, and stuff for fodder. Purely tropical growths, such as palms, sesames, and earthnuts supplied us with these important materials in such increasing measure that already before the war people spoke of the Central European market's hunger for oil. And Austria-Hungary needs these products no less than we. It is true that progressive Bulgaria will enter the field as a purveyor in many respects, but, because of its limited territory, only on a modest scale. The matter of the supply of grain and animal products is an open question. It is certain that Russia, out of vital self-interest, will again appear as a seller, and perhaps the war has brought about a permanent reduction in the exaggerated needs of our people in this respect.

What, then, do we really expect from Turkey? We expect that after the war she will devote her best efforts to her economic development, either by the use of her own forces or through the wise attraction and employment of capable brains and capital from Central Europe. What Turkey expects from us, on the other hand, is patience and the respect of her right to choose her own destiny. Turkish sensitiveness in this matter, although rather exaggerated, is, as has already been indicated, entirely comprehensible. Now, political economy is the weak side of Turkey, and on the other hand she is accustomed to regard herself as a political factor of importance. Anybody who bears in mind the fact that Asiatic Turkey, three times as large as Germany, with about 17,000,000 inhabitants and scarcely 4,000 kilometers of railroads, without fully developed interior waterways, is still a country whose imports, both in the industrial and agricultural field, far exceed its exports, or, in other words, is behind the more progressive colonies, will perceive that a great gap yawns between domestic economy and politics. A gap the closing of which was rather hindered than helped by the many attempts at development made by the powers of the Quadruple Entente, attempts that were conflicting and combined with all sorts of political aims. This is realized by the rulers of the Turkish State, and consequently they need time to collect their thoughts in order to work out their own salvation.

Furthermore, we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that a great many important raw materials must be obtained from territory outside of the administration of our friends. On the other hand, we dare not simply count on the revival of international trade along the old lines after the war. It is true that the movement toward an economic union within the Quadruple Entente is apparently not making much progress. But within the British Empire the firm desire has been shown for a customs union, with the mother land going over to protection. It has also been shown that this dangerously tenacious and arrogant opponent is determined, either to decide the war in its favor in a political sense, or, following the cessation of hostilities, to continue it in the economic field until one side is exhausted. This makes it necessary for Germany to make herself as strong as possible in the matter of home production, both for her own needs and for purposes of international trade.

The combining of these ideas in the term Central Africa merely signifies that the efforts of our colonial circles are being concentrated more and more in this direction. And they ought to be centred that way, for in Central Africa are found our two most important colonies in the matter of tropical products that enter into international commerce, and whose reacquisition is constantly being emphasized in competent circles. There, in a mighty and uniform territory washed by the waters of two oceans, not only may all economic hopes be realized, but

also the best conditions be found regarding the ability of defense by our colonies that will be so important in the future. We shall not cite statistics here to prove this. They are to be found in a number of treatises on the colonies, including one by this writer. Besides, we shall not take into account those who insist upon the reacquisition of all our former colonial empire for national reasons. Who, indeed, does not sympathize with their ideas? But we are as yet unable to say by means of what pawns we shall make good our claims in the face of our principal opponents in the colonial field. As yet we do not even know for sure whether the idea of German Central Africa can be realized. What we do know, however, and what the Imperial Chancellor emphasized in his last speech, is that we need a strong colonial empire and that, following a well-thought-out plan, we must strive for its acquisition in the peace negotiations. In a word, we are opportunely and genuinely prepared, under any circumstances.

I already hear the voices of those who, because of the difficulties involved, do not care to understand this amplification of the problem of Central Europe. Of course, I am aware of these difficulties. We need a unified system of water and rail communication with Austria-Hungary, and yet we have no supreme authority over the traffic within our own economic realm. The most important inland water highway of the coming Central Europe, the Danube, still awaits, under special difficulties, the work of dredging. Another chapter that has been hardly touched is the matter of the regulation of the unity of exchange. And these are only the most essential technical points preceding the real task of creating a customs union. All these, however, have nothing to do with the notion of international colonial commerce. The latter is, on the contrary, a much simpler and a purely German problem, but something that, taken in connection with Central Europe, is calculated to facilitate Germany's negotiations with her allies. It is to be hoped that the latter will recognize the fact that Germany is by no means obliged to come to an agreement with them.

I do not believe that the champions of the Central European tariff union, guided by considerations of international commerce, have overlooked the questions raised here. They understand what is meant when I say that if Central Europe should come to nothing we should need Central Africa all the more, and that we must never think of Central Europe without Central Africa, unless we wish to regard Germany's future tasks from a one-sided point of view.

Japan and the United States

By Dr. Kurt Eduard Imberg

The following article, consisting of excerpts from a treatise written for the Europäische Staats- und Wirtschafts-Zeitung of Berlin, is an example of how the so-called Japanese-American problem is regarded by many German publicists.

WHILE in Europe the entire question of international politics seems centred in the mighty conflict of nations the world power of the Far East is taking steps to fish in troubled waters and to avail herself of the favorable moment, in which all the European powers interested in Eastern Asia are tearing each other to pieces, to realize without much expense the plans and dreams she has been cherishing for years. For years the little yellow man of Nippon has been casting longing glances toward the Asiatic Continent and still further out over the Pacific Ocean, with the isles and islets that form the bridge to the longed-for west coast of America. * * *

As long ago as the late '60s William H. Seward, at that time Secretary of State of the United States, declared that the Pacific Ocean would be the principal

stage upon which the great events of the coming century would be played. The hour for the fulfillment of this prophecy is constantly coming nearer, and the clash of the white and the yellow races in a battle for the rulership of this ocean is inevitable. Here the United States of America will have to play the principal rôle on the side of the white race. It will be obliged to take up the struggle in order to call a halt to the further advance of the aspiring Japanese world power. * * *

There are two matters that have become of particular weight in the American-Japanese question. One is the jeopardizing of the interests of American trade in China, and the other the Japanese imperialism directed toward the East that finds its main expression in the immigration and Mexican questions. When we study the Asiatic policy of the United States we see that the Union has always been guided by two principles—the guaranteeing of the integrity of China and the maintenance of the so-called open door in that country.

In order to protect and enlarge these trade interests the policy of the United States was always to take great pains to defend the equality of all nations in the Chinese market. This activity was especially displayed in the numerous notes and protests directed by the American Government against the Russian policy in Manchuria at the beginning of the twentieth century. At that time the interests of Japan and the United States in China appeared to be about the same. Both were interested in the maintenance of the integrity of China. Only after Japan's victorious war against Russia did the parting of the ways begin. Japan's establishing of herself in Korea, which was finally declared a Japanese province in 1910, as well as her economic advance in Manchuria, could not by any means be favorable to American interests. More and more did the Japanese policy show its true face; Asia for the Asiatics—that is, the Monroe Doctrine in a Japanese garb. * * *

Although it may be Japan's first task to make East Asia a territory under Japanese economic control, she undoubtedly has political intentions, as may easily be seen in the Sino-Japanese treaty of May 25, 1915, whose provisions —aside from those of a purely economic nature—contain many points that can hardly be permanently reconciled with the maintenance of the integrity of of China. Of especial importance to the United States is Article 6 of the fifth section of this treaty, which provides that China must first ask the advice of Japan when it needs foreign capital for working mines, building railroads and port works, including dockyards, in the Province of Fukien. The United States has just undertaken to construct a military harbor for China in Amoy, in the Province of Fukien, and it is likely to be a severe blow to her economically and a still harder slap to her repute and prestige in Asia if she is obliged to let the Japanese slam the door in her face in Fukien. * * *

Since the beginning of the world war there has been feverish activity in the United States directed toward the capturing of the Chinese market thrown open through the difficulties in which the European-Chinese trade is entangled * * * Above all are the American efforts directed toward mining and railroad undertakings. But it is just here that the American capitalist is faced by a Japanese competitor, who has—as is proved by the new Japanese-Chinese treaty—special designs upon the railroads and mines, because the latter are of particular importance for Japanese industry. In competition with the American plans to found a Sino-American bank that will promote the commercial interests of the Union the Japanese are about to establish a Japanese bank in China. Another sign of the energetic commercial policy pursued by the United States is found in the recent opening of the American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai, which is intended to look after and to protect American trade interests in China.

How will Japanese and American trade in China come to an understanding? It is hardly to be taken for granted that the United States will give up the field to the Japanese without more ado, and, on the other hand, Japan will not re-

linquish her plan to control the Chinese market. Sooner or later the economic interests of the two nations will clash at this point. Economic struggles are generally followed by an armed conflict, which may perhaps be delayed through a yielding on one side or the other, but which is inevitable, if both parties persist in their demands.

But the Chinese question is not the only point of irritation between the United States and Japan. The imperialistic plans of the Japanese are not content with the idea of Japan as a continental power; they reach out over the sea toward the islands of the Pacific and over toward the western coast of America. * * *

It is known that Japanese have been implicated in the repeated insurrections in the Philippines, and that even to this day these intrigues have not ceased. Here, too, Japanese and American interests conflict. Of course the United States can do away with this bone of contention by voluntarily leaving the Philippines, as has indeed often been proposed in all seriousness by American politicians and writers who regard this group of East Asiatic islands as nothing but a drag on the Union, the cost of which is in nowise covered by its value. Such an abadonment of the Philippines would, nevertheless, constitute a very grave injury to the reputation of the United States in all Asia, and, on the other hand, would merely add impetus to the Japanese imperialism directed against the United States. The struggle for the rulership of the Pacific Ocean, looked upon by many as only a phantom, has entered upon a new stage through the establishment of Japan in the South Sea. The next step will be Hawaii, which already counts more than 80,000 Japanese among its population of approximately 150,000.

Then we come to a third "stumbling block" between the two States; the immigration question. It would lead too far, if we wished to go into the details of the entire question of immigration. But one point, which has again come to the fore with vigor of late, deserves to be brought out—namely, Japan's designs in Mexico. These are by no means of recent date. Some years ago there were already rumors of alleged negotiations for the purchase by Japan of a coaling station on the Pacific Coast of Mexico, which naturally were promptly denied from Washington and Tokio. The value of such denials is well known. A little later it was said that Japan was planning great trading settlements in Mexico. In short, the impression was created that Japan could not be quite so disinterested in Mexico as the people in Tokio were trying to make it appear.

Japan's interest in Mexico is easy to see. For one thing it forms a good naval base, which would greatly facilitate the closing of the Panama Canal in case of war; for another, it forms a handy gate for the invasion of that paradise on the west coast of the United States that has been closed since 1907, but that is eagerly desired, nevertheless—California. * * *

What dangers for the United States grow out of this policy of Japan seem to have been recognized in many Government circles in Washington, although perhaps not to their full extent, and there is a demand from all sides for resolute action on the part of the American Government in Mexico, where one civil war has followed another for a number of years. Up to the present, however, President Wilson has not been able to decide to give heed to these voices.

Of course it must be remembered in this connection that the people of the Eastern States of the Union do not really believe there is any danger from Japan, or, rather, do not want to believe it. They do not consider the entire question as serious as it is always represented to be by the Westerners. * * * Of late, however, the people in Washington seem inclined to listen to the urgent exhortations from the West and to comprehend that the fears regarding Japan's imperialism entertained by the inhabitants of the Western States are not altogether groundless. Senator Chamberlain, Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, recently designated the Japanese Army as "a standing demonstration

against the United States." (NEW YORK TIMES, Nov. 16, 1915.) This is naturally at the same time a gentle hint to the Americans to strengthen their army and navy, so that in the hour of danger these will be in condition to resist any possible encroachments. * * *

We can hardly be mistaken when we assert that, in general, sentiment in Japan toward the United States is decidedly hostile and warlike, and the imperialists are busily engaged in heaping coals on the fire. In the United States, on the contrary, people try nervously to play the part of peace lovers, and to do everything possible to do away with anything that might disturb the relations between Japan and America. They no doubt feel on that side of the ocean that at present the American means of defense are not exactly "the biggest in the world."

The world war and the coming peace will hardly improve the relations between the United States and Japan. On the contrary, the "victory" of Japan over the second power of Europe—for there is no doubt that the people in the realm of the Mikado will represent the capture of Tsing-tao as a "victory" of the Japanese arms—will also make Japan's attitude toward America more conceited and challenging. It is not to be wondered at if the Japanese Government soon digs up the immigration question, which was only temporarily settled by the legislation and negotiations of 1907 in a way that did not at all turn out as Japan wished, and to which the Japanese Government only assented at that time for political reasons. Now the people in Tokio will demand that the United States place the Japanese immigrants upon the same footing as those from European lands. * * *

The clash between the United States and Japan is inevitable, even though it may be delayed for a few years through clever political tacking. The sooner the people in Washington perceive that the only danger that really threatens the United States comes from the west the easier it will be for the United States to meet it.

Refugees From Russian Poland

Miss Violetta Thurston, a nurse, has written a book on the tragedy of the refugees from Poland, who fled when the Germans invaded the country. She says:

FROM the farms and homesteads of Poland, the peaceful plains of Lithuania, the seaports of the Baltic provinces, from the mountains of Galicia and Ruthenia, they fled, to escape the roaring cannon and the devastating fire of the enemy.

Their new home in the interior of Russia was to them a foreign country, where the language, religion, and customs differed very much from their own; but their exile was made as little painful as possible by the kindness of the Russian peasants. Pity is one of the most marked and most beautiful characteristics of the Russian people. One may see the Russian soldier at the front giving not only his money and his food, but even his coat to a prisoner who looks ill and miserable.

Bitter as the sufferings of the Belgian refugees were, their physical privations were as nothing in comparison with what these people on the eastern frontiers have been called upon to endure.

The mental and moral sufferings are, of course, common to both nations. Belgians and Poles alike have had to bear the loss of country, home, friends, money—in fact, all that makes life most worth living to them, coming as strangers and pilgrims into a strange land, dependent for their very existence on the charity of others. But Poland's spiritual tragedy began a century and a half ago, when her nation was split up and her kingdom given to others. Now Pole is fighting against Pole, who are brothers, with the same nationality, language, religion, and traditions.

Belgium again, is a little country densely populated and in easy communication with Holland, France, and Eng-

land; the exodus there began in the Summer and was certainly over before the cold weather began. Russia, on the contrary, is an enormous country where the distances between towns are very great and where the climate is very severe.

The retreat had to be carried out very swiftly, under unheard of difficulties, and here there were no convenient neutral countries close at hand to take off some of the refugees. The whole refugee problem was and is on an enormous scale, and it is very much to the credit of the Russian authorities that with so little machinery available at first, they were able to accomplish so much. For it was no mean feat to evacuate in such a short time whole villages, towns, provinces, countries even, and get the inhabitants removed from the danger zone, where every available transport of any kind was crowded already almost beyond its utmost capacity with retreating troops, fighting as they retired, and hampered with the ammunition and supplies of all kinds that must accompany them.

The refugee problem will not by any means be over with the end of the war. The question of how it is going to be made possible for these poor souls to return to their devastated, ruined homes will then be a very difficult one to answer. In trying to find a solution of the difficulty it must be remembered that it is not easy to help the people to help themselves. The iron has now entered into their souls. Many of them have lost so much that they have lost even hope, and they sit there apathetically, with their hands in their laps, waiting for everything to be done for them. Their self-respect has been lowered by the overcrowding, lack of privacy, and the indiscriminate mingling of the decent and the dissolute. Their physical constitution has been injured by the privations of the long retreat, the scanty food, and the unhygienic conditions of their present surroundings.

Child Races of the World and Peace

By John H. Harris

[In The Contemporary Review, London]

WHAT place will be given to native races during the discussion of peace terms? The right of many millions of native peoples to some place in the European Peace Congress, when it takes place, needs only to be considered to be admitted, and the only divergence of view will probably be as to the method of representing their interests. By far the larger areas whose political status will be affected by the war are now occupied by the so-called subject races, and although the whole of these territories will not be affected to the same extent, it will certainly be found that the destiny of each will be materially changed by the present world conflict.

The German colonies total approximately 1,000,000 square miles. Belgian Congo, also, measures nearly 1,000,000 square miles, and owing to the peculiar international position of this territory and its great need of large financial subsidies, some international assistance in the matter of development must be extended to Belgium. Then there are the huge areas of Mesopotamia, the New Hebrides Archipelago, British Gambia, and possibly French Dahomey. Several of these countries will change flags, while others will probably see a rectification of their geographical frontiers. The total area of these territories is over 2,000,000 square miles, or ten times the size of the German Empire in Europe. The total colored population is, approximately:

Africa.....	23,960,000
South Pacific.....	160,000
Asia.....	4,000,000
Total	28,120,000

These territories and these peoples will find themselves, so to speak, thrown

down on the Congress table for a reshuffle, but can it be argued in justice that any such reshuffle should take place without ascertaining in some way or other the desires of the inhabitants thmeselves?

Who gave the European nations the right to barter these people as a result of war for which they had no shadow of responsibility? The answer to this question is self-evident. But while in equity there can only be one answer, common sense forces us to admit the impracticability of summoning to a European peace congress illiterate Mandingos, Fiots, Herreros, Fans, the senile Polynesian, or the wild Bedouin.

Yet there is one point at least which the European powers should concede to those native races, namely, to agree that within one year of the declaration of peace another European and American International Congress should be held to amend the existing agreements for maintaining the rights, liberties, and welfare of native races.

This course is dictated no less by equity than by the truest interests of the colonizing powers of Europe and America. It must not be overlooked that almost every acre of those 2,000,000 square miles is sparsely populated, and that hardly fifty miles of it is capable of white colonization, except by the aid of an edequate supply of colored labor. If the great powers should make the fatal blunder of reshuffling these territories without at the same time agreeing to consider once again the supreme problem of conserving the native population, they would be almost better advised to surrender such areas once again to the recuperative forces of so-called barbarism, say, to the third and fourth generations, for by that time the indigenous populations might possibly regain their stamina.

The suffering of native peoples and the depopulation of their territories within the last fifty years have demonstrated the evils of white industrialism, and if civilization will heed the lessons this martyrdom would teach it there is yet time to stop that degradation, disintegration of tribal life, and the thoughtless exploitation which will ultimately spell economic ruin to the white races no less than to the native tribes. The depopulation figures of the tropical and sub-tropical world are worth a moment's reflection. It is a disturbing thought that the hecatombs of dead, as a result of the great war, will probably not reach, nor anything like reach, the reduction of population, mainly by violent methods, among native peoples since the 1884 American and European Congress at Berlin.

No student of colonial affairs will deny that since 1884 the depopulation of Central Africa alone has exceeded 10,000,000. Herr Dernburg's was one of the first authoritative voices raised against the colossal destruction of African life in German colonies, which he would probably admit exceeded 500,000 in German Southwest Africa, and almost as heavy a proportion in Togoland. In the Pacific Ocean the ghastly experiment of the Franco-British Condominium in the New Hebrides during the same period has been primarily responsible for a reduction of the population from 650,000 to less than 65,000.

What would not Germany have given could she have called back to industrial life the able-bodied Herreros? What would the copra merchants of Europe give today if they could call into activity again those prematurely dead Polynesians of the South Seas? These countless thousands of the world's workers have gone, and it is useless to bemoan the fact; but to the insane folly of the past would be added the crime of today if we ignore the lessons which a thirty years' martyrdom of native races should teach us.

One of the most encouraging features of native labor questions is that the commercial world is not only beginning to realize the importance of conserving native life, but is recognizing that the application of fraud or force upon the labor supply is a ruthless and unerring boomerang.

If one wished to state in general terms the cause of this depopulation and suffering it might be summed up in the

phrase, "too intimate a contact with white social and industrial life," and this general cause falls into four main categories: (a) Labor systems; (b) disease; (c) the unrestricted sale of alcohol; (d) sexual irregularities.

Just as the main cause of depopulation has been a too intimate contact with white industrialism, so has it been established that the screening off of native races from this contact in the early stages of development has led to increased productivity, happiness, and prosperity. Not only prosperity to the native inhabitants, but to white industry outside these areas, for the surplus laboring population freely overflows its borders to the assistance of white enterprise. The most complete illustration of this is Basutoland, where, within a century, the Basutos have increased from 40,000 to 400,000, while the annual outflow of laboring population is no less than 70,000 men, who assist the white man in garnering the wealth of South Africa.

The time has surely come when the white colonizing nations should agree to set aside an area in each colony or protectorate for the exclusive use of the native inhabitants.

The just claims of the child races of the world must be considered once again by a European and American Congress on Native Affairs, and peace terms must at least include a definite pledge to such congress.

Significance of the Word "Poilu"

By Maurice Barrès

Member of the French Academy

The word "poilu," meaning bristly, woolly, hairy, as applied to animals, has come into jocular and even serious use throughout France to designate the more or less unshorn French heroes in the trenches. An interesting comment on it from an eminent pen is here translated for CURRENT HISTORY.

POILU is a word that only half pleases. It pleases because it designates those whom all France loves and admires, but it seems not to respect them enough; it has a touch of the animal. Besides, the word was not born of this war. It has long been in use in and around French barracks. It was one of those thousands of words that live a precarious life in the margins of dictionaries. Littré writes: "Poileux, an old term of contempt." It was Balzac (the discovery is not mine) who, in 1832, in "The Country Doctor," rehabilitated these two syllables, and, for the first time, seems to have given them the generous, vigorous, and cordial sense that we see in them today. He used the word once, then let it drop and thought of it no more.

It lacks dignity. To my taste it belittles those whom it is meant to laud and serve. A hero can hardly be expressed by this brazen-faced and slanderous epithet. And yet, since it has taken root in our battlefields now for more than a year, one hesitates to speak ill of this word, in which so many admirable acts are somehow visible. It is winning its historic titles. At certain moments when we meet it we are compelled to admire it. When the time comes to complete the article in Littré devoted to Poileux or Poilu, and to add to the old injurious sense the new meaning of today, the lexicographer will have superb texts to cite by way of example.

Here is one so beautiful that I cannot resist the impulse to pass it along. Listen to this order of the day addressed by a commander to his infantrymen. A Lorraine soldier gave it to me, and you will see in it how the word "poilu" may yet become one of the most beautiful in the French language:

"For the third time since the beginning of the campaign the ——th Battalion has just covered itself with glory. Though harassed by the fatigue of six consecutive days and nights of sentry

duty, labor, and fighting, though a trifle weakened in your confidence by the check suffered in the first attack, you promptly got hold of yourselves upon discovering suddenly a good course to follow in order to avoid the flank fire of the machine guns, and especially by following step by step, shot by shot, the efficient preparatory bombardment of our artillery. Suddenly sure of success, you rushed forth together out of the trenches at the signal of your commander, behind your officers and section chiefs, leaped like lions, and in less than four seconds reached the enemy trench and swooped into it like an eagle on its prey; but the Barbarians, frightened by the vigor and suddenness of your attack, fled aghast without trying to make the least resistance. As at Saint-Leon, as at Lille, you proved that you were at all times a picked troop capable still of furnishing, after ten months of ceaseless and terrible war, a resistless attack worthy of your ancestors, the heroes of Sidi-Brahim and Sebastopol, but especially capable of conquering the stubborn resistance of the detested Boche and hurling him "heels over head." With Poilus like you, my dear friends, victory is near and certain."

There can be no doubt that here the word "poilu" is magnificent in its weight, its freedom, and compels us to admire its savage nudity. Presented in such a sweep of thought, it is full of force and honor. It is true, bold, and creates an image; it is a soldier of Géricault, and one would be petty, indeed, to take offense at it.

How are words born? Spontaneously, by sheer genius. This one is admirable in its picturesqueness, but that is all. Its fault is that it paints only the outside of such a being as the soldier of 1916, in whom we venerate a sublime morality and the highest spirit of sacrifice.

Prince von Bülow Foresees an Era of Hatred and Vindictiveness

German and English newspapers have given much space to the preface of Prince von Bülow's book, "Deutsche Politik," in which he says that "Hass und Rachegefühl" will influence international relations for many years to come, and that Germany must protect itself from this hatred. He continues:

This war is a national war not only for us Germans; it has become one also for the English, the French, and the Russians, and national hate once kindled and sealed with blood will remain alive until it is replaced by a national passion directed otherwise.

The only means of protection in future against the enmity and against the renewed and the new lust for revenge in the west, in the east, and on the other side of the North Sea on which Germany can rely is her own augmented strength. Our opponents also will strengthen their armament on land and on the sea; we, however, must make ourselves stronger on our frontiers and on our coast, and make ourselves more unassailable than we were at the beginning of this war. We must do this, not, as our enemies allege, because we are striving for world supremacy, but in order that we may hold our own.

The outcome of this war must not be a negative one for us, it must be a positive one. It is not enough that we are not crushed, not reduced in size, or dismembered, and not despoiled; we must have a plus, in the form of real securities and guarantees as indemnification for unheard-of exertions and sufferings and as pledges for the future. In view of the feelings against us that this war will leave behind it a mere re-establishment of the status quo ante bellum would not be a gain for Germany, but a loss. We shall be able to say with a good conscience that our whole situation has been improved by the war only if the resulting strengthening of our political, economic, and military position considerably outweighs the animosity kindled by the war.

HUMAN DOCUMENTS OF THE WAR

An Episode in No Man's Land

By Pierre Loti

Captain in the French Navy and Famous Academician

THIS is the first time that I have found myself so absolutely and infinitely alone, in the midst of this stage setting of immense desolation, which today, as it chances, is sparkling with light, and is only the more mournful for that. Until I reach the little wood to which an errand of duty calls me I need think of nothing; I need not occupy myself with anything; I need not avoid the shells, which would not give me time to avoid them, nor even choose the spot to set my foot down, since it sinks in everywhere equally. And so it comes that I drift back again to the mood of former days, to my mood of mind before the war, and all these things to which I have grown used I see and judge as though they were new.

Only a score of months ago who would have imagined such a face of things? Thus, these countless excavations—white, because the soil of this region is white—excavations that stretch on all sides and which mark across the wilderness multitudes of zebra-tracings—is it possible that they mark out the only paths along which our soldiers of France can move today with a sort of half security? * * * Little sunken ways, some of them full of curves, some of them straight, which have been named "guts," and which we have had to multiply, to multiply to such a point that the earth is furrowed by them to infinity! What an enormous sum of toil they represent, these mole paths, lying in a network over hundreds of leagues! If we add the trenches, the shelter caves, all these catacombs that plunge down into the hearts of the hills, one's mind stops dead before such a total of excavation, that might seem the work of centuries.

And these things that look like fishing nets stretched on all sides. If one were not informed in advance and accustomed to them, could one divine what they can possibly be? You might think that gigantic spiders had been spinning their webs among these myriads of posts, sometimes planted in straight lines, sometimes forming circles or half moons, tracing across the wide expanse designs that must be cabalistic in order better to ensnare and envelop the Barbarians. And besides they have terribly reinforced them, multiplying them twice, nay, ten times, since my last passage, these stake nets, and our web-spinning soldiers have had to make among them turnings and passages, with the enormous reels of barbed wire which they carry under their arms.

But there is one thing that you can understand at the first glance, and which adds to the grim horror of the whole scene, and that is the inclosures sprinkled here and there, the wooden fences that shut in closely packed groups of poor little burial crosses, made of two pieces of wood. That you can tell at once, alas! and see exactly what it is! Here they lie, therefore, under the thunder of the big guns, as though the battle was not yet finished for them, our dear departed ones, our unknown, magnificent heroes—whom even those who weep for them cannot now come nigh, because death is passing ceaselessly in the air above their silent little gatherings.

Ah! To complete the unreality of it all, here comes a black bird of gigantic wing-stretch, a monster of the apocalypse, that flits past noisily high above me. He flies on toward France, seeking doubtless the more sheltered region where women and children begin to be found, with the hope of slaughtering some of them.

I walk on, if one call it walking, this wearisome and inexorable process of plunging through the mud. And finally

I arrive at the little grove of trees where we are to meet. I am glad of it, for my helmet and cloak had become a heavy burden under this unexpectedly burning sun. It happens that I am the first to arrive; the officer whom I have summoned—to discuss new defense works, new lines of stake nets, new burrows—is without doubt that blue outline making its way hither, but he is still distant, and I have still a few moments to continue my meditation of the way hither before it is time to become once more concentrated and exact. It is clear that the place is not left entirely alone, for these poor, half-stripped branches offer no more resistance than mere sheets of paper to the huge humming beetles that pass through them from time to time; but all the same a little wood like this keeps you company, shuts you in, spreads something of illusion about you.

I am on a bit of rising ground, from which I look down on all the terrible landscape, the succession of monotonous hillocks zebra-streaked by whitish "guts," and the few trees disheveled by shrapnel bullets. In the further distances these intertwined wires, stretched in all directions, sparkle in the sun, somewhat like "the Virgin's threads," which spread over the meadows in Spring. And on all sides the detonations of artillery keep up their accustomed rumble, which goes on unceasingly here, night and day, like the roar of the ocean against the cliffs.

Ah! the huge bird has found some one to speak to in the air! I see it all at once assailed by a host of those little tufts of white cotton—bursting shrapnel—which look so innocent, but which are so perilous for birds of its breed. It turns about hastily; its crimes are put off for another time.

From behind a nearby rising ground come forth a group of men in blue, who will reach me before the officer who is coming over there. It is the chance one, the one among thousands of these little processions which one meets incessantly, alas! along the battle front, and which form, so to speak, part of the stage setting. At its head four soldiers are carrying a stretcher, and others are following, to relieve them. Attracted also by the illusory protection of the branches, they stop instinctively at the entrance of the little wood to take breath and change shoulders. They come from the first-line trenches, which are three or four kilometers away, and are carrying a "gravely wounded" man to an underground hospital, which is some quarter of an hour away. They also had not foreseen this vicious sun that scorches one's head; they are wearing their helmets and cloaks, and they feel the weight of them as much as that of the precious load which they take such pains to carry steadily; more, they drag along, on each foot, a thick shell of sticky mud which gives them feet like elephants, and the sweat runs in big drops over their fine, tired faces.

"What is the matter with your wounded man?" I ask in a low voice.

In still lower voices they answer me: "He is ripped up the belly—oh! the trench surgeon told us that * * *." They finish the sentence only with a shake of the head, but I understand. For the rest, he has not stirred. His poor hand remains pressed to his brow and his eyes, doubtless to protect them against the baking sun, and I ask: "Why did you not cover his face?" "We did put a handkerchief over it, Colonel, but he took it away; he said he would rather have it like that, so that he can still see something between his fingers."

Ah! but the two last men, besides sweat, have broad smears of blood across their faces and running down their necks. "Oh, nothing much the matter with us, Colonel!" they tell me; "we got that as we came along. We started to carry him along the 'guts,' but it shook him too much; so we came on outside in the open." Poor, admirable dreamer! To save their wounded man from jolting they have risked all their lives! Two or three of these huge death beetles which ceaselessly hum past have smashed themselves near them against the stones and have sprinkled them with their fragments; the Germans do not take the trouble to shoot at a single passerby like myself, but a group, and especially a litter, is irresistible for them. Of the two who are streaming with blood, one is, perhaps,

not much the worse, but the other has an ear torn off, and hanging only by a shred of skin.

"You must get your wound dressed by the surgeon immediately, my friend," I say to him.

"Yes, Colonel, we are on our way there to the hospital. It suits exactly."

That is the only thing that has occurred to him to say in complaint: "It suits exactly." And he says it with such a fine, quiet smile, while thanking me for taking an interest in him.

I hesitate to go closer to look at their gravely wounded man, who has remained without stirring, for fear I might disturb his last thoughts. I do go close to him, however, very gently, because they are going to carry him away.

Ah! He is a mere lad! A village boy; one can guess that at once by his bronzed cheeks, which have just begun to grow pale. The sun, as he wishes, floods his handsome 20-year-old face, which is at the same time vigorous and candid, and his hand is still held like a guard before his eyes, which are set and seem no longer to perceive anything. They must have given him morphine to keep him from suffering too much. Humble child of our countryside, brief little life, what is he dreaming of, if he is still dreaming? Perhaps of his kerchiefed mamma, who wept happy tears every time she recognized his childish writing on an envelope from the front? Or is he dreaming of the farm garden that held his earliest years?

I see on his breast the handkerchief with which they tried to cover his face; it is of fine linen, embroidered with a Marquis's coronet—the coronet of one of his bearers. He had wanted "to go on seeing things," doubtless in his terror of the great night. But even this sun, which must dazzle him, will soon cease suddenly to be recognizable for him; to begin with, it will be the half-darkness of the hospital, and, immediately afterward, will begin for him the long inexorable night, in which no sun will ever dawn again.

The Heart of a Soldier

[The subjoined letter was written by Giosue Borsi to his mother, to be delivered only in case of his death. He died while leading his company to an assault on the Isonzo. The writer was a poet of reputation in his country, and the letter reveals his high literary attainments. The letter was shown by the mother to an Italian Senator, who recognized its unusual literary quality and a copy was sent to his friend in America, the Rev. Paschale Maltese, rector of a Catholic church at Van Nest, the Bronx, New York, by whom it was translated into English and communicated to CURRENT HISTORY. Giosue Carducci, the winner of the Noble Prize for poetry, stood as godfather of the infant Borsi at his baptism, hence his name Giosue; his poetry gave high promise of winning him also international fame]

MOTHER: This letter, which you will receive only in case that I should fall in this battle, I am writing in an advanced trench, where I have been since last night, with my soldiers, in expectation of the order to cross the river and move to the attack.

I am calm, perfectly serene, and firmly resolved to do my duty in full and to the last, like a brave and good soldier, confident to the utmost of our final unfailing victory; although I am not equally sure that I will live to see it. But this uncertainty does not trouble me in the least, nor has it any terror for me. I am happy in offering my life to my country; I am proud to spend it for so noble a purpose, and I know not how to thank Divine Providence for the opportunity—which I deem an honor—afforded me, on this fulgent autumnal day, in the midst of this enchanting valley of our Julian Venetia, while I am in the prime of life, in the fulness of my physical and mental powers, to fight in this holy war for liberty and justice. All is propitious to me, all is favorable to die a beautiful and glorious death; the weather, the place, the season, the opportunity, the age. A better end could not have crowned my life, and I feel the pleasure to have made a good and generous use of it. Do not grieve over my death, mother, or else you will offend my good fortune. Do not

weep, mother, for it was written in Heaven that I should die. Do not mourn, mother, or else you would regret my happiness. I am not to be mourned but envied.

THE SACRIFICE

You know the ineffable hopes that give me comfort because they are the very same hopes in which you also have placed all that is dear to you. When you shall read these words of mine, I will be free, unfettered and in a safe place, quite far from the miseries of this world. My struggle will be finished and I shall be peaceful; my daily death shall have come to an end, and I shall have reached the place on high, to the life without end. I shall be face to face with the Judge whom I have greatly feared, with the Lord whom I have greatly loved.

Think of it, mother dear, when you shall read these words. I shall view you from Heaven, side by side with our dear ones, with father, with my dear Laura, with Dino, our guardian angel. We shall be in the regions above, all united to celebrate your arrival, to watch over you and over Gino, to prepare for you, with our prayers, the place of your everlasting glory. Should not this thought alone be sufficient to dry your tears and to fill you with unspeakable joy?

No, no, weep not, my dear and saintly mother, and be brave, as you have always been. Should the pleasure of having offered to our adored Italy, this glorious land, this land predestined by God, should the pleasure of having offered the sacrifice of the life of one of your sons be not sufficient for you, remember, nevertheless, that you must not rebel, not even for one instant, against the divinely wise and divinely loving decrees of our Lord. If He wanted to reserve me for other work, He could have permitted me to survive. Since He has called me to Himself, it is a sign that such was the best thing that could have happened and the best thing for me. He knows what He is doing, and it remains for us to bow and to adore, accepting with trustful joy His most exalted will.

HOLY BATTLES

I do not bemoan life. I have tasted of all its insane infatuations and have withdrawn with an insurmountable weariness and disgust.

Like a young prodigal son, after so many wanderings, having returned to the house of the father, I could have hoped now, and reasonably so, to taste of the good joys, the joys of duty well performed, of the good practiced and preached, the joys born of art, of labor, of charity, of a fruitful mind.

Side by side with the good, beautiful girl whom you know and esteem, and whom I have always loved, always so tenderly, timidly, and faithfully loved, even in the midst of my errors and blameworthy blunders, I could have hoped to make a good husband and a good father.

In the world there are so many battles to fight, for love, for justice, for liberty, for the faith, and for a time I must confess, I presumptuously believed myself predestined and assigned to the arduous and terrible task of winning one or another of these battles.

All this was, I admit, beautiful, flattering, desirable, but it cannot compare with my present lot. This is the very truth, and indeed I cannot say whether I would really be satisfied if the writing of this letter would have been in vain. Life is sad; it is a painful and annoying duty, a long exile in the uncertainty of our own lot. In order that life might go quickly in accordance with my wishes, and without leaving me in a thousand disappointments, there would be need of many very rare and difficult occurrences. Besides, I am and I feel weak, I have not the least confidence in myself. The whole battle against the ingratitude and wickedness of the world would not have frightened me as much as the battle against myself. It is better, therefore, dear Mother, as it has happened. The Lord, in His wise and infinite goodness has reserved for me just the destiny that was fit for me; a destiny that is easy, sweet, honorable, rapid; to die in battle for one's country.

With this beautiful and praiseworthy past, fulfilling the most desired of all duties as a good citizen toward the land that gave him birth, I retire in the midst of the tears of all those that loved me, from a life toward which I felt weary

and disgusted. I leave the failings of life, I leave sin, I leave the sad and afflicted spectacle of the small and momentary triumphs of evil over good. I leave to my humble body the weight of all my chains and I fly away, free, free in the end, to the Heavens above, where resides our Father, to the Heavens above where always His holy will is done. Just imagine, dear Mother, with what joy I will receive from His hands even the chastisements that His justice will impose on account of my sins. He, Himself, has paid all these chastisements by His superabundant merits, a God of mercy and of love, redeeming me with His precious blood, living and dying here below for my sake. Only through His grace, only through Jesus Christ, could I have succeeded that my sins be not my eternal death. He has seen the tears of my sorrow, He has pardoned me through the mouth of His spotless spouse, the Church. I do sincerely hope that the Madonna, so loving and kind toward us, will assist me with her powerful help, in the instant when all my eternity will be decided.

FORGIVENESS

And as I am about to speak of forgiveness, dear Mother, I have only one thing to say with all simplicity. Forgive me. Forgive me all the sorrows that I have caused you; all the agonies that you have suffered on my account, every time I have been ungrateful, stubborn, forgetful, disobedient toward you. Forgive me, if by neglect and inexperience I have failed to render your life more comfortable and tranquil, since the day when my father by his premature death intrusted you to my care. Now I understand well the many wrongs I have been guilty of toward you and I feel all the remorse and cruel anguish now that dying I have to intrust you to the providence of the Lord. Forgive me lastly, this final sorrow that I have inflicted upon you, perhaps not without stubborn and cruel inconsideration on my part, in giving up my life voluntarily for my country, fascinated by the attractions of this beautiful lot. Forgive me also if I have not sufficiently recognized and tried to compensate the incomparable nobility of your soul, of your heart, so immense and sublime, Mother truly perfect and exemplary, to whom I owe all that I am and the least good I have done in this world.

CHRISITAN COURAGE

I have so many things to say to you that a book could hardly contain them. Nothing else, therefore, is left me but to recommend you to our Gino, on whose goodness, on whose integrity, and on whose strength of will, I put all my trust. Tell him in my name to serve willingly our country, as long as she will have need of him, to serve her with abnegation, with ardor, with enthusiasm, even unto death, should that be necessary. Should he be destined to live a long and struggling life, let him be equal to it with serenity, with firmness, with indomitable love for justice and honesty, trusting always in the triumph of good with God's grace. Let him be a good husband and a good father, let him raise up his children in the love of God, respect for the Church, fidelity toward our King, to the observance of the law, to scrupulous devotion to our beloved country. Think often of us here above, speak of us among yourselves, remember us and love us as when we were alive because we shall be always with you.

Pray often for me, for I am in need of it. Be courageous in the trials of life as you have always been strong and energetic in the midst of the tempest of your earthly career, continue to be humble, pious, charitable, so that the peace of God may always be with you.

GOOD-BYE

Good-bye, Mother, Good-bye, Gino, my dear and my beloved. I embrace you with all the ardor of my immense love, which has increased a hundred-fold during my absence in the midst of the dangers and hardships of the war. Here, far away from the world, always with the image of imminent death, I have felt how strong are the ties that bind us to this world, how mankind is in need of mutual love, of faith in each other, of discipline, of harmony, of unity, what necessary and sacred things are the fatherland, the home, the family; how

blameworthy is the person who renounces these, who betrays and oppresses them.

Love and freedom for all, this is the ideal for which it is a pleasure to offer one's life. May God cause our sacrifice to be fruitful, may He take pity upon mankind, forgive and forget their offenses, and give them peace; then, O dear Mother, we shall not have died in vain. Just one more tender kiss.

Story of a Russian War Prisoner

A Remarkable Experience

This very unusual narrative, with its light on Austrian prison conditions, appeared in the Russkoe Slovo, Moscow, June 30, 1916. It was written by a petty officer of the Russian Army at the request of the paper's Paris correspondent. The correspondent tells of a party of thirty Russians who had recently arrived in Paris from Italy, all war prisoners from Austria, who had managed at different times to slip through the lines on the Italian front.

I WAS taken prisoner by the Magyars in the Carpathians. We were driven to the station of Kashitzi, where we found more Russians, I don't know how many, and were placed in dirty cars, from which cattle had just been removed. The stench was terrible, the crowd unthinkable. The doors were locked all the time. * * * We traveled two days; on the third we arrived in a camp called Lintz. What did I see in this camp? Filthy barracks, naked bunks on which our soldiers were scattered, pale, exhausted, hungry, nearly all barefoot or in wooden clogs. Many were suffering from inflamed feet and exhaustion. I don't know how they call it in medicine, but to my mind it was the fever of starvation. One gets yellow, trembles incessantly, longs for food. * * *

The prisoners were fed very poorly, mainly with turnips, beans, and peas.

Once a soldier decided to complain to Francis Joseph or Wilhelm. He went up to an electric pole, formed his fingers so that it looked as if he were speaking into a telephone horn, and shouted, "Hello, Germans, give us some more bread!" He called and knocked with his fists for some time, but, of course, received no reply. Many soldiers made fun of him at first, but others began to look for a way to complain against such treatment of war prisoners. Meanwhile the bread became poorer and poorer in quality and less in quantity. The meals consisted of beans, and in addition there were bugs in the beans. We got meat three times a week, the other days we got herring.

On the 24th of May, 1915, a company was recruited among us to be sent away to do some "agricultural" work. The soldiers would not believe it, claiming that peace was near. I was in the first contingent. Our train was passing between mountains covered with evergreen. Every now and then it would shoot through tunnels. This surprised me greatly. I understood that we were not going in the direction of Russia. And so it was. We finally arrived in a place, where the thousand of us were quartered in one building. We at once began to be treated differently, much more insolently and severely. On the 27th we were driven to the fields to work. We wondered what the agricultural labor we were to do could be. We were supplied with shovels and pick-axes, led to a wood on a hill some 1,600 meters high, mustered into rows, and ordered to dig a ditch—that is what the Germans called it—but we called it otherwise. It became clear that we were to dig trenches.

The first day passed in idleness and grumbling. All unanimously refused to work, even if we had to pay with our lives for it.

We waited for the following morning. The guards came to take us out to work, but we said that we would not dig trenches. Then the Colonel came and asked in Russian: "Why don't you want to work?" We all answered: "This work is against the law. You are violat-

ing the European laws and breaking all agreements by forcing us to construct defensive lines for you." The Colonel said: "Look out, don't resist, or we will shoot every one of you. We don't care now for the laws to which you point us. All Europe is at war now—this is no time for laws. If you don't go to work, I will have you shot."

We all exclaimed: "We won't. Shoot us, but we will not do the work."

All of the 28th we were in our yard. No food was given us. Thus we were held for three days without food. On the fourth day a company of cadets arrived. Leading them was the executioner, with stripes on his sleeves. They loaded their rifles, holding them ready. Then the Colonel asked: "Who will go to work?" The crowd answered "No!" The Colonel said: "I am sorry for you, boys, you don't understand that you are resisting in vain." Suddenly the crowd was split into two. Those who agreed to work were given dinner and put to work. The other half, in which I was included, was led away to another yard. From among us ten were picked out and taken away—we knew not where. We were ordered to lie on the ground with our faces downward, and not to turn our heads.

On June 2 there remained only fifty men who still refused to work, suffering hunger for the sixth day. The ten soldiers who were daily taken away from us were subjected to, besides hunger, suspense in the air from rings, with their hands tied to their backs. In about thirty minutes one would lose consciousness, and then he would be taken down to the ground. After he recovered his senses he would be asked if he agreed to work. What could one answer? To say "I refuse" meant another ordeal. He would begin to cry and agree to work.

The following day our heroes were led out into the open, ten were selected from our midst, arranged in a line facing the rest of us, and told that they would be shot immediately. Of the remainder half were to be shot in the evening, the other half the following morning. Their graves had been dug by the ten heroes themselves. I have not the slightest hesitancy in calling them so.

Then a space was cleared, and Ivan Tistchenko, Feodor Lupin, Ivan Katayev, and Philip Kulikov were ordered forward. The first was Ivan Tistchenko. An officer and four cadets approached him. The officer asked him if he would agree to work. He answered "No," and crossed himself. His eyes were bound with a white 'kerchief, and these pitiless and unjust cadets fired at the order of the officer. Two bullets pierced his head and two his breast, and the brave fellow fell to the wet ground noiselessly and peacefully.

In the same manner the second, third, and fourth were treated. When the fifth was led forward he also refused to work, and they already had his eyes bound. But some one in the crowd exclaimed: "Halt—don't fire!" And the comrades asked for his life, all agreeing to go to work. And I never learned the identity of the chap who saved that fellow's life and many other lives.

We remained in that camp for two and a half months. Then we were removed closer to the front, to a locality inhabited by Italians. Our soldiers there would inquire from the Italian laborers, to whom the guards paid no attention, where the boundary lay. We learned the direction and the distance to the boundary, which was about thirty miles. It was even nearer to the Italian front. And so on Sept. 29 a comrade and I decided to escape.

(Some particulars of the escape have been deleted by the Russian censor.)

Toward dawn we emerged from the thick of the pine trees and bushes, and descended to the base of the mountain. At our feet was a stream, about fifty feet wide, rapid, and full of rocks. Here we made good use of our training in gymnastics. My comrade, a tall fellow, was light on his feet. He jumped like a squirrel from rock to rock. To me it seemed that I would slip and be swept away by the current. My comrade was already on the opposite shore when I, making my last jump, failed to gain the beach. Fortunately he was quick to stretch out to me his long stick, and drew me out of the water as wet as a lobster.

We walked along the stream all day

without encountering anybody. At the end of the day we came in sight of a tiny village, but there were no people nor soldiers to be seen. Only near one house smoke was rising. We decided to approach stealthily and investigate. We saw an old woman at the fire, bending over a kettle of sweet corn. We surmised that the inhabitants of the village must have deserted it because of its proximity to the front, while the old woman refused to abandon her home.

We approached her and confessed that we were Russian soldiers. She thought long. What "Russian" meant she did not know, but she understood the meaning of the word "soldiers." She presented us with some of her sweet corn and pointed out the way to the Italian front.

It was six in the evening when we came upon an advanced Italian post. The sentinel stopped us with a "Halt!" He was pointing his rifle at us, showing that he would shoot if we advanced. He called for his superior. We were searched and taken into their quarters. An officer soon came in. Through an interpreter he asked us for our names, regiments, and army branches. He gave each of us a package of cigarettes.

Only then I understood that we were received as guests. When the officer gave us the cigarettes, saying "Bravo, Russi!" the soldiers began showering us with cigarettes, chocolate, and confetti. One soldier guessed better than the rest; he brought us a dish of soup, meat, and a bottle of wine. After this there was a regular wedding feast. Each of the soldiers brought something to eat, cheese, butter, sardines. We, knowing our condition, abstained from eating too much. Thinking that on the following day we would have to suffer hunger again, we put all the presents into a bag presented us by one of the Italians. Thus we accumulated about fifteen pounds of bread, cheese, butter, chocolate, lard, and boiled beef. Then the Italians noticed that our clothes were wet, and began presenting us with underwear and clothing, so that we soon changed our appearance. We were anxious to converse with them. The interpreter, who spoke Russian imperfectly, had a great deal of work. Just the same, I will never in my life forget his first words in Russian, as he asked us, by order of the officer: "Who are you—brothers?" In tears we answered him that we were Russian officers escaped from captivity; he asked it so kindly, and we were infinitely gladdened by his sweet words.

The following day we were taken to the corps headquarters. Officers would come in, shake hands—some even kissed us, which embarrassed us. Unwittingly tears would come to our eyes when we recalled our life in the prison camp and this sudden change for the better.

The General also visited us. He pressed our hands, gave each of us a package of cigarettes, and presented us with 10 lire in gold. We wanted to decline the money, but the interpreter said, "Take," and we did.

We lived for about a month in Italy. What a noble people!—soldiers, civilians, and officers. It is impossible to describe! At every station, (on the way to France,) the public would surround us, all anxious to do us some favors, all showing their deep affection for the Russians. Once a Sister of Mercy was distributing coffee to our party as the train began to move. She ran along till the train gained full speed, desiring not to leave some of us without coffee. Our soldiers would wonder at the affection of the entire Italian people for the Russians, and would shout incessantly: "Viva Italia! Viva Italia!"

German Flame Throwers in Action

By an Eyewitness

A French correspondent on the Somme front obtained this glimpse of one of the most thoroughly "modern" horrors of war from an injured soldier in a first-aid station near the advanced trenches:

IT was decided to withdraw us to a better position some fifty yards in the rear. Then the Captain called for some one to stay behind to watch and signal the enemy's movements. That's my regular job, so I fixed myself about fifteen feet up in a cleft of a big tree and seized a telephone which was connected with the nearest battery. From there I could see a German trench at the edge of a little wood about eighty yards from the trench my comrades had vacated.

For nearly an hour nothing happened. Occasionally I noticed heads peering from the Boche trench trying to see into the empty trench which was hidden from them by a slight swelling of the ground just before it. They would have been a splendid mark for a sniper, but I had other work this time. Suddenly a group of about forty Boches crept forward from the wood, rapidly followed by the best part of a company. I telephoned: "Enemy advancing, led by a detachment of 'flamenwerfer,'" for I had recognized the devilish apparatus carried by the foremost group. When the latter were about thirty feet from the empty trench they halted in a hollow just below the rise in the ground, and then, with appalling suddenness, a dozen jets of white and yellow flames darted up to fall plumb into the trench. The dense smoke hid the rest of the Germans, and almost choked me, but, thanks to my mask, I was able to gasp information to the battery.

It was then I had a glimpse of what hell must be like. Our gunners had the range to an inch, and a torrent of shells burst right among the fire-throwers. Great sheets of flame sprang up, one jet from an exploding container just grazing me, burning my clothes and scorching my ribs rather badly. But it was impossible to escape. The ground was a sea of fire. In the midst of it the Germans, like living torches, were dying horribly. One man spun around like a top, not even trying to run away until he fell in a pool of flame. Others rolled on the ground, but the blazing liquid ran around them everywhere, and I could smell the horrible odor of burning flesh.

I don't think any fire-throwers escaped. Their screams, heard despite the cannonade and rifle fire, seemed to continue terribly long. The company behind them appeared panicstricken. As the smoke lifted I saw them running back to the wood, and our mitrailleuses did severe execution. I was nearly fainting with the fumes and pain from my burns. The Captain sent a patrol, which found me hanging limply in the tree fork. They had trouble getting me, but luckily the Germans were too staggered to interfere.

The Gas Attack

By Eugene Szatmari

Lieutenant in the Austrian Army

This description of a battle between Austrians and Russians, in which gas played a leading part, was written by an Austrian officer on the southeastern front.

THE night is starlight, not pitch dark, as in the dreary month of January, but of a strange, weird, dark blue, and the shadows are long, scattered, and charming. This lukewarm night is restless. Bright flashes from field rockets rip the dark blue velvet curtain asunder, and hardly has the glare died away, hardly have quiet, invisible caterpillars sewed the curtain together again, when

the shining finger of a searchlight begins to feel its way through the blue night. Rifles crack and cannon roar at us from the east. Since an early hour in the morning the guns have been thundering toward us from the north, and the lazy rattle of the distant drumfire penetrates with difficulty through the trees of the shot-torn forest. Now they have begun here, too. Heavy shells crash through the trees with deafening roars, severed branches fall slowly, but noisily, rifle bullets come whistling along and rattle through the leaves. My ten telephones hum and sing like mad. But my batteries are silent. We do not waste our shots in the air.

Now a rocket goes up. It goes high, very high, and sends down its colored stars in a crackling rain of fire. There is another, and still a third—and the cannon fire becomes still heavier, the shrapnel crashes like mad, and shell after shell whizzes toward us in a howling arch, to burst as it falls. We know what all this means, the sign that has just been made; short and sharp comes the message hissed over the telephone: "A gas attack!"

On comes the poison wave—we are armed for it. Gas masks to the front! In the twinkling of an eye we have transformed ourselves into masked robbers and are waiting in curiosity, braced for the battle with the unknown weapon, against the invisible, creeping, and, up to now, to us unknown enemy. What is it like, this gas?—and we await the coming wave almost with longing. Is it really coming after all?

It is coming. Something creeps into my eyes and I buckle my mask on again. So it is here, then, the sneaking enemy, the poison wave that we cannot destroy, the opponent wearing the cap of invisibility. Now it sweeps over us, overwhelms us; we are in its power, and our lives are dependent upon the potash tube that gives us air. We stand in the midst of its infected air, and its dragonlike breath toys with our clothing. What a frightful yet miserable enemy! The guns continue to roar in its neighborhood, and the charging enemy's cries of, "Hurri, hurri!" are smothered in the furious rattle of the machine guns. They don't need any masks, nor do the cannon that are now spewing death in a hundred forms upon the enemy from the hidden depths of the forest, barking and howling like ever-faithful iron dogs. They are armed against the gas, for they need no air; and they stretch their bronze bodies out in the mad fire as they run back and forth on their carriages. What a mean weapon, what a wretched enemy is this invisible opponent!

I feel a strange weight on my chest. The air I am breathing is heavy and oppressive; I have to swallow at every breath I draw. The mask lies on my head like lead, and its big glass peepholes make my eyes ache indescribably. I feel as if I stood in a leaden diving suit at the bottom of the sea, with the weight of the whole ocean upon me. Air! I must have air, and I loosen the straps of my mask, but a terrible shooting pain grips my temples, and instinctively I haul them tight again. With the telephone in my hand, with the leaden weight of the mask on my head, half unconscious, I shout orders into the instrument. The great glass eyes with which I am now looking bore dully into the roaring, rattling, flashing, glaringly convulsive night, the night that only an hour before was a quiet blue velvet curtain and that now has become a mad monster, spitting poison and death. I try to go to the telescope, and I step on something soft. I bend down. It is a dead mouse. It didn't have any mask. What a fearful opponent, this sneaking, invisible enemy!

I can stand it no longer. My temples thump like mad and I feel my blood course wildly through my veins. I tear apart the straps of the mask—and take a breath of pure, fresh, good air! There is a light breeze from the south. It has blown away the poisonous waves. The battle dies down; the rattle of shots begins to become weaker and the cannon are steadily becoming quieter. The flashing lights that pierced the night are extinguished. It becomes calmer. I breathe, breathe deeper, while once more the dark blue velvet curtain of the night slowly and softly settles down over us.

My Worst Experience

By a Man Who Stopped a Bullet

The writer of this vivid narrative, a British soldier, was wounded in Mesopotamia during an unsuccessful attempt to relieve Kut-el-Amara, shortly before its fall.

I SLIPPED my left hand into my tunic and was surprised to feel the hot blood pouring out. Then it dawned on me that I had been hit, and pretty badly, too. My equipment was hurting me, so I took it off.

I felt very dizzy, and decided to try and get back as far as I could. I stood up, a very unwise thing to do, considering that I was about 150 yards from the Turkish trench and must have made an easy mark, but I was not hit again immediately. My legs gave way and I collapsed and lay flat for a time. I thought if I was not to bleed to death I must make an effort to put my field bandage in place. So with difficulty I pulled it from my tunic pocket. The outer covering came off easily, and I took out one of the packets, but could see no way to slit it open. Finally I gripped the edge of the packet in my teeth and tore at it with both hands till it opened. I put the pad on the wound, as near as I could, but had no means of keeping it there, so I staggered to my feet and ran on, keeping the pad in place with my left hand. I believe I covered another fifty yards when I dropped again and lay in a kind of stupor.

I was aroused by the almost continuous "krock" of bursting shrapnel. Shells were dropping right and left, and the air was full of moaning and screaming as the bullets flew by. I managed to get on my feet again, although the effort made the blood spurt out anew. The sodden pad had slipped down and a burning pain in the pit of my stomach caused me to double up in agony and slide on to my knees. I started crawling painfully along until I came to a small mound which would at least afford "head over." I crept behind it and lay in the only position I could, on my left side.

I passed my hand over myself to feel for a wound, but could not find one. The bullet had entered the small of my back and lodged under my breast bone. Gradually the more intense pain passed away, leaving a not unpleasant sense of numbness over all my body.

The persistent calling of a man in pain brought me back to consciousness. The pitiless sun was blazing high in the heavens, and I felt hot and dry. Somebody was shouting "Fetch the stretcher-bearers, you fools; are you going to leave me here?" At first I felt very sorry for him, but soon wished he would stop, for I had a shocking headache. I judged it to be about midday, and thought that in another six hours I had a good chance of being brought in.

I was horrified to see that the water of the Suwaicha Marsh, which was on our right flank, had risen considerably, and I feared for any of our wounded who were further out on the right and unable to crawl away from the menace. The man who was shouting stopped, and everything was strangely calm and peaceful. I felt very happy and contented then, for as long as I kept quite still the pain was very dull, so I began singing and mumbling away in a quiet voice:

Where my caravan has rested
Flowers I'll strew thee on the grass.

I sang again and again, accompanied by a strange roaring in my chest. My caravan, I thought, had rested in some very unusual places, but none so unusual as this. And what was the use of talking about the grass in the desert of Mesopotamia, where there is nothing but the yellow earth, the blue sky, the hot sun, and dirty water?

There was a water bottle, equipment, and rifle lying close to my head, and I have a vague remembrance of a Sikh lying beside me for a time and then jumping up and running back. I slowly put my right arm up, caught the sling, and dragged the bottle nearer. I pulled the cork out somehow, and propped the

bottle against my face, with the neck to my lips, but was much upset to find I had not the strength to lift it up. Tears rolled down my cheeks after I had made two or three attempts, for I was very thirsty. I sang no more, as my throat was harsh and lumpy. So I lay staring at the yellow and blue till I lost consciousness once more.

This time I was roused by our own guns, and the sound was most comforting. "Giving 'em hell," I thought gleefully. They bombarded for about an hour, and then I slipped back into unconsciousness. It was getting dark when I came to again. A man was standing close to me, staring round the field. Somebody had put my sun helmet on my head. He came over to me. "Are the stretcher-bearers coming?" I asked, and he told me I was the next to be moved. It was not long before the bearers came, and they put the stretcher behind me. It was painful work getting on the stretcher, as I could not bear to have my body touched anywhere. However, it was managed at last, and I lay on my left side.

I suppose they went as gently as they could, but every step racked my body so much that I was nearly mad with pain. I cannot remember how far it was to the dressing station, but I remember passing through the artillery lines, where the guns had started again. I was put on a table, still on the stretcher, and was pleased to see our battalion doctor. "Well, laddie," he said, "how are you?" I replied that I was all right, but thought it "a bit thick" having to lie out there all day. Then he started cutting my clothes up, jersey and shirt as well. The dressing was by no means painful, but they left my hand untouched. I asked for something to drink, but the doctor said they would give me all I wanted at the field hospital.

Then began the worst experience I have ever been through. I was taken to a native springless mule cart, with a few sacks and blankets thrown in the bottom, and helped off the stretcher. The slightest movement caused great pain, but when the cart started bumping off I was in a positive inferno. I will not dwell on that four-mile journey from the marsh to the riverside; suffice it to say that what little breath I could summon was used in praying the driver to stop and leave me on the ground.

We came to the field hospital at last. The natives pushed a stretcher into the cart beside me, and one intelligent fellow nimbly jumped up and stood on my smashed hand. That was the last straw. I cursed him. When I stopped for want of breath they attempted to lift me on to the stretcher, but I begged them to stop. I tried to get on by myself, but could only manage to get my knees on and could not lift my body. The natives were chattering round the cart, so I started shouting "English, English. Fetch English," and at last a "Jock" came up to see what was wrong. I begged him to put his hand under my shoulder and help me on the stretcher, and in a moment I was lying on my stomach—not very comfortable on account of my labored breathing, but it was a rest for my left side. When my hand had been cleaned and dressed I was put on a mattress in a bell tent, where I tossed about in a high fever.

In the morning I was put in a paddle-boat, and I slept till it started in the afternoon. We were taken ashore at Orah that night, and there received better attention. I was placed on the operating table and the bullet located and removed.

I will not describe my stay at Orah or the trip down the Tigris in the paddle-boat to Bussorah. My hand was a fearful size and very painful. When the ship was moored in front of Bussorah Hospital I was very weak. Two orderlies helped me on to the stretcher, and I was carried down the gangway to the entrance of the hospital. A Major took particulars and consigned me to a veranda ward on the second floor. And so I was placed in one of the whitest, cleanest, and most comfortable beds in the world.

A Bayonet Charge in Picardy

By a British Army Captain

A racy bit of battle description, hot from the guns, as spoken by a wounded Captain who led one of the first rushes against the German trenches in the great British drive.

EH? Oh, just an ordinary front-line trench, you know; rather chipped about, of course, by the Boche heavies, you know; but—oh, hang it, you know what the ordinary fire trench looks like; along the north side of the Mametz Wood we were. What? Oh, yes, we were packed pretty close, of course, while we were waiting; only got there a little before midnight. My chaps were all in splendid heart, and keen as mustard to get the word "Go!" I was lucky; met my friend ——, almost directly we got in.

The weather was jolly then; but there'd been a lot of rain, and the trench was in a beastly state. You know what it's like, after a lot of strafing, when you get heavy rains on the churned-up ground. It was like porridge with syrup over it; and we were all absolutely plastered—hair and mustaches and everything—before we'd been half an hour in the place. The Boche was crumping us pretty heavy all the time, but it didn't really matter, because, for some reason, he didn't seem to have got our range just right, and nearly all his big stuff was landing in front or behind, and giving us very little but the mud of it.

What did worry me a bit was his machine guns. His snipers, too, seemed fairly on the spot, though how the devil they could be, with our artillery as busy as it was, I can't think. But I know several of my sentries were laid out by rifle bullets. I particularly wanted to let the others get a smoke when they could, seeing we'd be there three or four hours; helps to keep 'em steady in the waiting, you know; but we had to be mighty careful about matches, the Boche being no more than a hundred yards off.

Just before 3 I got my position, right in the middle of my company. We were going over at 3:25, you know. The trench was deep there, with a hell of a lot of mud and water; but there was no set parapet left; just a gradual slope of muck, as though cartloads of it had been dropped from the sky by giants—spilt porridge. I wanted to be first out, if I could—good effect on the men, you know—but I couldn't trust myself in all that muck, so I'd collared a rum-case from ——'s dugout, and was nursing the blooming thing, so that when the time came I could plant it in the mud and get a bit of a spring from that. Glad I did, too.

I passed the word along at a quarter past to be ready for my whistle; but it was all you could do to make a fellow hear by shouting in his ear. Our heavies were giving it lip then, I can tell you. I was in a devil of a stew lest some of my chaps should get over too soon. They kept wriggling up and forward in the mud. They were frightfully keen to get moving. I gathered from my Sergeant their one fear was that if we couldn't soon get going our artillery would have left no strafing for us to do. Little they knew their Boche, if they thought that.

I thought I could just make out our artillery lift, about a minute and half before the twenty-five, but I wouldn't swear to it. On the stroke of the twenty-five I got a good jump from my rum-box, and fell head first into a little pool—whizz-bang hole, I suppose; something small. It loosened two of my front teeth pretty much. I'd my whistle in my teeth, you see. But I blew like blazes directly I got my head up. Never made a sound. Whistle full of mud. But it didn't matter a bit. They all saw me take my dive, and a lot were in front of me when I got going. But I overhauled 'em, and got in front.

I believe we must have got nearly fifty yards without a casualty. But it's hard to say. It wasn't light, you know; just a glimmering kind of a grayness. Not easy to spot casualties. The row, of course, was deafening, and we were running like

lamplighters. You remember our practice stunts at home? Short rushes, and taking cover in folds of the ground. "Remember your file of direction, Sir; dressin' by the right," and all that. Oh, the boys remembered it right enough. But, good Lord, it wasn't much like Salisbury Plain, you know. We were going hell for leather. You think you're going strong, and—Woosh! You've got your face deep in porridge. Fallen in a shell hole. You trip over some blame thing, and you turn a complete somersault, and you're on again, wondering where your second wind is. Lord, you haven't a notion whether you're hit or not.

I felt that smack on my left wrist, along with a dozen other smacks of one sort and another, but I didn't know it was a wound for an hour or more. All you thought about was trying to keep your rifle muzzle up, and I guess the fellows behind must 've thought a bit about not stickin' us with their bayonets more'n they could help. I was shouting ——, the local name of the regiment, you know. The boys like it. But my Sergeant, who was close to me, was just yelling, "Down 'em, boys!" and "Stick 'em! Stick 'em!" for all he was worth.

My lot were bound for the second line, you see. My No. 12 Platoon, with thirteen of "D," were to look after cleaning up the Boche first line.

There was no real parapet left in that Boche front line. Their trench was just a sort of gash, a ragged crack in the porridge. Where I was, there was quite a bit of their wire left; but, do you know, one didn't feel it a bit. You can judge a bit from my rags what it was like. We went at it like fellows in a race charge the tape; and it didn't hurt us any more. Only thing that worried us was the porridge and the holes. Your feet sinking down make you feel you're crawling; making no headway. I wish I could have seen a bit better. It was all a muddy blur to me. But I made out a line of faces in the Boche ditch; and I know I gave a devil of a yell as we jumped for those faces. Lost my rifle there.

'Fraid I didn't stick my man, really, because my bayonet struck solid earth. I just smashed my fellow. We went down into the muck together, and another chap trod on my neck for a moment. Makes you think quick, I tell you. I pulled that chap down on top of my other Boche, and just took one good look to make sure he was a Boche; and then I gave him two rounds from my revolver, with the barrel in his face. I think I killed the under one, too, but can't be sure.

Next thing I knew we were scrambling on to the second line. It was in the wire of the second line that I got my knockout; this shoulder and some splinters in my head. Yes; bomb. I was out of business, then; but as the light grew I could see my chaps having the time of their lives inside that second line. One of 'em hauled me in after a bit, and I got a drink of beer in a big Boche dugout down two separate flights of steps. My hat! That beer was good, though it was German. But, look here, I'm in No. 5 train, that that chap's calling. I must get ashore. Just want to tell you about that dugout of ——'s in our own line, you know. It was 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and we'd got the Bazentin Wood all right then, when my orderly, who never got a scratch, was helping me back, making for our dressing station. We crawled into what had been a trench, and while we were taking a breather I sort of looked around, and made out a bit here and a bend there. Begad, it was the trench we started from.

Seems nothing, but you've no idea how odd it was to me; like dropping into a bit of England after about a century and a half in—in some special kind of hell, you know. Seemed so devilish odd that any mortal thing should be the same anywhere after that day. Not that it was the same, really. My rum case was in splinters, sticking up out of the porridge, and I found my map case there, torn off my belt as we got over at 3:25. "Won't be much left of that dugout," I thought, and I got my orderly to help me along to see. Couldn't find the blessed thing, anyhow. Went backward and forward three or four times. Then I spotted the head of a long trench stick that —— had carried, sticking out through soft earth at the back of the trench. The orderly worked that stick about a little,

GENERAL LETCHITSKY

The Brilliant Russian Whose Army Drove the Austrians Out of Bukowina and Is Pushing on Toward the Heart of Galicia.

GENERAL NIVELLE

French Commander in Charge of the Defense of Verdun Since the Promotion of General Petain.

and the earth fell away. It was just loose, dry stuff blown in off the front part of the roof of the dugout, and blocking the little entrance. Came away at a touch, almost, and there was the little hole you got in by. I worried through, somehow. I was really curious to see. If you'll believe me, the inside of that dugout—it looked like a drawing room to me, after the outside, you know—it was just exactly the same as when we'd left it the night before. There was the fine stove we made the café-au-lait on, with a half-empty box of matches balanced on the side of it, and the last empty tin of the coffee stuff we'd used, with the broken-handed spoon standing up in it, just as I'd left it; and ——'s notebook lying open and face down on an air pillow in his bunk—most extraordinarily homey. There I was looking at his notebook, and his hold-all, and poor —— dead. Yes, I'd seen his body. And the rats, too; the rats were cavorting around on the felt of the roof, happy as sandboys. They didn't know anything about the Push, I suppose. By the way, we found only dead rats in the Boche trenches. They say it was our gas. I don't know; but there were thousands of dead rats there, and millions of live fleas. Very live they were. I must get. Cheero.

Lament of the Messiah of Flanders

By Edward Stilgebauer

German Novelist

A powerful indictment of Germany's treatment of Belgium has appeared in the form of a story called "Love's Inferno," written by a German, Edward Stilgebauer, and published in an English translation in London. Both the book and the author are said to be barred out of Germany. We reproduce the passage containing the dying lament of the Belgian hero.

NURSE Irene was bending over an unconscious man. He seemed scarcely twenty-five years old, and wore the uniform of a Belgian Lieutenant. A bomb had torn away both legs. * * * From the first moment Nurse Irene had seen that suffering face it had aroused her attention. Why did it seem so strangely familiar?

Suddenly she remembered; it was Guido's Head of Christ. * * * This wonderful face took possession of all her senses and thoughts; the Messiah on the battlefield of Flanders!

She suddenly remembered that she had read the name of the most famous man in the whole of Belgium; that she was about to render the last assistance to a man who in spiritual importance was the first poet of his nation. Josua de Kruiz was leader of a school of young poets who sang the incomparable beauty of Brabant and Flanders. When the invaders fell upon his almost defenseless Fatherland he laid down the lyre to take up the sword, and carried the flag in the forefront of danger. He who once celebrated his country in song offered his blood for her when the treacherous hyena sprang at her unguarded throat.

His delirium had reached a climax; recovery was no longer possible. The poet of Flanders and Brabant was dying. His wandering mind voiced itself in lyrical words; it seemed as though the feelings and thoughts of his whole life were concentrated in these last words; Nurse Irene listened and listened. While the doors of the hospital were thrown open and one wounded man after another was hurried into the waiting vehicles, she hung upon his lips.

Josua de Kruiz was repeating verses. Like the sound of the far-away bells of Vineta drowned in the ocean, his voice chimed on, and to Irene his words seemed to sum up in themselves the fate of Belgium:

"Thou wert strong as a young lion, my country; thy loins were of steel, and thy limbs like the wood of the cedar, and thy claws were hardened in fire.

But in the night came the foe, my country, and destroyed the strength of thy loins; he broke thy claws and made them blunt like the teeth of a saw, which the woodmen hang on a withered branch for rusted iron.

"Blossoms and garlands were thy fields, my country; gems of price thy cities; thy villages were like the roses which the Summer weaves into the green of his festal robe.

"But the foe came, my country; and on thy fields he sprinkled the blood of thy children, so that the verdant meadows became like the purple wine pressed out of the ripened grape; he burned thy cities, that they became black like the ruins of Nineveh and fallen Babel; he beat down thy villages so that no stone remained on another, and they were like a bare bush from which the November wind has stripped the last leaves.

"The bosoms of thy mothers and virgins, my land, were like armed towers; they were full of beauty and sweetness; the mother's breast gave abundance of milk, nourishment, life to thy sucklings.

"But the foe came, my country; he cut off the breasts of thy mothers and maidens, raising them in mockery on the point of his lance. And the sucklings, the hope of thy future, withered away in hunger and thirst and shame.

"Thou hadst churches and palaces, my country. Thy skillful men created a new world on the cloth embroidered with colored thoughts; thy halls were full of the wonders of past centuries.

"But the foe came, my country; and he tore down thy towers, and churches, and thy palaces; he rent the tapestries embroidered with colored thoughts.

"Thou wast robbed of thy manhood, my country; thou hast become emasculated among the lands of the earth. Oh, my country, my tears of blood fall on thee, for I love thee, my country.

"I love thee in the robe of shame that thou wearest; with the crown of thorns on thy head and the ashes on thy locks.

"Doubly and trebly do I love thee, for thy suffering, thy pains, for thy wrongs, which are more grievous than the wrongs of any other land.

"Thou wast small, but thou hast become the greatest among the small; thou art raised to the right hand of the God of our forefathers, to whom thou dost appeal to judge between thee and thy foe, my country.

"How fair thou wast, my country! the bride of my youth and the wife of my silent hope.

"Thy sons and thy daughters walked with the wreath of flowering Spring, the immortal crown of eternal fame on their heads, through the streets of thy cities on the sea.

"Thy ships brought thee garments worked with gold from the coasts of the Orient; pearls and emeralds from the rivers and mountains of Ind; amber and rich unguents from the ends of the East; the procession of thy ships on the seas was like the procession of the three Kings who followed the star. Oh, my country, wast thou not an immortal child, joyous and glad? Laughter-like music rang from thy flower-like bosom, and I heard thy laughter and kept it in my heart.

"Like a girl who adorns herself for the dance on the day of the high festival, thou didst bind on thy brow, radiant in the sunlight, the blue band of the seas, bringing blessing and refreshment.

"To thousands of strangers thou didst offer healing and strength, and they found rest and peace in thy arms.

"Oh, my beloved country, thrice stricken and battered by the treacherous foe. Faithlessness and treason and lies he desired to stamp, like a brand, on thy brow.

"But the crown of thorns which thou bearest and the blood that drips on thy forehead efface the brand.

"The stamp of disgrace marks the brow of thy enemies; they shall go about branded amongst all the nations of this earth for ever.

"'For this shall be their punishment,' says the Lord thy God. 'I will mark them with the mark of Cain, so that they shall be known among all men, and all men shall turn from them. They shall be strangers on the earth wherever they go, and their track shall be avoided and accursed.'"

Britain's Tribute to Belgium

By Herbert H. Asquith
Prime Minister

Belgian exiles in London on July 21 celebrated the eighty-fifth anniversary of their country's independence. A Te Deum was sung at Westminster Cathedral in the morning, and in the afternoon a great gathering filled Albert Hall. The Belgian Minister presided, and, speaking in French, told again the story of the nation's heroism. Despite invasion, massacre, fire, intrigue, and temptation, Belgians had not bowed their heads before the enemy. Once more they repeated the solemn oath of their national hymn, prophetically written by Charles Rogier in 1830, a stanza of which appears below. Such was the occasion on which Mr. Asquith delivered this brief address.

O Belgique, O mère chérie,
A toi nos coeurs, à toi nos bras,
A toi notre sang, O Patrie:
Nous le jurons, oui, tu vivras!

IT is eighty-five years today since Prince Leopold ascended the throne of the new kingdom of Belgium, and four months later the neutrality of that kingdom was guaranteed by the Treaty of London, to which Austria and Prussia, with Russia and Great Britain, were parties. For more than eighty years Belgium lived at peace under the aegis of that international guarantee, developing her resources with almost unparalleled industry and ingenuity, and contributing her full share to the common stock of European culture. Two years ago she was subjected to one of those testing ordeals which try and prove the stuff of which nations are made. The peace of Europe was wantonly broken, and Belgium was asked to become the stepping-stone and therefore the accomplice of the aggressor. With a decisiveness and an enthusiasm which blotted out all party differences and fused in a moment the whole nation into perfect unity, she declined the insulting offer and announced that if need be she would support her refusal by force. A more heroic resolve has never been taken by a small State since in the ancient world Athens and Sparta met the challenge of Persia and the East.

The odds at the outset were tremendous, for let it be always remembered, let us never forget, that the invasion of Belgium by Germany was not merely—I might almost say not mainly—a military campaign. The facts have been laid bare after exhaustive and impartial inquiry, and we now know that the military operations of Germany were deliberately supported by and in some cases subordinated to organized butchery and pillage of the civil population, to carefully planned massacres of men, women, and children, the sacking of industrious towns, the desecration and the wanton destruction of the most precious monuments of the piety and the artistic genius of the past. This infamous story, which takes us back to the spirit and the methods of the Thirty Years' War, will never be blotted from the memory of Belgium or from the escutcheon of Germany.

The Belgian Army resisted inch by inch the advance of overwhelming force with tenacity, with endurance, and with brilliant courage, for which, let me say, the two great western allies owe them an immeasurable debt of gratitude. With its heroic King still at its head, that army, after the lapse of nearly two years, is still in Belgium, and neither the King nor his gallant troops have quailed. They form an important link in the allied lines which hold Germany in check, well found in men and in munitions, and well able to cope with all the latest exigencies of modern war.

But I should like to pass for a moment from the Belgian Army to point out that not less admirable has been the spirit which continues to be shown by the civil population at home. Their patriotism has yielded neither to cajolery nor coercion, though it has been subjected to a full measure of both. As lately as last May—and I want, if I can, to bring this fact home to the knowledge of the whole

civilized world—the German Governor General issued a new decree to give increased stringency to the law against Belgian workmen who refused to work for their oppressors.

There can be no doubt of the object. It is to enable the German invaders to requisition Belgian labor for their own military needs. This new decree imposes heavier penalties on those who refuse, and it contains further the remarkable provision which I am about to read and which I hope will be recorded everywhere —"Instead of having recourse to penal prosecutions, the Governors and military commandants may order that recalcitrant workmen shall be led by force to the places where they are to work." In other words, they are to be treated as slaves. This is the climax of a policy which has already resorted without success to starvation and deportation to subdue the untamable spirit of these brave men who refuse to become accomplices in the spoliation and oppression of their native land.

We here in Great Britain are taking note of these things. We do not mean to forget them; we intend to exact reparation for them; and in the meanwhile the spectacle of the sufferings and sacrifice of these patient and stubborn victims of inhumanity and tyranny is exciting the sympathy not only of the Allies, but of the whole neutral world.

Your Excellency, in the name of the British people I beg to send through you a message on this memorable anniversary. Tell your compatriots that their example has inspired and stimulated the allied nations and armies. Tell them that we are watching their suffering with sympathy and their patience and courage with heartfelt admiration. Tell them finally that when the hour of deliverance comes, and come it will before long, it will be to us here in Great Britain a proud and ennobling memory that we have had our share in restoring to them the freedom and independence to which no nation in the history of the world has ever shown a more indisputable title.

An Utterance That Caused the Suppression of a Berlin Newspaper

The article which caused the suppression of the Berlin Tageblatt on Aug. 1 is supposed to be one contributed by Maximilian Harden of Die Zukunft, in which this passage occurred:

Declarations that this war was an inevitable war, that Germany was forced into it all unprepared and against her will cannot be supported except by extremist partisans. Undoubtedly the conflict could have been avoided had the Government desired to avoid it.

Undoubtedly, too, it would have been avoided had the Reichstag been taken into the confidence of our rulers instead of being presented merely with a recital of actions taken independently of it. Such action was taken in the matter of the proposals for a conference on the Austro-Serbian situation that Sir Edward Grey made. They were rejected before the Reichstag had ever heard them.

The Imperial Chancellor's statement in regard to the regrettable necessity of violating the neutrality of Belgium was also made after the event. There are among us many indeed who maintain that the Reichstag should have been consulted before issuing the declaration of war. If that was impracticable, at least advice should have been taken from men like Prince von Bülow, whose long experience and profound acquaintance with the ways of diplomacy might perhaps have discovered a way to stop the war chariot from dashing us into the abyss.

The Germans and Science

By Paul Deschanel

Member of the French Academy and former President of the Chamber of Deputies

Translated for CURRENT HISTORY from the preface of "Les Allemands et la Science," a new volume by Gabriel Petit and Maurice Leudet.

WHEN the learned societies of France replied last year to the manifesto of the German intellectuals, Professor Gabriel Petit and M. Maurice Leudet began an inquiry among our most eminent scholars regarding the part that Germany has played in the development of the sciences. Their conclusion is that Germany is far from possessing the scientific superiority which she attributes to herself.

With certain exceptions the Germans have especially excelled in putting into use discoveries made by others. As Sir William Ramsay has said: "The greatest works of scientific thought are not due to scholars of the Teutonic race; even the precocious applications of science do not come from them."

On Nov. 3, 1914, the Academy of Sciences, associating itself with the protests of the other academies of the Institute of France, expressed itself thus:

"The Academy must recall attention to the fact that the Latin and Anglo-Saxon civilizations are the ones that have, in the last three centuries, produced most of the great discoveries in the mathematical, physical, and natural sciences, besides being the authors of the chief inventions of the nineteenth century. We protest, therefore, against the attempt to tie the intellectual future of Europe to the future of German science; against the assertion that the safety of European civilization depends upon the victory of German militarism, the Siamese twin of German Kultur."

Upon this declaration the following pages are a stirring commentary.

In the Teutonic conception, science, history, philosophy, religion, are national forces, like the army, diplomacy, credit. From this point of view science is no longer a universal and human thing, it belongs primarily to the service of the State. As Germany assumes to dominate the other nations, "German science" ought to be superior to that of other peoples. In the words of Fustel de Coulanges, "the interest of Germany is the ultimate aim of these indefatigable seekers."

For us Frenchmen it is not a matter of minimizing Germany's share, it is a matter of not allowing our own to be taken. France should no longer be a dupe of her own disinterested spirit. To put the case to a test, to perform a labor of justice, and not only of patriotism—this was the object sought to be attained by Messrs. Petit and Leudet. In giving publicity to the words of more than twenty French scientists, including those most highly qualified, it is not only France that they mean to serve, but truth. France has no need of feints and artifices to mark her place.

To appreciate the part played by each nation we must distinguish between invention, genius, and the works that follow discovery: the application of it, or the scholastic, industrial, and commercial organization of the idea, or, again, publicity, propaganda.

It is in application and organization that Germany excels; it is in these that we should profit from her lessons and perfect our methods. But creation belongs above all to France; in the seventeenth century, Descartes and Pascal; in the eighteenth, Lavoisier, and in the nineteenth, Pasteur.

In 1907 M. G. Darboux, permanent Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, drew the following picture of the scientific achievement of France in the first half of the nineteenth century:

"If there should appear some day a man who desires to write the complete history of our society, he will pause with patriotic joy over the period covering the

first half of the nineteenth century. The academy then gathered into its fold along with the scholars created by the slow labors of the monarchy all those who had been brought into prominence by the fruitful agitations of the Revolution and of the empire: Lagrange, Laplace, Monge, Legendre, Cauchy, Poissot, Sturm, in mathematics; Dupin, de Prony, Poncelet, Gambier, Séguier, in mechanics; Messier, Arago, Bouvard, Lalande, Delambre, in astronomy; Buache, Beautemps-Beaupré, de Freycinet, in geography; Biot, Ampère, Fourier, Poisson, Malus, Fresnel, Becquerel, Regnault, in physics; Berthollet, Gay-Lussac, Vauquelin, Dulong, Dumas, Boussingault, Proust, Chevreul, Thénard, Balard, in chemistry; Haüy, Brongniart, Ramon, in mineralogy; Cuvier, de Jussieu, Lamarck, Mirbel Lacépède, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, Milne-Edwards, in natural history; Larrey, Portal, Dupuytren, Pinel, Corvisart, Flourens, Magendie, Pelletain, in medicine and surgery, and as many more who will be a lasting honor to the French name."

In short, at no moment has any other nation presented to the world so many creators. Germany at that time had only one great name to point to—that of Gauss, the mathematician and astronomer of Göttingen. France has never denied that he was the equal of the most illustrious.

The savants cited by M. Darboux have opened up new paths in all domains. Cauchy transformed the methods of mathematical analysis. General Poncelet gave an impetus to geometry whose effects are still felt today. Ampère created electrodynamics and prepared the way for the discovery of telegraphy by electric wires. Fourier, celebrated for his theory of heat, was the true creator of mathematical physics, which came into being through the works of Lagrange and Laplace. Berthollet and Gay-Lussac were, after Lavoisier, the great lawgivers of chemistry. Haüy founded mineralogy. Lamarck, Cuvier, Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, from different points of view, laid the foundations of zoological philosophy. From their time the whole world bowed before the superiority of French science. All nations came to our school. In England, in Germany, men studied our discoveries, applied them, and tried to follow up and perfect them. The circle of scientific studies was broadening every day.

But in France our scientists also found worthy minds to follow up their discoveries. In the domain of mathematics the name of Henri Poincaré shines with especial brilliance. Gabriel Lamé, one of the ablest geometricians, followed up the labors of Fourier; Galois, though he died early, immortalized himself by his theory of groups; Charles Hermite won a place in the first rank of theoretical mathematics and abstruse analysis; Michel Chasles completed the discoveries of Poncelet and published an incomparable history of the progress and development of geometry; Joseph Liouville, a man of encyclopedic mind, will live especially through his theorems regarding the theory of functions; Joseph Bertrand, a precocious inventor, published the finest studies on the calculation of probabilities and on mathematical physics; Ossian Bonnet developed infinitesimal geometry; Georges Halphen, the glorious soldier of 1870, left us a great treatise on elliptical functions and precious original memoirs.

In physics Fresnel created the wave theory of light; Sadi Carnot, whose stroke of genius was developed later by the Germans Robermayer and Clausius, laid the foundations of the doctrine of energy by making known the principle with which physicians have honored his name; Regnault by his memorable experiences furnished engineers as well as theoretical investigators with the most valuable data; Amagat, who died in 1914, continued this work. If Röntgen made himself illustrious by his discovery of the X-rays, what progress does radioactive science not owe to Becquerel, Curie, and their emulators?

Hertz discovered the waves that bear his name, but the directing ideas had been given by an English genius, Maxwell. To Branly and to the Italian Marconi belongs the honor of wireless telegraphy. The first idea of the telephone came from the Frenchman Bourseul.

Foucault, Fizeau, Cornu discovered new methods of measuring the speed of light;

photography is due to Daguerre, photography in colors to Lippmann.

In mechanics it is to Seguin's invention of the tubular boiler that we owe the great development of railways. To Dupuy de Lôme belongs the idea of the armored cruiser. It was Marcel Deprez who first solved the problem of transporting power to distant points. The motor run by explosions is a discovery of our engineers; what the automobile owes to Forest and Levassor is already known.

After the labors of Meusnier and Charles aeronautics long remained an essentially French science. The first dirigibles were made by Dupuy de Lôme and Colonel Renard. In 1852 H. Giffard constructed a gas balloon equipped with a screw and rudder. It was two Frenchmen, Penaud in 1871 and Tatin in 1879, who demonstrated by experience the possibility of mechanical flight. Marey, by studying the flight of birds, and Renard, by his mathematical studies, gave us the theory of aviation. Ader and Santos-Dumont, in advance of the Wright brothers, built rudimentary and imperfect aeroplanes which were yet able to remain some moments in the air. Farman, in 1908, wrote the first page in the golden book of aviation.

If Germany gave the world Bessel, Fraunhofer, and Kirchhoff, the Frenchman Le Verrier, by his discovery of Neptune and his works on celestial mechanics, placed himself in the first rank of modern astronomers. Janssen, who created the spectroscope, should be ranked with the creators of physical astronomy. The renown of General Perrier, who has been called the restorer of French geodesy, is universal. Admiral Mouchez directed the international project of the chart of the heavens. Bouquet de la Grye and d'Abbadie took an important part in observing the two transits of Venus. Tisserand continued the work of Laplace by publishing an admirable treatise on celestial mechanics. The new measure of the arc of Quito was made under the direction of the Academy of Sciences by the officers of our geodetic service. The great works of Henri Poincaré have furnished the latest contributions to the essential theories of mathematical astronomy, to the problem of the three bodies, and to the study of the configuration of celestial bodies.

In geography and navigation the French genius has shone with an incomparable brilliancy. Certain names awaken bright memories: Lesseps, Grandidier, Brazza, Marchand.

In the domain of the physical sciences the part taken by France is no less glorious or fruitful. J. B. Dumas, Laurent, Gerhardt, Adolphe Wurtz discovered the fundamental laws of organic chemistry. The wonderful labors of Berthelot in synthetic chemistry effaced every boundary line between mineral and organic chemistry, establishing that unity which had so long been denied. His studies in thermal chemistry enabled him to penetrate the constitution of explosive substances, the theory of which he restored. He it was who first employed electrical energy in organic chemistry to combine the elements.

Deville gave to industry a new metal, aluminium. To him and his students is due the beautiful and fruitful theory of dissociation, which has become the first chapter in physical chemistry. H. Moissan, who isolated flourine, has given to the scientific world all his labors for the creation of an electrical furnace.

How can we forget that Pasteur was first of all a chemist? It was his studies in crystallography that led him to take up the subject of fermentations; and his researches in fermentation led him on to those studies of biological chemistry and the microbe theory which have transformed medicine and surgery. Fifteen years later Robert Koch merely borrowed, in the botanical realm, his method of cultures on gelatine. It is well known that the isolation of the tubercular bacillus, whose existence Villemin affirmed as far back as 1865, was realized by the German bacteriologist.

Germany also has a right to be proud of her chemists, Liebig, Bunsen, Hoffmann, Kékulé. Applied and industrial chemistry has been one of the sources of her prodigious economic development. Her spirit of perseverance and logic has

given her free range in this vast domain; but only rarely has she possessed what is the chief characteristic of French genius—intuition, the forerunner of invention.

To France botanical science owes Bornet, the distinguished phytologist; Zeiller and Renaut, the founders of paleobotany; van Tieghem, whose works have brought him a renown which his modesty never sought.

In mineralogy Haüy found disciples in our own country who were his equals. Delafosse, Bravais, Pasteur established molecular theories; optical properties were studied especially by Des Cloizeaux, de Sénarmont, Mallard; Fouqué and Michel Lévy established a new science, petrography; we owe to Henri Sainte-Claire Deville, to Daubrée, to Friedel, to Hautefeuille reproductions by synthesis of minerals found in nature; Albert Gaudry and his pupils made the most precious contribution to the study of fossil animals; Elie de Beaumont will go into history as one of the greatest geologists of modern times; Hébert, Gosselet, and Marcel Bertrand have carried forward our knowledge of the structure of our planet; the works of Charles Sainte-Claire Deville and of Fouqué on volcanoes are authorities.

Zoological science finds eminent representatives in France: De Quatrefages, Alphonse Milne-Edwards, who followed up the labors of his father; de Lacaze-Duthiers, creator of the laboratories of maritime zoology; Alfred Giard, author of beautiful studies in zoological philosphy, and histologists of distinction, founders of schools, Robin and Ranvier.

In medicine and surgery French savants stand in the first rank. Bichat, creator of general anatomy; Laennec, who invented ausculation; Bretonneau, who has been called the French Sydenham; Villemin, who proved that tuberculosis was contagious; Claude Bernard, of whom it was said that he was "physiology itself"; Brown-Séquard, who applied the doctrine of internal secretions to the art of healing; Paul Bert, author of many beautiful experimental researches in atmospheric pressure and mountain fever; Charcot, founder of the Salpêtrière School; Ollier, the great Lyons surgeon; Marey, who was led by his study of the movements of animals to the invention of the cinematograph; Chauveau, the contemporary and rival of Pasteur; Laveran, who first analyzed the origin and nature of swamp fevers and diseases due to blood parasites; Charles Richet, who introduced into medicine two fundamental theories, serotherapy and, more recently, anaphylaxis; Duclaux, Dr. Roux, Nocard, worthy students of the great Pasteur, to whom the world owes the celebrated establishment in the Rue Dutot—and with them the Russian, Metchnikoff, who discovered phagocytose—are masters before whom Germany herself is compelled to bow.

Finally, if one considers the Institute of France at the present moment, can Germany offer the equivalent of the mathematical section of our Academy of Sciences: Jordan, Darboux, Emile Picard, Appell, Painlevé, Humbert, Hadamard? And if we did not fear to weary our readers by too long an enumeration, could we not, by examining the other sections of the same academy, extend this comparison?

It will be noted that France, while holding an eminent place in the domain of science in bygone times, has not degenerated. Today, as yesterday, it is on French soil that the greatest creative achievements find birth. But, because France has the spirit of justice, she knows how to give credit to men of other lands who have enriched universal science. The English have every right to glory in the names of Dalton, Darwin, Sylvester, Cayley, Maxwell, Lord Kelvin, Faraday, Lord Lister, Lord Raleigh, Sir William Ramsay, Sir Patrick Manson, and many other great innovators whose ideas have scattered their seeds across the world. The Italians, to speak only of physicians and chemists, can be proud of Avogadro, Malaguti, Sobrero, Bertagnini, Cannizaro. And as to Germany, we are not ignorant of what science owes, in mathematics, to Jacobi; in physics, to Ohm, in chemistry, to Liebig, Wöhler, Bunsen, and Fischer; in biology, to Jean Muller, to Schwann, to Helmholtz, to Rodolphe Virchow, to Ehr-

lich, to Behring. But what we deny is the hegemony of German science. We hold for ourselves the honor of having been the leaders, the initiators, in the scientific domain, as in so many others, and the nations in whom a spirit of justice survives will recall the services we have rendered.

Ten years ago the Royal Society of London had the idea of appealing to all countries for the publication of an annual catalogue containing only the titles of the theatises in pure science published in the whole world. At present this catalogue consists each year of sixteen or seventeen compact volumes. The fact illustrates the intense development of scientific work, day by day, everywhere. Now the Germans, affecting no longer to use the French language, have urged every scientist to write in his own idiom, so that, to keep informed, one would have to know ten languages.

In order that no part of this labor should be lost, and that it should be at the service of all, a certain co-ordination is necessary. The Germans have long understood this: they wished to take the direction of the movement and to bring under subjection any science that was not born among them.

The German, in fact, is both disciplined and meticulous; he does not comprehend that the same thing can be done in two different ways; he does not see that, if co-ordination is good, liberty left in some degree to the choice of the worker vivifies and enriches the product. That is why the German is so proud; why, when he has caught up and triturated with his own methods the rich ideas which come to him from elsewhere, he imagines that these ideas are his, that it is he who has conceived them.

A word in the German language expresses this tendency exactly—the verb "bearbeiten," to work over. Frequently the German works things over. He does not admit that there can be found under the heavens any methods of work different from his own.

We think, on the contrary, that there is no need to do violence to anybody. In the scientific domain, as in others, each country should be guided by its own genius. It should apply itself to developing its own natural gifts in such a way as to form a harmonious whole, and different, in certain respects, from that of its neighbor. An orchestra is not made up of one kind of instruments, and, though concord is necessary, each instrument must yet preserve its own particular timbre and sonority.

Germany undertook to direct the concert, and even to stifle the other voices. Too long, among us, has the caprice of fashion, the superstition of force, served her ambitious designs. Our country ought to be grateful to the authors of this book for having established, not a truth at the service of the State, but the truth. An impartial judgment is the most beautiful homage that one can pay to the French genius.

England and Polish Relief

By Adolf von Batocki

Germany's Food Dictator

Great Britain, through Viscount Grey, has refused to allow American relief organizations to provision Poland unless Germany will agree to leave the new crops wholly for the Polish civilian population, and to give the American relief officials full control of the distribution of food. The following reply of Germany's food dictator was communicated through a staff correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES:

I CONSIDER Viscount Grey's arrogant and absurdly impossible terms dictated to Germany on which England would permit America to send foodstuffs into Poland not only a transparent and hypocritical play to the neutral gallery, but a subtle, cunning, and diabolical plot to draw Poland, Belgium, and Northern France into the theatre of the hunger war waged against humanity.

I am personally intensely interested in Viscount Grey's reported reply to America's appeal, and particularly in his threat that England would exact retribution and inflict punishment for every civilian life lost as a result of insufficient food in the territories occupied by the armies of the Central Powers. I am indirectly responsible for the feeding of Poland, because when foodstuffs are sent to the point of famine there I must give of our stocks in Germany, both for the army and for the civilian population. Thus there is no sugar in Courland, no sugar in Poland, or occupied Russia, for the retreating Russians destroyed all the beet-sugar factories, and so, although sugar is short in Germany, I must apportion small quantities to these occupied territories.

I am also intensely interested in the possibility of the neutral commission's ceasing its humanitarian work in France and Belgium, because in that case I would become responsible for feeding them. I must know what is needed in all the occupied territories outside of Germany, too. I am also indirectly in touch with Austria, as well as directly with Serbia and Turkey.

Viscount Grey's threat of retribution and punishment frightens me, but fortunately there is an army between him and me. But, first, nobody will starve, and, secondly, Grey will not catch me. If America's humanitarian desire to aid in feeding Poland is balked and frustrated by the opposition of England, not one person will die of hunger, although the food rations will be short.

Although he threatens me with death if a single individual starves to death in the occupied territories, I nevertheless would be very happy to invite Viscount Grey to visit Germany, Poland, Belgium, and Northern France and personally convince himself of the conditions and the work we are doing at home and in the occupied territories, and I should also be pleased to show him what the Russians did to Poland. I would be happy to have him bring along some of his poor relations among the allied statesmen, and would gladly explain to him my whole economic system, and would even promise to go to considerable trouble to get him safe conduct. Then Viscount Grey could personally convince himself that England cannot starve Germany, nor Poland, nor Belgium, nor Northern France either. It might be a great step toward peace if the legend about starving out Germany were thus blasted.

I personally feel that it is unjust to treat Belgium better than Poland. Either give something to both or give nothing, is my attitude.

I am no professional politician, and I speak thus purely as my personal opinion from my economic viewpoint. What our statesmen will do in the matter of Grey's food ultimatum and how they will do it, is none of my business. But if our

statesmen say, "break with England on this impossible proposal," then it at once becomes very much my business. The whole responsibility will fall on me. I am not afraid of this responsibility. I shall have to care for everything in the food line in the occupied territories, and I will make it go, too. I shall treat Poland, Belgium, Northern France, and Germany as one economic and organic whole for the distribution of the necessaries of life. It will be hard on the Belgians, but better for the Poles and the Jews.

Belgium will get a little less and Poland a little more, but, all the same, nobody will hunger. There will be an equal distribution of the absolute necessaries. Both in Poland and Belgium all will receive enough bread, potatoes, and salt, also some sugar, very little meat, also very little fat, and fish not at all. Naturally, they will get no coffee, tea, or spices.

We must have complete control of the railways at all times. Where there are so few of them we cannot have outsiders meddling with the military railways. Under Grey's terms, no control over the railroads would be possible. It would simply lead to continuous friction with the neutral commissions in the matter of food transfers. Food shipments and distribution as between the army and the native population cannot be kept separate. As a practical example, Warsaw may have to give potatoes to the army, and we in turn may send potatoes to Warsaw. Furthermore, in the agricultural districts of Poland the Russians in retreating took away many of the inhabitants, as well as their horses. They destroyed the agricultural implements and machinery and burned down the barns and other farm buildings. As a result the German Army had to pitch in and help till the fields.

The German Army plowed and planted several millions of acres in Poland. It will now help in the harvest, and must further help in the farming in the future. The inhabitants alone cannot do it, because the larger part of their horses, tools, and buildings are gone and the greatest part of the seed had to be sent from Germany. There also are whole regions where there are practically no farming inhabitants left, notably in the Baltic provinces. In Poland there are none at all immediately behind the front, so that the German Army has had and will continue to have to cultivate the land right up to the front.

Belgium and occupied France have until now been excluded from England's hunger war. The English have permitted foodstuffs to be brought into these territories under control of a neutral commission, and these were distributed as extra rations, in addition to the foods produced in the country. As a result, food conditions in those occupied territories became in many respects better than in Germany. Although from the German viewpoint this form of regulation gives rise to complaint, we nevertheless permitted it, in order to make the lot of the native Belgian and Northern French populations as pleasant as possible. In addition, our authorities, through the careful and thorough stimulation of agriculture in the territories occupied in the west, have assured to these territories the greatest possible food supply out of the present harvest, now beginning. And while Germany's stocks of cattle became depleted as a result of the shortage of fodder, necessitating a limit to the consumption of meat on the part of the German population, cattle stocks in the occupied territories in the west have developed favorably, even better than in peace times, and the Belgian meadows today are richer in cattle than ever before.

Much more hateful and ruthless has been Russia's attitude toward the Poles, Lithuanians, Jews, and other inhabitants of the vast Russian territory occupied by the German troops. This territory is so great and fruitful that the 1915 harvest would have sufficed adequately to feed the native population if the Russians before their flight had not destroyed as much as possible of the live stock and supplies, and even the standing harvest. Through their gruesome and senseless devastation of countless farmhouses and other buildings they condemned the unfortunate inhabitants to spend the Winter huddled together in the poorest shelters, to build which our troops aided the population as much as possible. After the oc-

cupation of this territory everything was done on our part to save that part of the harvest that had not been destroyed, and so to divide the food supplies that even in the large cities a famine was avoided.

The armies in the east were fed as far as possible from Germany in order to leave as much foodstuff as possible to the natives. Despite all this the situation was extremely hard for the poor population in many parts of the occupied territory, particularly in Warsaw, Lodz, and similar cities until the present harvest began. Naturally our authorities could not do England the favor of letting the inhabitants of Germany starve in order to send foodstuffs from Germany to the population of occupied territory to replace what the Russians had purposely destroyed.

A year ago the cries of the West Russian population were directed toward America and all neutral States. The desire to create in Poland as in Belgium an international relief work, has been shattered against the opposition of England. England would rather see Polish women and children starve than run the risk of having anything whatever reach the German population from Poland. England, therefore, procrastinated, delayed negotiations, and set up conditions which for military reasons were impossible of acceptance by Germany. The consequences, despite all the care of the German authorities, have had to be borne by the women and children of West Russia. But there was one thing that our authorities could at least take care of; namely, that this year's harvest in West Russia was prepared for in the best possible way. This could not be achieved entirely without sacrifices on the part of the German people, for large quantities of seed had to be exported from Germany into the districts devastated by the Russians. This sacrifice has had its result. As in Germany and the territories in the west a very good harvest stands on the fields of this vast region of Poland, Livland, and Courland. In many cases the crop is better than ever was the case under Russian Government.

Peace Appeal of the German National Committee

The formal appeal of the German National Committee, which has been formed to procure an "honorable peace," is signed, among others, by Professor Harnack, the great theologian, and begins:

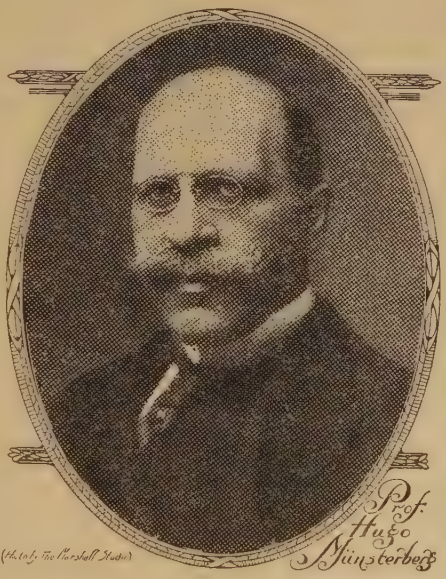
"The German National Committee wishes to unite independent and patriotic men belonging to the various parties who take the standpoint that, while no timidity should hamper the future safety of the empire, no frivolous covetousness should endanger that safety now or in the future. This can only be attained by a peace that resolutely avoids the unwillingness to fight of the pacifists at any price and the insatiability which is displayed in the manifestos of the Pan-German League. The Imperial Chancellor in March, 1916, in a speech on which Field Marshal von Hindenburg congratulated him, gave the formula for this peace, namely, the extension of our frontiers in the east and real guarantees in the west, without both of which there can be no peace and no surrender of the occupied territories."

The appeal adds that the task of the committee "must be to procure with similarly disposed people a uniform feeling as the basis for a German peace." It presses for freedom to discuss peace, "which has hitherto been refused by the Government."

The Allies of the Future

By Professor Hugo Münsterberg
Of Harvard University

AFTER the war the Russian and the British world empires will and must be the central energies of two diverging combinations, and Germany, whatever the peace may bring, will be the one European power which can tip the scale for either on the world balance. Many in Germany would quickly decide in favor of an alliance with Russia. Austria, Turkey, and Japan would join it heartily and other nations would lean toward it. It would be a tremendous alliance—and yet it would bring incalculable harm. One effect would be sure—it would lead to a war with England after a few short years. Russia, with Japan, Germany, Austria, and Turkey combined, would feel strong enough for the final blow of the bear's paw at India and Egypt. Revenge on England would be the German motive for this unnatural alliance, and the war cry of revenge would stir all the nations which have winced under England's grasp.



This would be really the superwar, and the struggle of today would appear a mere prelude. The world would be at stake. Europe would be devastated, for the first time Asia would tremble, and America would be drenched with blood. The peace after this war would be only a signal for a new grouping which would raise the spectre of a new and more horrible struggle to terrorize the earth. The German-Russian-Japanese alliance would be a league to enforce war; but we want peace, and every effort ought to be bent to avert such a gruesome future.

Only one way remains open, the way in the opposite direction. Germany must join not Russia, but England. Moreover, as Japan has definitely allied itself with Russia for the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine, and as the two Asiatic powers would menace America's position in the Pacific, the United States cannot remain isolated. But every danger for its world commerce is removed if America joins the British-German alliance. The English Navy, the German Army, the American wealth, nay, the English diplomacy, the German thoroughness, and the American optimism and dash, form an alliance which is invincible. It is the one league in the world the mere existence of which would guarantee the peace of the next generation.

France and Austria, Italy and Sweden, Holland and Spain, Brazil and Argentina, would naturally cluster about this massive union of the big three. It would be America and Central Western Europe on one side, Asia and Eastern Europe on the other; but such a partition of the world would not even suggest a contest of arms, as Russia could not dare to attack India and Germany at the same time. It would be truly a world division with a historic allotment of peaceful tasks. If America, Great Britain, and Germany frankly and heartily decide to stand together, the war of today may be the last great war for a century.

Obstacles surely crowd this way, but is it not worth every effort to remove the hindrances if it is clear that every other way leads only to abysses? America felt strong in its traditional policy of avoiding alliances with the distant European nations, but in this age of the storage battery and the wireless those European countries are no longer distant. They have become near neighbors, and the politics of the United States is firmly intertwined with their fate.

But it appears useless to discuss the small serious arguments against such a union, as one opposing power seems greater than arguments—the hate. The sowers of hate have gone up and down through the three lands and the seed has grown. Will not this hate strike out every line of a possible treaty? No, and a hundred times no, because British and Germans and Americans are not Sicilians and Corsicans who swear vendetta. Teutons can hate, but they hate nothing worse than hatred. It is tolerated as long as it serves its purpose of stirring the soul for the passionate deed, but when the smoke of the guns has been dispersed by the wind the hatred will have cleared away too. Among the many feelings in which these three noble peoples will find their union there will surely be the common feeling of shame at the absurd extent of their loathing.

The sober hours will come and the necessary illusions will lose their influence. Germans, British, and Americans alike will see that they operated with too simple psychology, simple as that of the moving-picture dramas where no complex mental states are allowed and every character is angel or villain and must shout yes or no. It is not true that the responsible men of any nation wanted war. They all sincerely wished to avoid it, while they all saw its unavoidable coming. They really did not want it, and yet subconsciously they all wanted it. Even when the furies of war had swept through the land no nation planned an immoral deed. It is true in Belgium and Greece, in Persia and Spain, in China and Africa, and where not, treaties were ignored in this war; but has not the Supreme Court of the United States for all time proclaimed "that circumstances may arise which would not only justify the Government in disregard of their stipulations, but demand in the interests of the country that it should do so? Unexpected events may call for a change in the policy of the country." It stamps it as the American idea of international law "that, while it would always be a matter of the utmost gravity and delicacy to refuse to execute a treaty, the power to do so was the prerogative of which no nation could be deprived without deeply affecting its independence." Many mistakes have been made. German statesmen regret sincerely the German ones; no doubt the British feel the same about the British ones. No one can wonder that in the heat of the struggle those blunders, when they did harm, were denounced as moral wrongs, that every unintentional homicide was branded as murder and every munition sale was abused as hypocrisy and violation of neutrality. But can this temper last?

Are we not anyhow too much under the suggestion of the impudent headlines? However much the press, the priests, and, alas! the professors have sinned in all three lands, do we not overestimate the amount of hatred? Germany and England have almost buried it, and America will follow. Above all, it has had to struggle more and more with the opposite feeling. Those who really know are sure that the strongest mental effect of these two years of war is a new mutual respect of the belligerent nations for one another. The Germans had never believed that France still possessed such wonderful courage and that Russia had improved its national life so much since the Japanese war and that Great Britain would find such imposing loyalty in its colonies. Nor had Western Europe believed that Austria or "the sick man," Turkey, would show so much strength, and the admiration for Germany's efficiency is proved by the eager imitation. The loud and fashionable detestation belonged to the claptrap of the war; the increased respect will be the lasting outcome. How England and France or England and the Boers hated each other!

How bitter was the hatred between Russia and Japan, and today they are cordially united. When peace comes the hatred will be the nightmare of yesterday; the Teuton mind will shake it off and America, Britain, and Germany will form the one alliance which will secure peace without any clouds on the horizon.

But surely one other resolution will be necessary for it. If the world wants real peace for the twentieth century it must prepare for it by the terms of Christmas, 1916. The one alliance which can save Western Europe will not come if it is not initiated by the spirit of this Fall's peace negotiations. If any great nation leaves the field humiliated its rankling wound will endanger the future. Each has bravely given its heart's blood for its freedom, each must return from the battle in honor with unbroken sword. The triumph of past conflicts was to see the foe in the dust; in our age of the new idealism the greatest triumph in the struggles of war, as in the battles of social reform, is not to crush the enemy but the enmity. This war was worth the appalling sacrifices only if through it not one people but mankind is advanced. Each nation must feel a stronger self-reliance, a happier willingness to live up to its mission, a larger trust in its safety and its future than it ever felt in the age before the explosion. That was a time of distrust and suspicion and envy and anger and fear which choked the strongest; we greet the new time of mutual confidence.

Germany has earned the most obvious war laurels of the old style, as its brave armies hold the conquered lands of the enemy. It is, therefore, first of all Germany's duty to initiate the coming age; and Germany is ready. Germany will not demand a square foot of the conquered territory in France or Belgium; this is an area abundant in treasures of the soil which Germany needs; but it will renounce them, and this ought to be the symbol for the settlements of the coming Winter. More than that, the Germans see with open eyes that they will suffer great and painful colonial losses. The jewel of their love, Kiao-Chau, may never be returned to them; and, worse, the only large colony which was really fit for the German immigrant, Southwest Africa, may be held by the Boers who invaded it. It will be only a small territorial substitute if Germany receives the old German province of Courland from Russia and perhaps other African colonies from France, from Belgium, from Portugal, where German people cannot live, but from which at least raw material may be secured for German industry.

Germany even seems to be willing in the interest of the peace of Europe to have Poland made a kingdom again, connected with Austria. No doubt this, too, involves a certain German sacrifice, as it may easily bring restlessness to the Poles of Prussia's eastern provinces. It may be that Bessarabia will go to Rumania, but surely Russia will have no reason to complain. A wonderfully rich prize will be hers, as the world will be ready to give all Persia to Russia, and with it the harbors which no ice can block. Even Afghanistan may fall to her lot.

England, as always through the centuries, will be a winner without loss. The diamond land of Southwest Africa may be added to Rhodesia. But England will also get possession of Egypt, after having forgotten for a while that she does not possess it yet. France will receive back all the land which Germany has conquered, and it may be that the peace conference will give to her that part of Lorraine which she occupies today, perhaps in exchange for a good part of Morocco in order that Germany may have at least some foothold in Africa where Germans can live in a moderate climate. Belgium will certainly go back to the Belgians, and at last their racial instinct will be fulfilled; the Flemish and the Walloons will find the chance to have separate administration in their own languages.

It is easy to foresee that there will be some malcontents in every German village who will complain as the Japanese complained after the peace of Portsmouth. They will feel that the German

armies had made the greatest gains and that the diplomats took from their hands what they conquered. Their lament will sound faintly in the chorus of German approval.

When the war broke out no responsible German dreamed of conquest. The cartoonists of her enemies amused their public with Germany's plans for European dominion and comforted them with Germany's failure, as she did not even swallow Paris and Petrograd, not to speak of Peking and Rio de Janeiro. The Germans made in Germany see the hopes fulfilled with which they took up the defense of their country. Not the gain of territory but the safety of Germany's future was their dream. Long freight trains will move to and fro between Berlin and Bagdad, the pressure from east and west will be removed, the sea will be free for Germany's industry and world commerce, the encircling ring of jealousy is broken once for all. Europe knows now the German swords and spears; tomorrow they will be beaten into pruning hooks and plowshares. The jealousy between England and Germany will yield to an earnest desire for mutual understanding, and each will learn from the other. Germany's respect for England's success in its colonies and England's respect for Germany's social organization will mold the future of the two nations. How much less would Germany gain, if it gained more!

But it is not enough that Germany and England alone lay the foundations for the great future alliance in the peace negotiations. The third partner must not wait until the decisive steps of the European nations have been taken. The one alliance which can crown the century demands not only that Germany and England find each other but that they find each other through the good-will of America. Sensationalists have tired our ear with their cries of remember this and remember that and remember everything; it is a greater art and a higher task to forget. If America will, both Germany and England can forget, and in the ocean of thought which binds the three peoples the submarines of emotion will leave their torpedoes at home and will ply unarmed to the foreign shores. Individuals are freer than peoples. Nothing seems needed but that three great men listen to the voice of the age and fulfill today the sacred task for which it may be too late tomorrow. The gods of history have put three great Democrats each into the place of honor and trust and power. If Woodrow Wilson, Bethmann Hollweg, and Lloyd George will speak the word for which the century is ripe, not only this war will be ended, but future wars will be impossible.

The Vitality of France

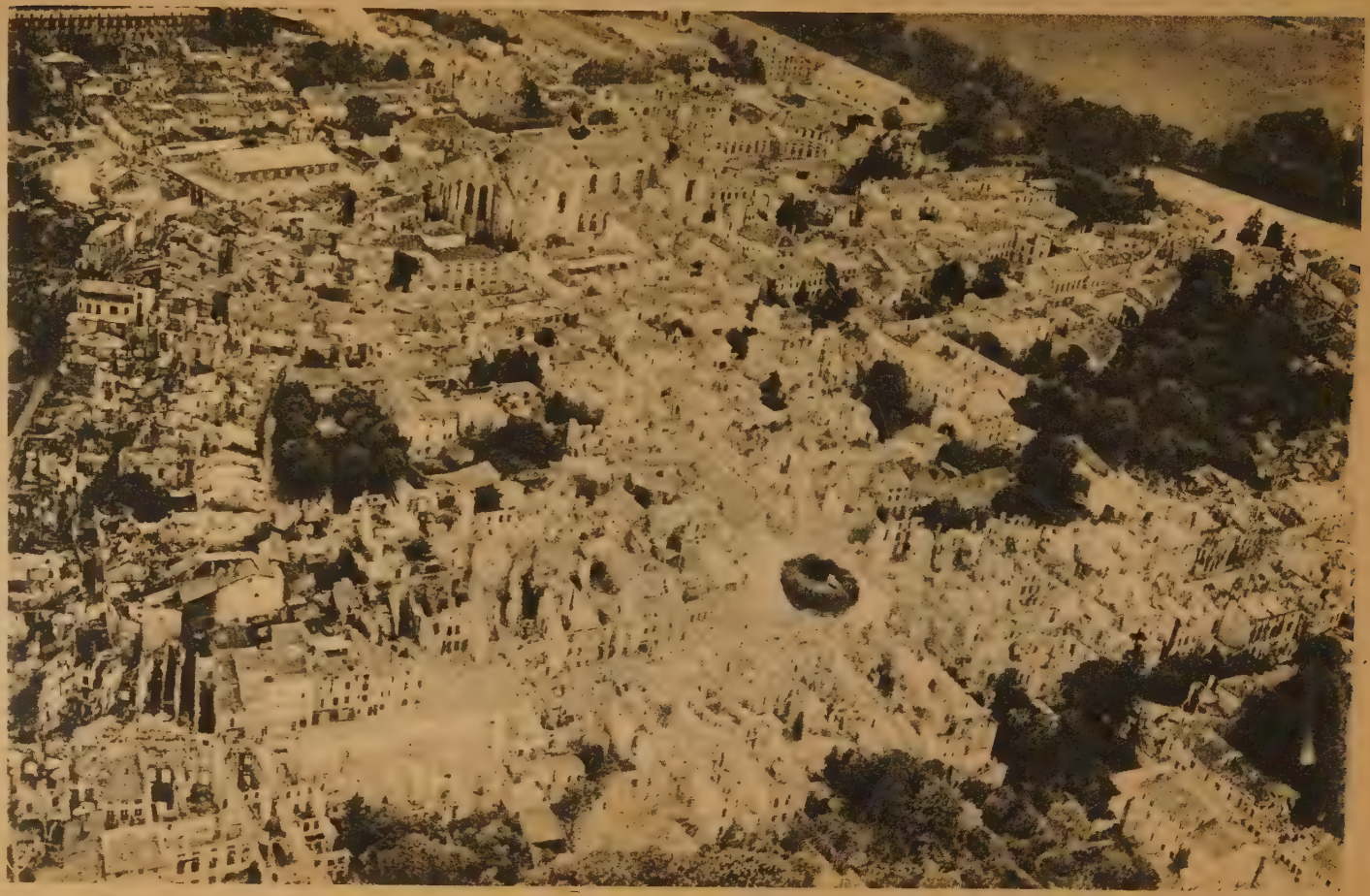
How the Nation Recovered From Three Devastating Wars

By Ernest Lavisse
Of the French Academy

This address, translated for CURRENT HISTORY from Les Annales de France, is the last of a series of twelve historic letters addressed to the French people. It is written by Ernest Lavisse of the French Academy, President of the Committee of Publication, which consists of fifteen of the intellectuals of the republic, including Bedier, Bergson, Boutroux, Denis, Admiral Degouy, and other conspicuous leaders in academic and literary circles.

THE English and the French, today faithful allies, often were bitter foes. One of their wars lasted a hundred years. France seemed definitely conquered when, in 1422, the foolish King Charles VI. died. Charles VII., who succeeded him, reigned over only some cantons of the Loire country, and gave up hope of recovering his kingdom. Joan of Arc, a true daughter of our people, knew, as our people know today, that France cannot

VERDUN IN RUINS: PHOTOGRAPHED FROM A FRENCH AEROPLANE



The Portion of Verdun Around the Little Open Square, Where the Ring of Shrubbery Is Seen, Has Suffered Most From German Shells. The Cathedral Beyond Also Has Many Great Holes in It.

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood.)

CHARACTERISTIC RUSSIAN TYPES IN THE BUKOWINA DRIVE

The Russians Captured Many Pieces of Artillery in Their Onward Sweep. The Soldiers Here Photographed Are Grouped About a German Howitzer Taken From the Koenigsberg Regiment of Grenadiers. In the Background Is the Orthodox Church of Czartorysk.

Photo by Central News Service.)

a serious matter, because the Kurds in Persia alone number about 1,000,000 people who may now be assumed to be hostile to the enemies of Turkey. It may, therefore, be necessary at a later and more convenient period to disarm the Kurd tribes completely, a proceeding which their neighbors would view with satisfaction.

ADVANCES THROUGH PERSIA

At the outbreak of war Persia became the centre of German activities to embarrass Britain and Russia in the East. The propaganda was directed from the German Legation at Teheran and their Consulates throughout the country, and sought in the first instance to bring about a mutiny in the Indian Army and to inflame the Mussulmans of Afghanistan and India to a holy war.

Afghanistan is practically a vassal State of the Indian Empire—like the independent principalities in India—and a word from the British Commissioner was sufficient to have the German and Turkish emissaries there interned until the end of the war.

Certain Swedish officers in the Persian gendarmerie were won over by the Germans, although they owed their appointment to the British and Russian Governments. The Kurds and other tribes were armed, British and Russian Consulates attacked, and Persian tribes invaded British Beluchistan—some 300 miles beyond the Indian frontier.

The Ministers of the Central Powers had almost influenced the Shah to intrust himself to their protection when the Russian commander at Kasbin, who had considerable forces engaged in policing the Russian sphere of influence, warned the Shah in the name of Britain and Russia that he would forcibly intervene and marched on Teheran. The other party fled to Ispahan, where the Russians followed and arrested many of them.

Meanwhile the British landed troops at Bushire and looked after the southern rebellion. Bushire has been the seat of British power and influence in the Persian Gulf since the old East India Company transferred its headquarters from Bender Abbas. They occupied Kerman, the principal town in Southern Persia, on June 12.

The Russian commander at Kasbin, having secured his communications with the seaport of Resht, on the Caspian Sea, whence he could receive reinforcements and supplies, advanced on Hamadan and drove the rebels before him to Kermanshah. He occupied the latter town after some severe fighting with Turks and Kurds under German officers, who had come as reinforcements and sought to prevent a junction between the Russian and British forces. He lost it in June and regained it in July.

It is this Russian army which, advancing along the main caravan road toward Bagdad, is now held up on the frontier near Khanikin by a strongly intrenched Turkish force.

These Russians were within eighty miles of Bagdad—sufficiently near for a detachment of Cossacks to make a detour and join hands with the British at Kut-el-Amara—but the British, after suffering a long siege at Kut-el-Amara, and being unable to receive reinforcements or supplies, surrendered to the Turks, whereupon the Russians fell back.

While these events were happening, the Twelfth Turkish Army Corps from Mosul advanced in January, 1915, along the fairly good road through the Kurd country into Persia, occupied Urmia, and, skirting the southern shore of the lake, seized Tabriz, the capital of Northwestern Persia, and the most important commercial city in the whole country. This not only threatened the Russian left wing in the Armenian highlands, but also the great oil fields of Baku and the Russian main communications.

Russia was not slow in driving the invaders back the way they came, and her advance guard, by making a detour, as previously stated, surprised the Turkish garrison at Rowandiz and threatened Mosul itself.

The Russian engineers have since carried their railhead from Julfa, on the border, to Tabriz, which they were entitled to do under a railway concession granted by Persia previous to the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. This enables them to open up a new base at Tabriz for the

Russian army advancing on Mosul, and to open new and direct communication with their army advancing on Bagdad.

THE PRESENT POSITION

It is apparent that the British and Russian armies in Turkey are marking time for the moment; and that the late Lord Kitchener was on his way to concert joint action with the Russian high command in regard to this theatre, irrespective of whatever other business he may also have had on hand.

The revolt of the Arabs in Arabia and their seizure of the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina appears to have been engineered by the British as an effective and crushing reply to Turkey's proclamation of a holy war.

The Turks for some time have been apprehensive that the British may employ their large excess army in Egypt to effect a landing in the Gulf of Alexandretta, or elsewhere on the Levantine coast, with a view to seizing the unfinished tunnels through the Taurus and Amanus Mountains and the City of Aleppo. That route is the only remaining means of communication left to the Turkish armies in Mesopotamia and Syria, and, as it runs within twenty miles of the coast, their apprehension appears to be well founded.

Since the capture of Erzingan the Russians have steadily advanced in that region, but very slowly. Their left wing has met with stubborn resistance, and has met with reverses in the Mush-Bitlis-Urmia district. Bagdad seemed still secure in Turkish possession at the close of the second year of the war. Flying detachments of Russians have sought to cut the Bagdad Railway in the vicinity of Aleppo, but no substantial force had gained a footing in that district up to the middle of August.

But when the Allies again get to business in this theatre of war we may look for dramatic happenings, and the early elimination of Turkey from the war need not surprise us.

Remaking International Law to Justify Zeppelin Raids

Professor Eltzbacher, Rector of the Commercial University of Berlin, has published a book entitled "Dead and Living International Law," in which he argues that the international law which applied when army fought against army has become to a great extent a dead letter, now that nation fights nation. Seeing, therefore, (he proceeds,) that war is now waged against a whole enemy people, the justified aim of war is "to break the strength of the enemy people, this strength being the last foundation of military resistance." Professor Eltzbacher contends that any means that promises to be efficient may be employed for the purpose of breaking that strength, and he recommends particularly measures calculated to paralyze the psychic forces of the enemy nation.

Following up this argument, he asserts that "bombs may be dropped out of the air even when no purely military purpose may be served thereby and no economic damage caused, the justification being that fear and disinclination to war are thereby engendered among the enemy people and the psychic foundations of the conduct of the war thus destroyed." The learned author adds: "It is true that individuals will be killed and injured and private property will be damaged by bombs thus dropped, but this is only a means by which the nation as a whole can be reached." Herr Eltzbacher would retain one prescription of "obsolete" international law, namely, that which says: "The civilian population participates only passively in war. It is forbidden to resort to force in any circumstances." That is to say, the German professor argues that the civilian population must submit placidly to being bombarded from the air, but renders itself liable to be court-martialed, should the opportunity occur, if it takes any action in self-defense.

The Frankfurter Zeitung remarks that "as murderous inventions succeed each other very quickly, and one can never be sure of possessing the last and best, it will be very good policy to return to the 'old' international law." It does not quite see how this is to be done, but it concludes by asserting that "the legal system which characterizes as appropriate and as free from all objection the bombardment of open towns from the air, with all its consequences, might have conformed with Assyrian views and ideas, but does not conform with European ideas, and especially not with German."

The Kaiser's Attitude Toward France

By Ferdinand Bac

Translated from the French for CURRENT HISTORY

The distinguished French publicist, Ferdinand Bac, has contributed to La Revue a vivid study of the German Emperor, which seems to show that, not long before the war, the Kaiser warmly appreciated many qualities of the French Nation, and would have done something to lighten the lot of Alsace and Lorraine if this could have been accomplished without impairing his own prerogatives. But a few months before the war his attitude underwent a marked change, turning, as was indicated in a famous conversation with King Albert of Belgium, from partial sympathy to positive hostility. It is probable that the influence of the Crown Prince, as leader of the war party, counted for a good deal in this change. M. Bac tells how two French Dukes were the Kaiser's guests at Kiel on board the imperial yacht Hohenzollern while the Meteor was racing in the regatta.

DURING the race the Kaiser held the steering wheel, buttressed in a rigid attitude; during a turn of the race he said to his guest:

"Good! I see you can handle the ropes yourself! You enjoy having a real finger in the pie! You are a genuine sailor! I have no fancy for great lords who imagine they must always keep their hands in their pockets, and who would feel themselves dishonored if they even touched a deck chair!"

When the lunch hour came the Kaiser himself waited on his guests, passed dishes of pastry, and poured out the port wine.

"I love the sea passionately," he said, "even more than I love my army. I never feel completely free, except when I am at sea, liberated from all constraint. If it were possible for me I would pass my whole life on the water."

His noble guests noticed that he spoke very harshly to his Generals and the officers on duty about him; in fact, his orders were sharp as the crack of a whip, in true Prussian style; but, whenever he spoke to an inferior or a simple sailor, his tone became affable and good-natured. He loves to chat and joke with them, but there is always something artificial, an ill-concealed condescension in his tone. During the race two of the Meteor's crew fell into the water. The Kaiser himself took a hand in rescuing them, and received them in his arms, one of which, with withered tendons, was somewhat awkward in holding them. At last they were standing before him. He passed his hands over their bodies, like a Custom House officer making a search, to press the water out of their jerseys; then he said to them, "Now, go at once and get dried; and don't think any more about the race!" But a member of the Kaiser's household, a great dignitary of the empire, seeing him thus occupied with his sailors, bent toward the Duke's ear and said to him laughingly:

"When a General falls off his horse, the Emperor never turns back. * * * At heart he does not love his officers so exclusively as is supposed. Abroad, he is thought of as ceaselessly in councils of war with his helmet and his sword, surrounded by his General Staff. But in reality he only loves his lords, and feels at his ease only with them. And then he detests officials. Sometimes I have the greatest trouble getting him to confer with the diplomatists."

That evening, in the cabin of the imperial yacht, the Emperor himself confirmed this view. Comfortably stretched on his cushions, he said:

"France has not always been quite lucky in recruiting her Ambassadors. I have never had closer relations with any one than with the Duke de Noailles. When he was at Berlin, I used to come to his house at 8 o'clock in the morning, and go straight to his room. He was still in bed. Then I used to sit on the edge of his bed and we chatted for hours. It was delightful and in the best possible tone. We were comrades. The Naval Attaché was J. I have a great affection for him. He was a real friend of

mine, and I felt as if we were fellow-countrymen; on the sea, at least, we are; we are compatriots of the sea.

"I do not think," he went on, "that many Frenchmen who have come into close relations with me have gone away with a favorable impression. But then there are very few with whom relations are so pleasant as with you! * * * I tell you this in all sincerity, because I think it." * * *

The Emperor went on to speak of Franco-German relations. This was some time before the war. Taking the devil by the horns, he said:

"Perhaps in France there are doubts as to my sincere desire for good relations with her. But there you are wrong. It is a constant and clearly formed wish. Naturally, not with M. Delcassé. But you understood the necessity of depriving him of power. If you did this, it was not to please me, I can easily believe, but to get rid of a man who wanted to correct the map of Europe without having the gift for it. What reasonable man would today think of forming a European coalition against us, without making himself ridiculous? For such a Utopian idea to be possible, it would be necessary for Germany to have incurred the hatred of all nations. * * *"

The Kaiser then talked about the capital of France: "My sons are very fond of Paris. They come home full of enthusiasm. I am even convinced that it would not do to let them go there too often.

"It seems that they believe in France that I visit Paris from time to time. It is a fable that amuses me. I myself ought to know whether I go there or not. In what disguise—with a false beard and black spectacles? No, I have not been in Paris since 1886. I stayed then at the Hotel M.—, in the Rue de la Paix, a quiet little hotel, very well kept. Is it still in existence? It was my mother who advised me to go there. * * *"

Then the Emperor's mind turned to what Frenchmen thought and said of him:

"You say in France that I am theatrical and that I change my uniform ten times a day for anything or for nothing. But this is the criticism of democrats who understand nothing of the obligations of the head of the State in a monarchy. My view is that every renunciation of representative stage setting is equivalent for a sovereign, and even for any power, to a moral abdication. Do not your priests wear a special costume, and your Judges, and your Academicians? At the Assizes your Judges take their seats in red robes, and no one finds that ridiculous. With you it is a last remnant of the requirements of other days which are still those of today. You will tell me that this is not so in America and that things go none the worse there on that account; but America has no historical tradition of decorum, and it is made up of several nations, while France is the most unified in tradition of all countries. You have a recent past, which was very decorative. These things do not vanish in a day. The disappearance of pomp is a very bad thing for you. Believe me, it is necessary to fill the eyes of the people. * * *"

That evening, in the smoking room of the yacht, the Emperor said:

"You have not yet asked me, my Lord Duke, how I consider the question of Alsace-Lorraine. This astonishes me, for it is the chief preoccupation which I can read on the lips of every Frenchman I come in contact with. Well, it is without doubt a very serious question! What do you wish me to do about it? I was eleven years old at the time of the Franco-Prussian war, I found the situation there already formed, and formed by the blood of our soldiers. I should like to have a Frenchman put himself in my place for a single day.

"I have often meditated on this question, which preoccupies me more than you would believe. But I have not discovered the solution; you can well understand that I am responsible before the nation for this legacy which I inherited and that I cannot act without weighing all my duties toward every one concerned.

"I have thought of erecting Alsace into a Duchy; I have consulted competent men, the distinguished men of the province. Do you know what they

answered me? 'A Duchy with a Prussian Prince? Never!' What then? A distinguished man of the province, whom I should create Duke? Once again, No. They told me that he would be suspected and that he would incur the hatred of all the other families.

"I myself would never have annexed Alsace-Lorraine; I should have demanded indemnity of another kind. Today we should be friends. But what I want is not a salute with the hat; what I want is a warm grasp of the hand! * * *

"I have done everything in my power to come to a good understanding with your Government. Everything would be possible, if it did not ceaselessly fear opposing factions who would exploit the patriotic chord to upset it at the slightest open advance.

"What would you have, then? We shall never do anything. Consider that in ten years our position will be still stronger, if we admit that we shall have nearly eighty millions of population. No one understands your scruples better than I do. I have a high appreciation for your patriotism, but I am certain that all intelligent men see clearly that an understanding between us would make us the masters of the world. * * *"

The meaning of the last phrase is, of course, that the combined fleets of Germany and France might be able to beat the English fleet, making Wilhelm II. "Admiral of the Atlantic" in reality. Later, he pulled every string in an endeavor to bring England to combine with him against France, still with the same ambition to be "master of the world."

A few months before the war, says M. Bac, Kaiser Wilhelm learned that a portrait bust of him, by a famous sculptor, had been refused by the Paris Salon. Shortly after this, while he was at Weisbaden, chatting in the anteroom of his box at the city theatre with some Frenchmen, he said to them:

"Decidedly, there is nothing more to be done with you! You will have nothing to do with me—not even in effigy!"

And his Majesty repeated, with a nervous irritation, in which could be perceived bitter, almost childish disappointment: "Not even in effigy!"

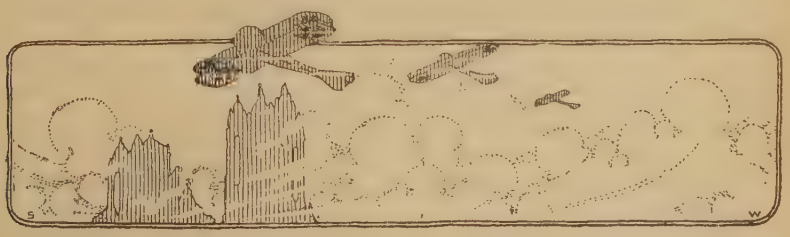
EDITORIAL NOTE.—In curious confirmation of the foregoing are the words of an eminent neutral who visited Berlin last July, and who tells of a conversation in which the Kaiser commented on the "British theory" that he was responsible for the war, saying:

"It is curious how this theory seems to fascinate my enemies. Yet, the people who accuse me of having caused the war are the very people who previously testified to the earnestness of my desire for peace."

He paused a moment, then continued in grave tones:

"I do not envy the man who has the responsibility for this war upon his conscience. I, at least, am not that man. I think history will clear me of that charge although I do not suppose that history will hold me faultless. In a sense every civilized man in Europe must have a share in the responsibility for this war, and the higher his position the larger his responsibilities. I admit that and yet claim that I acted throughout in good faith and strove hard for peace, even though war was inevitable.

"Why do you neutrals always talk about German militarism and never about Russian despotism, the French craving for revenge or English treachery? I think the next generation will strike a more just balance in apportioning the blame."



How the Kaiser Was Forced to Begin the World War

By Paul Albert Helmer

Directing Editor of Nouvelles de France

This study of "The Responsibility of the Pan-Germanist League for the War of the Nations" is the work of one of the most brilliant intellects of France. It was originally delivered by the author as a lecture in the Grand Amphitheatre of the Sorbonne, Paris, and has been specially translated for CURRENT HISTORY. *In its originality of thought and its massing of evidence it must rank with the most important essays that have yet appeared on the European war.*

SOME months ago the German journals reported to us an impressive scene. Before a hillock which covered the bodies of German soldiers fallen in the terrible combats in Flanders, William II. had halted —the prey of a lively emotion—and, after a moment of silent meditation, he had cried out:

"I call God to witness, I swear it: I have not wished that!" ("Ich habe das nicht gewollt!")

What did this cry which the German gazettes have spread throughout the entire world, which German propaganda has exploited by reproducing it on illustrated cards, distributed with profusion, even in the prisoners' camps, signify?

Our enemies saw in it a loyal protestation of the innocence of the German Empire, cornered and driven to war by the malevolence of its enemies; among us and among our friends, many have seen in it the supreme hypocrisy of a man whose frivolous caprice had unchained on the entire world the most formidable catastrophe which history has recorded. The Kaiser would have repeated once more the legend of the concerted attack of the Allies, jealous of the greatness of Germany, against an empire strong and enterprising to which the future reserved a destiny of power, of triumph, of glory. Recollecting the factitious and theatrical character of the anterior manifestations of William II., many saw in his attitude only a new melodramatic scene played by the imperial Lohengrin.

In my opinion the sense of these words is quite different. Give me your confidence for a few moments, I pray, even though you shall hear me say that I believe in the sincerity of the Kaiser, that I take literally his words, "Ich habe das nicht gewollt!" that, in a word, I believe truly that the Emperor of Germany, William of Hohenzollern, second and last of that name, is not the principal responsible author of this war.

And if today I dare to tell you my sentiment, the opportuneness of which may appear doubtful at first sight, it is because it is necessary that on the morrow of victory, on the sacred day for the settlement of accounts, we should know how to find and chastise the truly guilty; that in place of the wolf which we wish to exterminate we should not be satisfied with an expiatory sheep, which, perhaps, might easily be abandoned to us.

Let us search then in the place where our principal enemies are; let us weigh the guilt of each and establish in a precise manner the responsibilities. Seen closely and in detail events often take on a different aspect; battles which have been able to escape the distant or inattentive observer give the means of distinguishing between those who have prepared, decided, and unchained the war, and others who, after having made long efforts to resist belligerent tendencies, have resigned themselves to it through impotence or want of character.

GERMANY'S WORLD POLICY

It was on the 18th of January, 1896, that, with a theatrical ceremony in the throne room of the castle of Berlin, with

his hand on the flag of the First Regiment of the Guard, William II. proclaimed his "Weltpolitik," the worldwide policy of the empire. Henceforth Germany wished to be present everywhere. In all countries, no matter on what point of the globe, no conflict was to be adjusted unless German interests were made productive, unless the empire gave its assent and obtained advantages or compensations.

But at this moment William II. had already held the helm of the empire for almost six years, and the policy which he had followed up to then was not that which suddenly he proclaimed on the day of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the empire. The tendencies which the empire had pursued in the epoch of Chancellor Caprivi, and which the adversaries had attacked under the name of "Caprivism," because they dared not yet attack the person of the Emperor, had been a policy of conciliation and of peace, a policy of politeness, of concessions, and of good understanding; of good customs relations with the States of Central Europe bordering on Germany; a policy of colonial concessions as regards Russia and England, which are practical countries; a policy of simple telegrams, of felicitations, or of condolences with regard to France, which was satisfied with its disinterestedness. This effort of international appeasement had its day of triumph when William II. inaugurated the Kiel Canal in 1895, and traversed it at the head of the representatives of the navy of the entire world, even of the French fleet.

In fact, no power had been able to resist the graciousness of the Kaiser. From what quarter, then, could have come a serious opposition to his designs, since even in France great journals were already publishing inquiries upon the reception they would tender him in Paris if the fancy struck him to visit the exposition of 1900? I cast neither eulogy nor reproach at any one; I state a fact which is not contestable: The policy of concessions and of advances, the policy of amiability, and—let us say the word—of dupery inaugurated by William II. met no resistance in foreign countries. Had it continued, little by little, Europe and the entire world would have passed under German hegemony. In order to obtain universal domination, Germany had no need of a war.

RISE OF OPPOSITION

But a people cannot change its state of soul. The Germany of Bismarck could not disown its origins. Created by iron and blood, it could not live in peace. Prussia, which was liberated by the war of 1813, which had imposed itself on Germany by the wars of 1864 and of 1866, and on all Europe by the war of 1870; Germany, which had realized its unity by violence, which had appropriated the wealth of others by force, which maintained its conquests under the yoke and threatened every moment to defend them by arms, Prussia and Germany could not accommodate themselves to a policy of condescension and concession.

Before William II. rose the partisans of Bismarck dismissed. They proclaimed themselves the holders of the national traditions, the continuers of the work of the great epoch, the trustees of the last wills of the founders of the empire.

One day, among his numerous pacific manifestations, William II. had affirmed that his "Christian conscience" would not permit him to assume the responsibility of a war. Those who rose against him were opposed to this mystic conception and formed the Pan-Germanist League, which, in contradiction with this "Christian conscience," assumed to personify the "national conscience of the German people," ("das Gewissen des deutschen Volkes.")

Then, on the day when William II. proclaimed his worldwide policy, he had, for the first time, abdicated his "Christion conscience" before that which was imposed on him as the "national conscience of the German people."

TRADITIONS OF BISMARCK

The Pan-Germanist League, when it directed the German Empire toward worldwide imperialism, availed itself of the traditions of Bismarck. But among these it had recognized only the principle of force, the employment of threats, the reign by fear. It had not seen the limits

which Bismarck himself had imposed. The Iron Chancellor had brought successes almost unhoped for; but, without letting himself be carried away by the most brilliant victories, he had known how to be moderate, and, if he had wiped out some, he had adroitly managed others. Very harsh toward Denmark in 1864, inexorable toward the little German States in 1866, he had been very liberal after the conclusion of peace with Austria. He was preparing for his decisive effort against France, which he laid low in 1870.

And then he reserved all his strength for us, he followed with rancor and implacable hatred our country, which he wished to prevent from retrieving itself. Voluntarily limiting himself in his international action, measuring his means, coldly weighing the possbilities, refusing to play once more on a map the gain of three successful wars, he believed he had done enough for Germany, in the last years of his life, if he defended the empire created by him against the chastisement which his last abuse of victory deserved. France, even though conquered and mutilated, was still in herself alone a sufficient object of Bismarck's fear and resentment. This willing moderation, in his opinion, committed Germany to a disinterested policy in all other conflicts. On the subject of the Carolines he willingly accepted arbitration with Spain, and for the Balkans, for which Germany today is putting all Europe to fire and blood, he had had this scornful saying, that "they were not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier."

Nothing, therefore, was further from the idea of Bismarck than the worldwide policy imposed by the Pan-Germanist League, which nevertheless made use of his name.

PAN-GERMANIST PROGRAM

As soon as the Pan-Germanist League had imposed on William II. the official proclamation of German imperialism it began to develop its program in all its details. It established, continent by continent and country by country, the German interests.

It demanded all the countries where the population speaks the German tongue; the Swiss cantons, the Baltic provinces, the German countries of Austria. But it went further: linguistic and ethnographical theories gave it a pretext to identify with the Germans all the peoples whose idiom is of Germanic origin—the Hollanders of the Low Countries and the Boers of South Africa, the Flemings of Belgium, and all the Scandinavian peoples.

In foreign countries where German colonists had established themselves, whether they preserved the German nationality, whether they repudiated it in appearance, their interests justified a continuous surveillance of the policy of these countries by the German Empire. Thus Germany reserved to herself the right to intervene in the United States, in Brazil, in Argentina, in Southern Russia. And the mere possibility of creating German interests, in a future more or less near, called the attention of the Pan-Germanists to Turkey, and then to Morocco.

Never in history, since powerful States aspired to the domination of the world, had an imperialistic program been developed with as much precision and method, with as much arrogance and impudence, as in the Pan-Germanist pamphlets at the end of the nineteenth century. But why has it been necessary to await in France almost twenty years to take cognizance of this appeal to universal battle for Germanism-Kampf ums Deutschtum? Why were we not interested in the danger which the meddling of Germany in the affairs of all countries caused to circulate in the entire world?

THE SEEDS OF CONFLICT

The Pan-Germanists did not confine themselves to the domain of theory. They imposed their demands on the Government and demanded the immediate realization of them. The Pan-Germanists called for a ringing manifesto in favor of the Boers; William II. telegraphed to President Kruger and caused misfortune to England.

The Pan-Germanists demanded intervention in Samoa and the Caroline Islands; Germany intervened against the United States and acquired these islands.

The Pan-Germanists demanded a port in the Far East; Germany occupied Kiao-Chau.

The Pan-Germanists demanded an action in Turkey; William II. visited the Orient, proclaimed himself at Damascus the friend of the Sultan and of all the Mohammedans and caused trouble for France.

The Pan-Germanists protested against the Badeai ordinances in Austria; Germany increased its army corps on the frontiers of Bohemia and obtained the abrogation of these ordinances.

That was a good deal to do in five years, but in the eyes of the Pan-Germanists it was not enough. What was Europe waiting for?

When, at the end of the Middle Ages, the countries revolted in Germany, they naïvely inscribed on their standard: "We wish to be the enemies of the whole world." Since the war of the Rustauds, Germany had learned nothing. On the threshold of the twentieth century, the Pan-Germanists still wished to be the enemies of all the world.

But in face of this menace openly proclaimed, before the challenges thrown in turn in the face of England, of the United States, France, China, and Austria, should the powers friendly to peace not have combined? Was it not necessary from the beginning to resist this turbulent and invading spirit which threatened the whole world? Now, far from understanding one another and organizing against the day when a war should be precipitated by Germany, the powers knit themselves still closer with the German Empire, and it was at the head of an army composed of all the civilized nations that Field Marshal Waldersee made his triumphal entry into Peking. On that day, by its carelessness and unskillfulness, Europe blinded, had committed the fault which we cruelly expiate today.

IMPERIALISM OF KULTUR

It was not Europe which arrested Germany, following the war with China. It was William II., who, having seen blood flow, cried out for the first time: "Ich habe das nicht gewollt." He repudiated the clamorous and aggressive policy and disowned Pan-Germanism. Henceforth no longer by diplomatic competitions, by threatening interventions, by affirmations of imaginary interests or by coveting of new territories was the supremacy of Germany to be manifested. German imperialism in the future was to be limited to the things of the mind. He formulated in one of his discourses a new principle:

"Very far beyond the seas our language is spread," said he, "very far is stretched the flight of our science and of our learned investigations; there is no work in the domain of modern studies which is not printed in our language, science produces no idea which is not utilized by us to be copied afterward by the other nations. There is the worldwide empire of which the Germanic mind is ambitious."

These words resound like a blasphemy in the temple of French science, where I have the honor to repeat them to you.

In this new program which William II. established at the beginning of the century he abandoned the worldwide policy which had engaged the empire in diplomatic conflicts, in violent press compaigns, and in a distant warlike expedition. The new imperialism which he proclaimed may appear to us today as a bloody irony, a pretention which excites our most violent indignation; William II. claimed for Germany a civilizing mission; he proclaimed the imperialism of Kultur.

THE CHALLENGE TO FRANCE

The Pan-Germanists were not the men to allow themselves to be driven from German political life. From the year 1902 the Kaiser again saw in front of him the spectre of the "national conscience of the German people." Through the mouth of its President, the Professor of Medicine Hasse, the league complained of being neglected by the representatives of the official policy. "They disown us when they can," said he. "And that is natural, since we always demand an active policy."

During the Summer of 1903, M. Class, a lawyer in Mayence, who was then brought to the attention of the Pan-Ger-

manists, and who, today, is the President of the league, established at the Congress of Plauen the "Schedule of the New Course."

In order to investigate the mistakes committed in the foreign policy of the empire and to fix precisely the responsibilities, he studied the changes that had befallen the worldwide position of Germany since the fall of the Great Chancellor. The German policy, for a dozen of years, had been exhibited only by oratorical manifestations and half-finished doings. "As soon as they had run up against opposition," said M. Class, "they had recoiled so as not to quarrel or in order not to disown the pacific declarations so often repeated." This love of peace at any price, this seeking of the friendship of foreign powers, had robbed the empire of the universal prestige with which it was surrounded in the time of Bismarck.

Formerly, in order to impose the "worldwide policy," the Pan-Germanist League had directed its criticisms against the Chancellor and what it called Caprivism. In 1903, M. Class no longer deigned to attack the Chancellors who for twelve years had succeeded one another. These brave officials had merely executed the orders of their master. It was William II. himself whom he declared openly responsible for the downfall of Germany. Between the Emperor and the league, hostilities had opened.

The campaign directed against the pacifism of William II. was pursued during the whole year of 1903. In February, 1904, once more, the committee of the league declared:

"The policy of realities is not the policy that seeks to attain its object without hurting any one. What is necessary for the normal and continuous development of the empire must, if essential, be found and imposed at the price of a conflict."

And just then the league believed that it could realize much on condition of not fearing a conflict.

CONCENTRATING ON FRANCE

Formerly the worldwide policy of the empire had attacked all the powers; Germany had wished to be "the enemy of everybody." This time the Pan-Germanists confined themselves to a single nation, and they had selected it with care so as to have all the trumps against it—a nation, said they, old and fallen, incapable of making war, a nation to which England would not come in aid—for Edward VII. was beguiling it with smooth words—a nation which Russia, its ally, would not assist—for she was occupied in the Far East—France, finally, which then had an imperative, absolute, unquestionable need of peace. From France, said the Pan-Germanist League, we could at this moment obtain all. Beginning with the second half of 1903, the whole Pan-Germanist action was concentrated against France.

Germany needed colonies, not so much to sell in them the products of her industry as to establish there the surplus of her population. The empire must have a colony for settlement, of vast territories toward which the flow of the German emigrants should be directed. No country would be better adapted to that purpose, according to the sayings of the league, by its climate, by its fertility, by the richness of its subsoil, by its geographical situation, than Morocco. It was in the Shereefian empire that Germany was to follow up the success of 1871 and assure the "normal and continuous" development of the State created by Bismarck.

Now, the French influence was at that time established in Morocco. The moment had come, said the league, to occupy a part of it for Germany and to force France to quit there under the threat of war.

The Pan-Germanists openly discussed this double aim in their meetings and in their press. But this campaign, which lasted more than a year, stirred no one in France. No one noticed it. It was like a thunderbolt when, after a year and a half, in March, 1905, after the fall of Port Arthur, the taking of Mukden and the defeat of Tsoushima, William II. landed at Tangier.

THE TANGIER EPISODE

At Tangier, William II. had checked the policy of the French Republic in Morocco. France preserved the memory

of it as an affront so much the more painful as, in reality—the Pan-Germanists were right—she was then in no state to take up the challenge. But what matters today is not what the French thought of the incident of Tangier. It is, on the contrary, what the Germans said and wrote about it.

The Pan-Germanist campaign, after having persisted for eighteen months, had forced William II. to get busy with Morocco. But he was far from having done what the league had demanded of him.

The league had desired to make profit out of the necessities of a single occasion to aggrandize the empire; it wanted realizations, a tangible success. William II. did not wish to throw himself on France as a robber leaps upon a traveler in the corner of a wood. Since he would not let himself be tempted by the profit of the booty, it was necessary, in order to make him move, to shake before him the red rag of the "encirclement of Germany." And truly believing that he was defending the empire against a circle of enemies which M. Delcassé and Edward VII. were seeking to form around him, the Kaiser neglected the real and practical end which alone counted in the eyes of the Pan-Germanists. He made a speech besides, after so many others, when they had wanted an ultimatum addressed to France under threat of immediate war. Always hesitating, wavering between the interest of Germany and the fear of conflicts, he had taken an attitude odious in the eyes of the French, ridiculous in the eyes of the Germans.

He had treated France roughly, hurt her self-respect, opposed her projects, and yet he wished to conciliate her and had protested his pacific intentions. Before departing he had an interview with the Ambassador of France. Upon embarking at Hamburg he repudiated all the great conquerors of history. In passing before the Coast of Brittany, in order to please the little and the big children of France, he sent a telegram to Mme. Jules Verne. In Lisbon first, and on the morrow at Tangier, on the Balearic Islands and in Italy, he protested his attachment to peace. The Pan-Germanists were right; at the moment of offering an affront to France, all this was ridiculous.

But again he had been awkward. Instead of allowing the Chancellor to act, he had advanced himself and, in his speech, had said what it was not necessary to say. The Pan-Germanists demanded possession of a part of Morocco, the acquisition of a territory under the German dominion. Now, William II. had proclaimed the independence of the Sultan and the integrity of the Shereefian empire. The day when Germany wished to occupy the Moroccan coast it would be necessary to begin by disowning the solemn words of the Emperor of Germany.

This is what the Germans thought of the landing at Tangier. Within a few days—in April 1905—a Hamburg journal used the phrase which will remain the judgment of history. In the midst of reproaches for having allowed a sure prey to escape, it declared it a crime for William II. to have awakened France.

"THE SHARPENED SWORD"

The official diplomacy of the empire tried to recover what William II. had lost. In the Spring of 1905 there was the resignation of M. Delcassé, in the Summer of 1905 there were laborious pourparlers to establish the program of the Algeciras Conference. France, awakened, knew how to stand firm. But, when the agreement was finally established, William II. had the unconscionable hardihood—for this man is not intelligent—to make new advances to France. Through the voice of the Petit Parisien and of the Temps, Chancellor von Bülow had to affirm once more the friendly dispositions of the Emperor. As on the field of battle in Flanders, William II. declared: "Ich habe das nicht gewollt."

France was dignified. The Matin replied by revelations touching the resignation of M. Delcassé. Germany's acts had never corresponded with her protestations of friendship. William II. no longer inspired confidence. If France had not at first understood the emptiness of his politeness, the vanity of his ad-

vances, the childishness of his telegrams on the day when she felt herself treated roughly, and was conscious of the greatest humiliation suffered since 1870, she no longer allowed herself to be decoyed with words.

William II. saw the policy of cajolery and of stupid civilities which he had so assiduously pursued with regard to the French definitely miscarry. This disillusion inspired the famous speech in which, full of rage, he appealed to "dry powder and the sharpened sword." And these words resound as a homage rendered to the pride of France.

GERMANY'S "ISOLATION"

At Algeciras, where the Pan-Germanists had wished to overwhelm France, Germany found herself, following the hesitations of the Emperor, confronted by a union of all the great powers. But it was not France which had caused Germany's isolation. The encirclement, the idea of which haunted the brain of William II., was the natural reply of all honest and loyal peoples to the dilatory and quibbling proceedings of Germany.

There remained a last awkwardness to commit, and William II. did not fail to commit it. He noisily averred the isolation of Germany in a resounding telegram.

Again Germany was the "enemy of everybody." So true is it that she will always bring against her a union of all the nations that have hearts. It is a case of the imminent justice of history.

THE KAISER UNPOPULAR

Dissatisfaction with William's acts was universal. The criticisms which he continually heard, the reproaches which the best patriots were offering him, at length decided the Kaiser to reply directly to the Pan-Germanists. In a discourse on Dec. 8, 1906, he made an appeal to the unity of the nation and asked the people to have faith in the future, not to give way to criticism, and not to doubt those who govern. "I do not want pessimists," said he. "He who is not suitable for the work, let him go away and let him seek elsewhere, if he wishes, a better Fatherland."

The Pan-Germanists took up the challenge. The word "pessimist"—"Schwarzscher"—became a mark of glory. The more ardent one's patriotic sentiments, the more one enjoyed having the name of the Kaiser's disapproval applied to one's self. Besides the entire press, which replied to William II. and justified the discontent of the nation, resounding pamphlets openly attacked the Emperor. Count Reventlow, whose name in the German press of today still represents the most jingoistic spirit, summed up all the bad temper of the Pan-Germanists in his book, "William II. and the Byzantines."

From year to year the criticisms had become more fiery. Between the Emperor and his people there was an abyss. A conflict was inevitable; it came in the Autumn of 1908. Germany had just yielded in the Casablanca affair. Again it was the Emperor whom the German Nation reproached for not having dared to resist the calm and decided attitude of M. Clemenceau. But suddenly these criticisms were eclipsed by new invectives more violent than ever. The Daily Telegraph had just published the famous interview with the Kaiser.

DEFEAT OF THE EMPEROR

In face of the English people's mistrust of Germany, William II. had believed it to be his duty to address England by the voice of a journal. He affirmed his profound sympathy for his mother's native land, he recalled that he had never hesitated to translate her ideas into deeds; but he added that his friendship for England was shared in Germany by only a minority of his compatriots.

Indeed, the Pan-Germanist League had always denounced England as the great adversary of the future, against whom it was necessary to be prepared for a life-and-death struggle. She was the competitor with whom German commerce was clashing everywhere; it was against her that Germany was preparing a formidable fleet. Now it was to this enemy of tomorrow that the Emperor had made his protestations of amity, and he had denounced the underhand animosity of his compatriots by declaring

that his sentiments were only those of a minority.

Following these facts, five interpellations were addressed to the Chancellor. Violent reproaches of the Kaiser were uttered. A Deputy declared in the open Reichstag that if, instead of William II., another had done this he would have been condemned to penal servitude for high treason, and no one protested. Nothing could induce the Chancellor to undertake the defense of his sovereign. Before all Germany in fury, attacked by all parties, William II. found himself abandoned by all his Ministers and blamed by his Chancellor, Prince von Bülow.

William II. had humbly to submit; the "Monitor of the Empire" published a note declaring that the Chancellor had transmitted to him the remonstrances of Parliament, and that the Emperor had promised to correct his ways in the future.

There are people who believe—I read it quite recently in a great French journal—that William II. was, or is still, the idol of the German people.

Never in France has a statesman in office suffered what William II. was heard to relate in November, 1908. Never in France have our statesmen been abandoned by all their partisans; at the moment of their resignation, the day of their abdication, or of their downfall to the very foot of the ladder, they have always found in France intrepid, generous defenders.

LESSON OF THE "BLACK WEEK"

William II. had wished to warn the English. He had affirmed to them his sympathy, but at the same time he had cared to put them on guard against the hostile spirit of the German people. It was not only some few exalted persons who saw in England the great enemy of the future. The Emperor himself had been willing to give the alarm, and had denounced the evil disposition of the great majority of the German people.

And if England could be mistaken about the warning of the Kaiser, must not the reception given the interview throughout the empire been edifying to the English? What were they waiting to understand? Why did they need six years more and the violation of Belgium to stand up before an enemy who did not even conceal himself from them?

In a matter of foreign policy, in order to defend the chauvinistic attitude of the majority of the nation, all the Germans united against the Kaiser. The Conservatives had denied their reactionary principles and their monarchical faith in order to discuss in Parliament some statements of the sovereign, the responsibility of which the Chancellor declined. The Social Democrats, who cultivated as a product for exportation a fallacious internationalism, were the most violent in branding the Emperor and his friendship for Great Britain with a hot iron.

Was not this unanimity of the Reichstag in November, 1908, a sign of the true spirit of the German Nation? Should we not have been forewarned of that other unanimity, which was displayed on the day of aggression and which astonished the world on the 4th of August, 1914?

But if we could not count on the people and Parliament, on whom, then, could we count to defend in Germany the idea of peace, and to oppose the jingoistic pretensions of the Pan-Germanists? Could it be on William II. himself? What could his power and authority still be?

DIVINE RIGHT ABANDONED

Royalty by the grace of God, that Divine right which he loved to invoke so much in mystical discourses, he himself had renounced when he had not accepted the resignation of his recreant Chancellor, when he had bowed to the censure of the Reichstag and piteously promised to be more reserved in the future, renouncing all personal policy. Before the threat of battle with the German chauvinists he had recoiled. He wanted no conflict: "Ich habe das nicht gewollt." On that day his spirit of conciliation was surely what was probably always his attachment to peace—cowardice.

I pass over Agadir and the questions raised by the Balkan wars. I do so with regret; for I do not like to pass in silence an epoch in which the Post of Berlin

openly addressed the Emperor as a "valorous poltroon."

THE YEAR OF SACRIFICES

For five years William II. had endured violence, and had remained in humble and modest retirement. The year 1913 appeared propitious to him for a reconciliation with the German people. The centennial celebrations of 1813 would permit him, he believed, to communicate with the nation in the memories of history. His own jubilee, after twenty-five years of reign, and the marriage of his only daughter, should they not be, in a monarchical country, an occasion for rejoicing by the entire people?

In March, 1813, the King of Prussia, Frederick William III., had signed the manifesto of Breslau, calling the Prussian people to arms against Napoleon. William II. had a coin minted in commemoration of this act. The King was seen on it surrounded by men of the people, and around the edge ran this inscription: "The King called, and all, all ran to him."

The Pan-Germanists immediately denounced this attempt to forestall, for the house of Hohenzollern, the merit of the rising against Napoleon. The German press told the Kaiser that history affirmed the contrary. Frederick William III. had to be forced to sign the manifesto; all, all had called, and the King, far from running to them, had yielded only hesitatingly. The jubilee of 1913 was to be therefore a festival of the German people, and not of Kings and Princes.

They will speak more clearly yet during the course of the year.

William II. did not yet understand that he must continue to be silent. In a discourse in which he had recalled the sacrifices which the Prussian people had made in 1813, he thought that he could risk an allusion to the sacrifices which the German people were about to undertake again in consequence of the new military law and of the famous war tax.

Misfortune followed from this. Whose fault was it if the year 1913 was a year of sacrifices? they demanded, and M. Paul Liman, who is considered in Germany the best biographer of William II., answered this question by an act of accusation against the Kaiser:

"We may trace the history of the last quarter of a century on a Byzantine groundwork of gold," said he. "We may quite glorify what has been done since the resignation of Bismarck; the fact remains that the year of the jubilee has become a year of sacrifices. The appeal of the Emperor has asked of the nation what only the hardest misery and the extreme necessity which existed a hundred years ago could justify. He has, therefore, again destroyed the legend which attributes to the living sovereign all the wisdom and an uninterrupted series of successes, until the day when history imposes on future generations the duty of engraving the truth. No, we have not gone from success to success, we have not daily climbed new heights; we have remained epigenesists, and, compared with our fathers, a generation of small people." The Germans, if they decorate for the jubilee, are honoring the tomb of their most beautiful hopes. Also "we must examine the mistakes of the last twenty-five years and try to find the answer to this question: Have we truly suffered a second Jena or an Austerlitz, since it is necessary again to demand sacrifices which formerly only the victories of Napoleon had imposed on the German people? Now, we all know it; under the reign of William II. we have made no war; the arms have remained suspended in the temple of peace. It is, therefore, his policy," said the Emperor's accuser, "which has lost what today the sword should recover."

A THREAT AGAINST PRINCES

It was in 1913 when these lines appeared in which M. Paul Liman announced that the sword would have to repair the failures of the twenty-five years of the reign of William II. Only a war could remedy the restlessness which was felt throughout Germany. Discontent had become general. An enterprising nation, full of energy, proud, and aspiring to the domination of the entire world, had found in past years no sufficient satisfaction, responsive to the program which, for fifteen years, Pan-

Germanism had mirrored before their eyes.

They caused the responsibility for this situation to be traced up to William II., to his desire to live in good relations with all the world, and to conciliate antagonisms, even at the price of concessions and capitulations. But all these attacks did not correct the Kaiser.

In the course of the same year, 1913, he married his daughter to the son of the Duke of Cumberland. What other end might this marriage pursue if it was not reconciliation with the fallen dynasty of the Guelphs? The question of Hanover had been settled since 1866. The Guelph family, excluded from Germany, was no longer a political power. And it was in order to reconcile himself with a pretender without importance that William II. renounced the influence of reigning houses through his daughter's marriage. He might have been able by a more useful alliance to attach to Germany a new foreign Court like those that we see today, among the neutrals, pursuing a Germanophile policy contrary to the wishes of their peoples.

William II. had seen in this marriage only the personal and dynastic advantage, not the national utility; he had remembered a little German State, for a long time destroyed and suppressed; he had neglected the needs of the nation and the empire's prestige in the world. A new campaign was begun against him. At its opening the Gazette of the Rhine and Westphalia put the question clearly. This is what it wrote:

"We are intoxicated with grandiloquent phrases and are praising Germany with much extravagance at the very moment when we have fallen back into the system of the little States. But one day a part of the Bismarckian spirit might awaken, the desire of greatness and of unity might again thrill the German people, and if on that day we see that the Princes have known in their policy only the right of the Princes, the little States, the princely alliances, the life of the little Courts, then the national torrent might again become democratic as in 1848, because there would be no longer any other safety than to wipe out all the Princes. And then perhaps the Princes will tremble because of the mistakes which their ancestors commit today."

To threaten that the national movement might become democratic and "wipe out all the Princes" was truly a singular manner to feast William II. at the period of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his advent to the throne. But that proves how deep was the dissension between him and those who were directing the chauvinistic drive in the German Nation.

THE PAN-GERMANISTS DEMAND A WAR LEADER

William II. had at length understood that he would have to efface himself. He preserved silence after the dedication of the monument of Leipsic, and when we recall the exuberance of his eloquence at the beginning of his reign, we can divine the mortification to which he had to submit.

But his effacement was not sufficent for the leaders of Pan-Germanism. They openly demanded another man at the head of the empire, and they could see growing from day to day the manifest opposition between the Emperor and the Crown Prince, whom the chauvinists were then pushing forward without believing very much in his talents.

"Every people wishes to be led," declared M. Class to the gathering which the Pan-Germanist League organized at the time of the Leipsic festivals. "It makes its greatest efforts only when the leaders pursue their ideal with a strong soul and a firm will. This leadership thinks in default of us. * * * With all our vows we call for a chief who should make us forget the miseries of the present time. * * * It is men of character who make history; give a leader to the present generation of Germans, and it will show itself worthy of its fathers. Millions of Germans await this chief, and with him they would go forward to internal reforms and exterior expansion, even if the world were full of devils."

Let us have no illusions. Even on the day of its defeat it is not in order to

have peace that the German people "will wipe out its Princes." It is in order to have the war which it has threatened them with.

HUNGER FOR NEW TERRITORY

In his discourse, M. Class had precisely stated the ideal which for long years the Pan-Germanist League had implanted in the German soul with systematic insistence and unwearying urgency.

"Here is our program," said he: "The journey to Versailles is not the end of the development of the German Empire, it is merely a resting place; to tell the truth, it is but the commencement of a larger grouping of all the Germans of Central Europe in a unity which may permit them to resist all the tempests of the future."

But in order to realize this program, it was necessary to have the courage to recognize the needs of the hour and to face even war. The Emperor dares not; he speaks of sacrifices, of concessions, of renunciations.

"At the price of renunciations," declared the President of the Pan-Germanist League, "we could enjoy the friendship of the entire world. But we are not willing to and must not renounce.

"Already we hear among all classes of our people, but especially among the informed bourgeoisie, this question: Why are we making immense sacrifices for our fleet and our army if we do not demand and do not obtain anything? The Government cannot be mistaken on the meaning of this question. Our fleet is powerful enough to make England fear it; our army is again at the height of its mission. And under these conditions should we practice a policy of renunciation? * * * The hunger for new territories is characteristic of our period; it must be satiated. The necessity of satisfying it gives to our people a task which will lead them to a high flight. The Government will have to thank Providence for it. The task consists in working so that this instinctive hunger for territory, such as exists among the masses, shall become a conscious and energetic will, a violent and irresistible decision to procure for our people what it needs, for its existence, for its health."

UNANIMITY OF THE PEOPLE

Such was the spirit of the Pan-Germanist League in the year which preceded the war. Foreign countries were mistaken regarding the influence which the Pan-Germanists could have on the German people and on the decisions of the Government. Nevertheless, incidents were repeated from month to month and were exploited by the chauvinistic press to excite all the passions of the masses. Merely with regard to France I could recall, in the space of twenty months, the squabbles at Nancy, the tour of France by the Zeppelin which had to land at Lunéville, the incessant campaign of lies against the Foreign Legion, the preparation of numerous papers on the tribulations of the Germans in Morocco, the affair of Saverne, with the insult, not taken up, to the French flag—and I omit the rest.

The vote on the military law of 1913 made manifest the complete harmony which existed between the people and the Generals: "The nation," stated the Pan-Germanist organs, "has proved by a crushing majority that it did not wish to know anything of the debilitating idea of an eternal peace."

Indeed, everybody in Germany wanted war.

The Generals and the Admirals, who did not wish to have worked for nothing, dreamed of easy victories and laurels. They had shared in the direction of the associations which caused the agitation in the country; the Pan-Germanist League, the Navy League, the Army League, the Association for the Defense of Germanism in Foreign Countries, and all the others which, under different denominations or pretexts, spread among all the classes the same arrogant and aggressive spirit.

The professors of the universities and of the gymnasiums had not ceased for a century to inculcate ferocious hatred and contempt for the foreigner. To the execration of France, hereditary enemy, they had joined jealousy and hatred against England, disdain for Russia. The bad faith of the official teaching—I can speak of it since I have made all my studies in the German schools—this bad

WONDERFUL ARTIFICIAL LIMBS

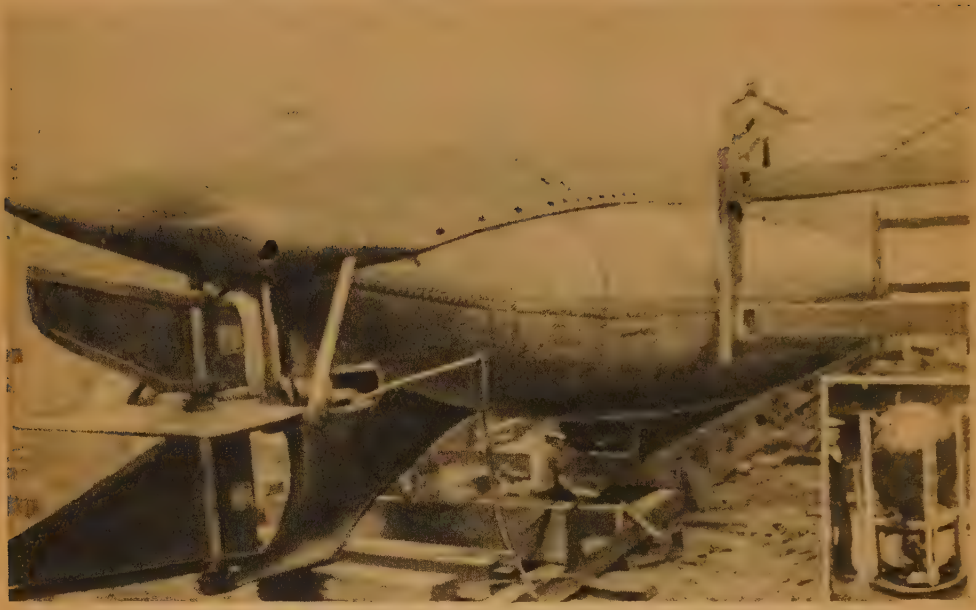
A Soldier Who Has Lost Both Feet, Yet Walks Fairly Well With Clever Substitutes.

A Mutilated Soldier Who Follows a Manual Trade By Means of Artificial Hands.

A French Soldier Who Has Lost Both Hands, Yet Can Handle a Cigarette and Salute as Before.

(Photos from Paul Thompson.)

GERMAN SUBMARINE MINE-LAYER



The "U C 5," Which Was Captured by the British and Is Being Refitted in an English Drydock. One of the Mines Is Shown in the Inset.

TRANSPORTING THE WOUNDED IN THE ALPS

Italian Red Cross Workers in the Mountains, Sending Down the Wounded on an Ingenious Aerial Trolley Line.

faith should not have needed the manifesto of the '93s to awaken the entire world.

A WAR OF COVETOUSNESS

The army and navy purveyors saw only advantages in a war which would procure for them immense profits. It was in the country of the Krupps that we found the most violent Pan-Germanist journals, the most exacting and the most influential. The manufacturers and the merchants, intoxicated with an economic flight unequaled in history, counted on victories and conquests to assure them raw materials and open to them new markets. The financiers, rashly engaged in too vast operations of credit, discounted, after a conflict which would be short, the rain of gold from new indemnities of war. The proletariat classes themselves saw only the economic prosperity of Germany, which would procure for them higher salaries after a military triumph of which no one was in doubt.

All parties, all professions, and all classes of the nation had let themselves be carried away by the Pan-Germanist propaganda. How could the Emperor alone resist it? The conflict existed for almost twenty-five years and had only been aggravated; had not monarchial journals appealed against him, even to the spectre of a democratic movement?

Carried beyond his intentions by the worldwide policy of 1896, he had in vain sought to calm the chauvinistic craze. Forced to intervene in Morocco, he had been blamed for the awkwardness of his journey to Tangier. Attacked in consequence with the utmost violence, he had seen his authority exhausted in face of the reproaches of the "pessimists." Villified by all parties for having dared to express his sympathy to England, he had to accept the remonstrances of the Reichstag and had cowardly submitted to a traitor Chancellor. Now, after a reign of twenty-five years, they reproached him with having dug "the grave of the most beautiful hopes" of Germany, they demanded another leader than he, they spoke of "wiping out the Princes." William II., who does not like contests, preferred war. M. Jules Cambon stated the fact after a visit of the King of the Belgians to Berlin. On the 22d of November, 1913, the Ambassador of France telegraphed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs: "The Emperor has ceased to be a partisan of peace."

This conclusion, therefore, forces itself upon us: On the day for the settlement of accounts, we do not stop at the Emperor. William II. is not interesting. It is the entire German Nation which has wished the war; the whole nation must be chastised. The entire nation has agreed to the worship of force and has approved the abuse which has been made of it. The entire nation has shared in the contempt of right and constantly coveted her neighbor's goods. An end must be put to her arrogance, to her invading spirit, to the encroachments of her policy.

We must finish it with Germany.

"He Is the Master Assassin"

By Joseph Reinach
Special Writer of The Paris Figaro

Another French view of the Kaiser's responsibility, very different from M. Helmer's, is that of the brilliant historian and publicist, Joseph Reinach:

UNLESS I am greatly mistaken, the question of the Hohenzollerns will become more important every day. It is too vague to speak of destroying German militarism; we must abolish German militarism's soul, which is the House of Hohenzollern, with its feudal castes and all its birds of prey.

I have shown twenty times that the war is the personal work of the German Emperor. Exactly when he began to premeditate it perhaps even he does not know. But it is a fact that he had taken his stand Nov. 6, 1913, when he unbosomed himself to the Belgian King about "the necessity of war soon and his certainty of

success." It is a fact that this imminent war was the subject of the famous conference of April, 1914, with Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Konopstadt. It is a fact that finally, as accomplice of Austria's ultimatum to Serbia, he with his own hand abolished all chance of peace, refused the conference proposed by England and the arbitration of The Hague Conference offered by the Czar, and declared war upon Russia at the very moment when the Vienna Government had welcomed Petrograd's proposals. And this though every pretext for war had vanished.

Since the brusque attack through Belgium failed and his bright dream of victory vanished, since German corpses strew the earth and the German Nation is hungry and bears the hatred of the world, while the horizon is lowering with menace, the German Emperor is afraid, and says, "I willed it not." Then who did will it?

His feudal chiefs, his junkers, the Kronprinz, and his Agrarians willed it, too, but Germany of the Hohenzollerns is no oligarchy or democracy. There is one lord and master, Hohenzollern the Emperor. It is he who willed, who ordered, who began this war. All other accomplices—and there are many, Austrian and German both—cannot alter the fact that the Kaiser is principally responsible. His is the first place at the dock of infamy where others after him will sit. He is the master assassin.

The British Premier, Asquith, has also said this in a solemn declaration before the House of Commons in connection with the case of Captain Fryatt. He said: "The British Government will bring to justice the criminals responsible, whoever they may be and whatever their position." Surely in such a case the man who is the author of the system under which the crime is committed is the most guilty of all. Who is that man? Over a year ago in the verdict on the Lusitania a jury of Kinsale pronounced guilty of wholesale murder the officers of the submarine, the German Government, and the Emperor of Germany. All those Generals, those officers, those soldiers are only his tools and accomplices. They struck the blow, but Nero ordered it. As Mr. Asquith said, it is he who is chiefly responsible. He was the arch-criminal.

The conduct of the war is one thing. We will employ against the Germans every instrument of destruction they first employed against us. The conditions of peace are another. We will not make our peace a mere truce between two slaughters. We will insure the future of free peoples.

But with him who premeditated, willed, and ordered all these crimes—one doesn't negotiate with him, one judges him.

The German Emperor's Appeal to His People

Following is part of an open letter to the German people, written by Kaiser Wilhelm late in July within sound of the enemy's guns on the western front. It was circulated by the semi-official Wolff News Agency and printed in all the German papers:

THE battle is raging, huge beyond all previous imagination. Rejuvenated, perfectly equipped with all they want, Russia's armies again have broken against our bulwarks in the east. This has eased the situation for Italy. France has experienced a regeneration in this war of which she hardly believed herself capable. She has dragged her dilatory English ally into joining the offensive on the Somme, and whatever inward worth the British Army has it onw has an abundance of artillery.

The iron hurricane rages against our brave German men at the Somme. Negroes and white men come upon us in wave after wave, in ever fresh storms, wild and sullen. Everything is at stake. The ice-cold haberdashers on the Thames yearn for our holiest things. The health and life of our women and our children are menaced. Even neutrals must bear hunger. Only the depths of the ocean

now are open to us. Should we be victorious there is threatening a 'war after the war' when the best energies and power of the nation, now expressed by its joy in arms, shall be taxed to the utmost to meet raw force, hatred, and columny.

What, German people, is your duty in this hour? The army wants no exhortations. It has fought superhumanly. It will fight until final victory. But the people at home—this is their duty: To suffer in silence, to bear their renunciations with dignity.

Those at home are not all doing these things. Not all are alive to the tremendous seriousness of the times. Are our people at home the same people as at the beginning of the war? The writer fears not. Let us remember that this is no ordinary rupture of ordinary life. It is the hour of destiny for our Fatherland, the hour which will influence us for centuries. We must unite in opposition to the entire world. We must all cooperate in the struggle.

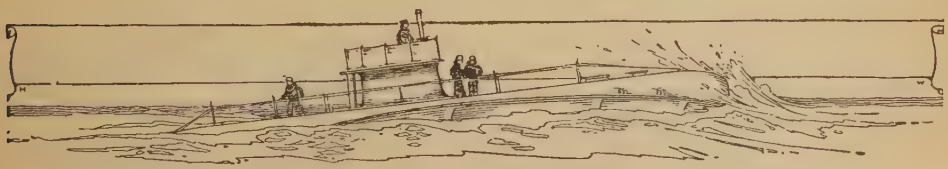
Any man or woman who hangs his or her head or suffers despondency to enter his soul is guilty now of treason. Every word of complaint or discouragement is a crime against our fathers, our sons, and our brothers. Let us show the greatness of the German Nation. Do not jeopardize everything by petty squabbling. It is no time for internecine strife. But it is time for holding together. In this hour the best manhood of the nation, mature men and budding youths, are presenting their breasts to the iron hail of the English, Russian, and African hordes. Everything is at stake.

The Kaiser's Sermon to Army Chaplains

A chaplain in the German Army, Dr. Ott, recently published in the Vossische Zeitung the following portions of a speech made by the Kaiser to a congregation of army chaplains at Main Headquarters:

It is a time of sifting. The world war divides and takes the chaff from the wheat. You, gentlemen, have to work to teach the German Nation to take things seriously and to accept the present as a time of trial. It is important to understand that life is a trial. We need practical Christianity to bring our life into harmony with the personality of our Lord. Live simply according to His acts and His deeds. Gentlemen, how fascinating and marvelously manifold is this personality! We have only to study it thoroughly. We must live with the Lord. Suppose the Lord entered this moment through that door, could we look into His face? Going to church once a week is not enough. He must become the ideal of practical life. Determine to live according to the Lord's teaching. You shall bring before us a vision of God, who now certainly, perhaps as judge, passes through the world. You must represent Him and show Him to us.

I believe that the men who are now in the trenches will be different men when they come home. Impress upon them that they must retain in the future the thoughts which fill them now. Everybody must admit that our nation is great, that it has without complaint or hesitation sacrificed everything for the great cause. This inspiration is derived from God. Give the men in the trenches my greetings, and impress upon them the need for firm reliance on God.



Bethmann Hollweg's Peace Plans

By Maximilian Harden
Editor of Die Zukunft

Maximilian Harden issued another defiance in Die Zukunft June 24, 1916, against the press censorship in Germany, and incidentally in this attack on the Government defended the Chancellor from the bitter criticism of his political enemy, General Provincial Director Kapp of Königsberg. The Chancellor himself answered Dr. Kapp in heated invective in the Reichstag and is reported to have received a challenge in consequence, but this is not confirmed.

NOW, for almost two years, speech and writing have again come under censorship in the German Empire; a law is in force which became sixty-five years old last Spring, so that it is much further removed from conditions today than it was in the first hour of its existence from conditions in the land of Frederick. The underlying idea is to show the enemy that sixty-seven million human beings have the same opinion on big and little matters; expressions of contrary views must not be allowed to come to the surface.

In July, 1870, all Germans read this sentence: "The war is a dynastic war, undertaken in the interest of the Bonaparte dynasty, as the war of 1866 was undertaken in that of the Hohenzollerns. As the determined opponents on principle of every dynastic war, as social republicans and members of the international association of workmen, which, without discrimination on account of nationality, combats all oppressors and seeks to unite all the oppressed in one great brotherly union, we cannot declare ourselves either directly or indirectly in favor of this war, and we refrain, therefore, from voting, in the hope that all the nations of Europe, taught by the present unfortunate events, will do all in their power to regain the right of making their own decisions, and do away with the present-day military and class domination as the cause of all Governmental and social troubles." This protest was drawn up by Delegates Liebknecht and Bebel, and the Government of Prussia and the North German Confederation was not afraid that it would have a bad effect on public sentiment nor shake the desire of the South Germans for union.

This confidence was justified. The war ended in a German victory, although all the major questions (origin of the war, possibility of foreign intervention, conduct of operations, right of plunder in foreign territory, form of government for France, annexation, bombardment of Paris) were discussed in comparative freedom.

Today it is different. And for that very reason the Chancellor should not be surprised at the great output of writing by those under ground. He was especially bitter in the Reichstag against two secretly circulated hostile pamphlets. "Invention, garbling, foul, lying, vile instigation, abuse, poisoning of the people, pirates of public opinion, slanderers." Rage drowned the counsels of the preacher Salomo and of Boetius, the consoler of philosophers, who said that anger should never jeopardize a dearly bought reputation for constant wisdom. * * *

And there is no lack of mistakes in the two documents denounced by the Chancellor. That of General Provincial Director Kapp of Königsberg—head of the provincial credit associations—shows the seed of error in its very title, "National Circles and the Chancellor." * * *

He champions the belief that "the enemy has not yet been forced to make peace, though beaten." Whom does he mean? England? France, who, since September, 1914, has maintained her main positions? And can any German who wishes no self-deception call Russia a beaten enemy after her big successes in Armenia and Galicia? By fostering

such mistaken notions the strength of our people for attack and defense, which, so far as we can calculate, will exist still for a very long time, would be lessened. Herr Kapp parades as truth what has yet to be proved such, and, standing on this weak foundation, shouts forth that the weak will power of the Chancellor is jeopardizing a triumph which otherwise we might win. The submarine, he tells us, is "the deciding weapon." He states unqualifiedly that it can bring the decision, but fails to state anywhere that the three Admirals now in favor agree with the Chancellor that submarine warfare must be curtailed. The Chancellor is accused of allowing "political considerations to overrule military points of view." Had he achieved the triumph aforesaid he would have fulfilled what Clausewitz called the highest duty of a statesman and acted as Bismarck demanded that every conscientious head of a Government should act.

The Government of the United States, we are told, has for a long time been unneutral because it has (just as we did in every war of these last decades) allowed the exportation by private firms of war material, (which it could not have hindered except by changing the fundamental laws of the land.) We are told that it is our enemy, that it treats Germany like a negro republic, but that it could not seriously hurt Germany, who is "financially stronger than all her foes," should it go over to her enemies. Everybody has read this sort of thing in a hundred papers since the day of the Lusitania, and every unprejudiced person must at least have suspected that the public refutation of such statements is impossible in war time.

The only new thing in this document, it seems to me, is about the food policy. "Fear of the masses of consumers in the big cities and industrial centres has forced the Government to a highly unfortunate national socialism." An unnecessary state of affairs. The danger that the rich man may buy away means of nourishment from the poor could only occur, we hear, "if the rich man ate twenty times as much as he could digest" —not, likewise, if he stored away enough to assure himself for six months of the same degree of good living to which he had been accustomed in times of peace. Instead of suppressing trade and introducing repressive measures against peasants, we hear, artificial organization ("which is really complete disorganization and bewilderment of the market") should be thrown on the rubbish heap and unhindered free trade promptly reintroduced.

Need exists only because there is coercion. Free markets would mean free fixing of prices by supply and demand—the reader begins to believe that the free trader, Friedrich Kapp, is speaking, he who, after practicing law for twenty years in the United States, returned to the new empire as a converted Forty-Eighter and became the comrade of Bamberger. But that Kapp, unlike the general provincial director, would not have demanded "stronger protection of national labor," nor exaggerated appreciation of export trade, nor plural voting rights for Prussia, nor the "increase of the voting age." But he would have appraised the power of the United States differently, from better knowledge, and he would have deliberated longer as to what would happen in Germany if now, suddenly, this confession should come from above: "All the orders issued by us during the last two years, from Delbrück to Batocki, were utterly crazy—centralized purchasing, embargo, fixing of maximum prices, distribution of rations, fights against speculation. Wherefore, beginning tomorrow, the procedure customary in time of peace is to be resumed in every market."

Thus would the man from Königsberg have it. To follow his lead is to assure a paradise to the German Nation. After peace is declared (its terms to be dictated to Britons, Russians, Frenchmen, Italians, Belgians, Americans, Australians, and Japanese) there will come a "tremendous national growth. Rivalry and disunion within the land will be silent; intellectual and political leaders of our people will disinterestedly devote themselves, in thought and act, to the welfare of the Fatherland. It

will be wonderful; all that is needed is faith.

"Germany's mission is to usher in a new and happy epoch for humanity." Whoever thinks differently is not national; he does not belong to the best circles. Among the many genuine Germans of every class with whom I have spoken during these years of war there are at most three who come up to the requirements of Kapp, and these three never bothered about politics until August, 1914. * * *

How easily his beliefs overcome reason is shown by his repetition of the rumor that "England, even before the war, demanded the dismissal of Herr von Tirpitz." Never did a Briton worthy of keeping out of the madhouse think of such a demand; as late as June, 1914, Mr. Churchill expressed a desire to confer with the admired Great Admiral. Herr Kapp looks upon everybody who wished, or still wishes, dignified reconciliation with England as a fool or a wretch. He is of the opinion that American financial aid "has a very disagreeable side for our foes, since the money is by no means given free." Enough! Even with a will as strong as that shown by the author one cannot find, in the fifty-one pages of his work, a single sentence worthy to provide food for thought to a politician.

The second hostile document does not leap from Pan-Germany to Manchester, nor prophesy a world power destined to bring humanity and nations unclouded days of peace. "Junius Alter"—so the author styles himself. * * *

The German Empire was not, after the retirement of Prince Bülow, "in desperate case"; it was able, both east and west, to make protective alliances. But, if the situation in 1909 was "desperate," by what right is Herr von Bethmann to be damned to the lowest depths? He is accused of "unqualified love of peace," of being impelled to obtain "reconciliation at any price." "Mad desire for reconciliation and arriving at an understanding" are brought up against the Chancellor, who ignored three English expressions of a wish to arrive at an understanding, who put through an army increase never before dreamed of, who declared war on two allied great powers and sanctioned the onslaught upon Belgium. What is said about the attitude of Serbia, Belgium, Italy, and Japan can easily be proved false on the day when it becomes possible to speak openly of such things. Herr Ballin (whose "close personal relations" to Herr von Tirpitz antedate those with the Chancellor) never counseled timid compliance with English or American demands, but wrote, on the contrary, that he must needs despise himself if he allowed himself, at such a critical time, to be moved by the business interests of his Hamburg-American Line. * * *

And so forth. Good sense alternates with foolishness; weeds of error choke many a truth. Mistakes which should be censured are not noted by this critic; that which he deems reprehensible will appear to others—whose love of country is, notwithstanding, by no means more lukewarm—as worthy of praise.

On two important points both critics agree. They are firm in the rock-bound conviction that the war may be carried by military means to a triumphant conclusion; that the German Empire can obtain large territories in Europe and Africa; that indemnity for most of the war expenses can be assured to it; that only a man leaning toward submissiveness can fail to reach this goal. (Why a Chancellor whose existence and reputation depend on the hazard of war should be too weak to make others fight and bleed on land and sea, and to allow the strategists, upon whom he might shift responsibility, to go their way unchecked, nobody has yet explained. No matter.) Every wish for a worthy understanding, one that might organize peace and save Europe from exhaustion, is foolish or criminal. Whether America, a hemisphere, fights against us or not is unworthy of discussion. Submarine warfare is a certain means for the overthrow of Britain; after such a victory no conspiracy against us need ever again be feared. Whoever thinks otherwise excludes himself by that very act from the ranks of the patriots. * * *

A holy nation of heroic, unconquerable

angels surrounded by murderers, footpads, and the spawn of vipers, all of whom—except for three comrades of another stripe—are but a hellish brood devoured by lust for profit—never was there aught like that! Never were there on earth the human pests which you have imagined, nor such an unearthly, brilliant victory as you hope for. No nation could stand it; to none could it bring fruit from which good could come. Only at the cost of its own ruin can one group overthrow the other—shall it be in 1917 or 1920?

We may be content with the harvest of the war if it airs and cleanses the earth, transforms swampy lands, clouded with hate and ringed around with envy, into the bright home of free human beings, living within their own rights, and, by that very token, respecting the rights of those around them. It is not easy for a nation fighting in the shadow of deadly peril to weigh true values soberly. Woe to him who makes this task even harder by wicked passion! He burdens himself with a guilt that will crush him on the Day of Judgment.

Have a care lest ye force upon the nation the phantom of your soul, hungering in its cage. Snatch, rather, the bandage from its eyes; allow the people, which gives its blood and will give its worldly goods, to shape its destiny in freedom; everything not small would be far too great for it were it, tomorrow, to be yet under guardianship. Rant not about growth and character, muscle, the shepherd's staff! Nay, free yourselves, and your wives and children, from the lazy craving to be sheep, forever to remain sheep!

"I shall endeavor to have the censorship applied as little as possible in political matters only slightly connected with the conduct of the war." Solacing words of shepherd wisdom! Nothing but a few words, which can never become reality. Were every censor squarely responsible to every writer and to the people, one might believe in mitigation of the censorship. It is merely the visible sign of the state of mind which makes it possible; it is the fever flaming out of illness. It exists because legislators and press demand it; it would perish miserably at the threat of a refusal to vote war credits, to suspend further publication of a newspaper. The masked writers demand freedom for themselves, not for those thinking differently.

"There can be no talk, of course, of a hollow, premature peace, for that will hurt us abroad." More nonsense, which becomes childish in the sunlight. Whatever Tom, Dick, or Harry may say in Germany about the conduct or object of the war will not hurt us abroad. Naught will harm us there except the constant attempt to look like sheep obediently trotting behind the shepherd.

Right and left the foe is listening; but nowhere can he detect the voice of the German people. Could he but hear it, we should be near to peace, which is possible today, which only a miracle could make better.

The Chancellor's Counterattack

Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg's Reichstag speech of July 5, part of which was printed on page 728 of the June CURRENT HISTORY, *still stirs European echoes. The article by Maximilian Harden, which precedes this one, is a case in point, as is also the speech by Sazonoff, which follows it. The passages attacking the Chancellor's German critics have only recently reached this country, and are reproduced herewith:*

After denouncing as "shameless lies" the statements that he was in a state of physical collapse when informed that England would enter the war, or that he was opposed to measures prior to the war for strengthening the army, or that he could have won over Japan if he had favored a large loan to that country, he proceeded as follows:

I MUST place still lower one of the most repugnant assertions. I am accused of keeping back for three precious days, against the wish of the

military authorities, the order for mobilization, which have cost us not only part of Alsace, but also streams of blood, and the striking of the first blow at the right time, in the hope, based on my old idea, of an understanding with England—I know that these attempts at an understanding with England are my capital offense. I have already spoken once at length in the Reichstag against these poisonous and insidious calumnies. I must do it once more.

What was Germany's position? France and Russia were closely united by an indissoluble alliance; there was a strong party of revenge in France; an influential and growing section, moving toward war, in Russia. France and Russia could only be held in check if the hope of England was successfully taken from them. They would then never have ventured on war. If I wished to work against war—and I have done so—I had to attempt to enter into relationship with England. That would have kept down the war parties in France and Russia. I made this attempt in face of an English policy of envelopment, hostile to Germany, which was also known to me. I am not ashamed of it, even if it has proved abortive. Let any one who, after witnessing this world war, which has now lasted almost two years, with its hecatombs of human sacrifices, tries to represent my action as a crime, answer for his accusation before God. I contemplate my sentence calmly.

But the efforts to come to an understanding with England had nothing to do with the mobilization of the army. I am accused of keeping back for three days the order for mobilization, and thus having caused the streams of blood of our people. Does not the obscurantist who wrote that know that in these three critical days we feverishly worked for a settlement of the differences between Russia and Austria-Hungary, and that especially the Kaiser, whose most earnest desire was the preservation of peace in the interests of the people, remained in uninterrupted telegraphic communication with the Czar? Does not this writer see that, if we had mobilized three days earlier, we should have laid upon ourselves that blood-guiltiness which Russia took upon herself, when she did so when negotiations were proceeding favorably, contrary to the promises she had solemnly given us?

This man, who is falsifying history in this way, assumes to sit in judgment over me! Tear away the mask, that we may see who it is that, in these trying times, dares to misuse the names of the German people and of Bismarck with the basest hints and slanders.

Another publication, gentlemen, the author of which bears a good name. It is the Generallandschaftsdirektor Kapp. This man contrives to assert that the watchword issued by me is beginning to play the same unfortunate rôle as in 1806 did that traitorous phrase: "Tranquillity is the first civil duty," issued after Jena. Where is that Jena now? Has the author no appreciation of the greatness of the present time when he warningly recalls Jena? Has he the impudence to call me a traitor to the State when in the struggle, above all, I can only see a united Germany?

Gentlemen, it is not, indeed, pleasant to have to defend one's self against the lies of a foreign enemy, but libels and calumnies at home are loathsome; still, I accept the battle and will fight it through with all the means at my disposal. It is not my person that is in question. What does the individual matter today when the entire fit manhood of Germany looks death in the face? What is in question is the cause of the Fatherland, which will suffer most grievously if mistrust and error are systematically carried round at great expense and with a great waste of printer's ink.

It may appear remarkable that I occupy your time today with references to secret pamphlets, but I consider it my duty to take care that the mind of the people should not be poisoned and to throw light on these secret agitations.

Gentlemen, I know well that no party in this house would approve of incitements based on untruths and calumnies, but the pirates of public opinion unfortunately but too often make a false use of the flag of national parties. Under the protection of this banner I am now attacked as a despiser of the great national traditions of which the

old parties of this house are so justly proud. As a proof it is stated that I try to curry favor with the Social Democrats and patronize the pessimists. Again and again we hear: This Chancellor depends entirely on the Social Democrats and the pacifists.

Gentlemen, in this war in which there are but Germans, am I to keep to parties? I am well aware that the difference between national and other parties played a great rôle in political life before the war, but the best fruits that this war can bring us will be that these differences be laid aside once for all, because the national spirit will have become a matter of course. My hopes in this direction are confident and firm, in spite of the gentlemen around Herr Liebknecht. These will be called to account by the people after the war.

We shall have party strifes after the war as violent, perhaps even more so, than before. It will be a new era with new mental movements and new social demands! The time will come when these battles will have to be fought, but are we to poison them from the outset by continuing to operate according to the old plan of national and anti-national parties?

I see the entire nation in heroic stature, fighting for its future. Our sons and brothers are fighting and dying side by side. There we see equal love for home in all, whether home comprised for them possessions and riches, or whether it was a place where only their own strength afforded them a livelihood. This sacred flame of love of home burns in every heart, so that they defy death and face a thousand dangers. Only a heart completely dried up can fail to feel the affecting impression of the great primitive strength of this nation, or resist the most ardent love for this people. Ought I to divide? Should I not rather unite? Should anxiety and care concerning the struggle in the future cripple the forces which we need to continue the great battle in the present? No, gentlemen, belief in and love for my people give me the firm certainty that we shall fight and conquer as we have fought and conquered hitherto.

Gentlemen, I must now conclude. Our enemies wish to let it go on to the end. We fear neither death nor the devil, nor the hunger devil which they wish to send into our country. The men who fight out there around Verdun, who fight under Hindenburg, our proud bluejackets who showed Albion how the rats can bite, are fashioned from a breed that knows how to bear privations also. These privations are there. I say that calmly and openly, even to foreign countries, but we bear them, and in this battle also progress is being made. A gracious Heaven allows a good harvest to ripen here. It will not be worse but better than in the previous hard year and better than it is now. This reckoning of our enemies on our economic difficulties will prove deceptive. Another calculation was sharply upset by our young navy on June 1. Nor will this victory make us boastful; we know well that England is thereby not yet beaten, but it is a token of our future, wherein Germany on the sea also will win for herself full equality of rights, and also for smaller peoples the lasting freedom of the sea routes now closed by England's domination. That is the bright and promising light that shone out on June 1.

Who Is Responsible for the War?

An Answer to the German Chancellor

By S. D. Sazonoff

Russian Ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs

From a statement made to a correspondent of the Russkoe Slovo, Moscow, which has been widely discussed in the German press. This was one of the last public utterances of the Minister before retiring from office.

THE substance and vehement tone of the latest declarations of the German Chancellor are explained when one remembers that Bethmann Hollweg had to defend his reputation as a statesman and his policies, not before some neutral audience, but against the rebukes and criticisms of his own fellow-countrymen. * * * In an attempt to whitewash himself he has surpassed all that he ever said before. Thus, for instance, he does not hesitate to make the extraordinary statement that "England, France, and Russia were closely united in an alliance against Germany." In order to say such a thing one must be sure of his audience. It is true that the Germans, on account of their military education, are capable of accepting collectively everything told them by their Government as a revelation from on high. Nevertheless, what the Chancellor dared to declare no literate man elsewhere in Europe would dare to claim. That there was no such alliance in existence between England, France, and Russia is known to the Chancellor as well as to many others; but he thinks it unprofitable to confess it.

As far as I am concerned, I was personally always of the opinion that if Germany began a war in Europe for the establishment of her hegemony, England's participation in such a war would be inevitable. However, I was not so certain that England's entrance into it would take place immediately after Germany's attack upon France. The Chancellor permits himself to say that we, that is, France and Russia, would never have dared to accept Germany's challenge for war had we not been assured of England's co-operation. But in reality the situation was exactly such as the Chancellor refuses to admit. Though loving peace and desirous of relieving the situation without bloodshed, France and Russia, nevertheless, had decided to resist Germany, and once for all to put an end to her habit of stepping on her neighbors' toes.

What happened then? As a result of Germany's clumsy diplomacy, the Entente Cordiale, with its loose form, has grown into a firm political alliance, bound together for many years with the object of defending the rights and interests of the powers belonging to it, and to preserve peace in Europe.

In addition to the many charges of the Chancellor, which are all remarkable for their bad faith, he also condemns Russia for burdening her conscience with the guilt of a bloody crime by her "premature" mobilization. Of course, the Chancellor did not consider it expedient to remember that the Russian mobilization took place after the full mobilization of the Austrian Army, and after the mobilization of a considerable part of the German Army.

The fact of the early mobilization order printed in the Prussian official organ, the Lokal Anzeiger, is known to all, and although the copies of that paper were later torn by the police from the hands of the public, the fact remains a fact.

Ignoring the methods selected by the Chancellor in his self-defense, I am ready to admit that it is indeed possible that the Chancellor himself did not desire the war and was not even its immediate culprit. But, should we even admit such a possibility, that will only make it apparent that the war was sought and aimed at by his many official colleagues. The conviction, firmly established in Eu-

rope, that the ultimatum to Serbia was worked out under the direct supervision of a German diplomat occupying a high post, and was immediately dispatched to the German Emperor for approval, passing the responsible leader of German politics, will but attest the fact that the Chancellor was not master in his own house. At the same time it is hard to entertain the thought that the Chancellor could remain completely outside the machinations of the enemies of peace in Europe, or that he could be entirely unaware of them.

Herr von Bethmann Hollweg frequently speaks with artificial satisfaction of what Germany has accomplished since the beginning of hostilities, and carefully avoids mentioning the things Germany had definitely planned, and which still remain but a dream. A list of these unaccomplished things would prove, in comparison with that of the achievements, many times longer.

By no amount of ingenuity can the Chancellor ever succeed in proving that the war was caused by Russia or England. The war is exclusively the work of the Pan-Germanic cancer which has been eating into the body of Germany for years, and which has now reached her vital organs.

To me, personally, it seems that at times both the Chancellor and von Jagow realized the danger hidden in that terrible malady, but neither of them had the courage to enter into a struggle against it. So long as Germany's neighbors are not convinced that Pan-Germanism, in whose hands Prussian militarism is the chief instrument, has ceased to be a world menace, so long is peace impossible between the Allies and Germany.

Verdun

By EMILE CAMMAERTS

[From Land and Water]

La neige saupoudre les collines,
La glace frange les ruisseaux,
Les bois découpent leurs ombres fines—
Vert des sapins, brun des bouleaux—
La Terre dort sous un ciel sourd,
La Meuse
Noire murmure une berceuse . . .
Et Verdun tient toujours.

Avril sourit sur les collines,
La crue gonfle les ruisseaux,
Les buissons chantent, les bois s'animent—
Noir des sapins, jaune des bouleaux
La Terre fait un rêve d'amour,
La Meuse
Bleue roule ses eaux furieuses . . .
Et Verdun tient toujours.

Le soleil inonde les collines,
Les prés en fleurs et les ruisseaux,
Sous da feuillée, l'abeille butine—
Vert des sapins, vert des bouleaux—
La Terre se pâme au bras du Jour,
La Meuse
Claire démêle ses boucles langoureuses . . .
Et Verdun tient toujours.

Lutz est tombée, Koloméa,
Asiago et Posina—
La Terre mange ses conquérants—
La Boisselle tombe et Montauban,
Dompierre tombe et Becquincourt—
Tandis que, là-bas, la Meuse
Rouge berce ses eaux trompeuses . . .
Mais Verdun tient toujours!

Juillet, 1916. [All rights reserved.]

The Kaiser's Message to America

By Alfred K. Nippert

Judge of Common Pleas Court, Cincinnati, and Vice President of American Commission for Relief of East Prussia

Judge Nippert dined with Emperor William at the German headquarters near Verdun on June 24, and afterward talked with him for two hours, receiving an informal message from the Kaiser to President Wilson, which he delivered on his return to the United States. The following article is condensed from a verbal statement made by Judge Nippert to a representative of THE NEW YORK TIMES:

THE German Kaiser asked me to deliver this message to the President of the United States:

"It might be well for America to know that of 3,000 inhabitants, women, children, and old men, driven by the Cossacks out of one town on the Prussian frontier, across the icy fields and snow-covered steppes into Russia, 40 per cent. of the children have died and 30 per cent. of the women. Ten thousand women and children and old men have been driven into Russia from the Prussian frontier.

"It is the fate of these nonbelligerents that causes me to express to the President of the United States the wish and hope that America, as the great nation which has done so much for the different war-stricken districts, will not turn a deaf ear to the call of the children and the tears of the mothers who are still surviving Russian captivity today.

"If America, with her standing among the nations of the world, could exercise her great influence through her Government and its President, to prevail upon Russia to release the surviving remnant of this vast number of those who have suffered, then America would, indeed, be doing an act of humanity for which my people would be eternally grateful. We ask nothing for our army or for ourselves, but fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, are standing in despair at our frontier, looking for the return of those who are near and dear to them, and we are helpless.

"A third Winter of war in Russia will mean the absolute annihilation of every woman, certainly every child, who is being held captive in the country beyond the Fatherland. Here is an opportunity for America to invoke the spirit of humanity and bring happiness and joy where today is only sorrow and distress."

Judge Nippert spent three and one-half months in Germany visiting particularly that part of East Prussia which was invaded by the Russians early in the war. He went abroad to see how the $400,000 sent by the American Commission for the Relief of East Prussia had been expended.

The Emperor, according to Judge Nippert, expressed much surprise that the American people, who had accepted as true all the stories of the destruction of Rheims Cathedral and the Hôtel de Ville in Louvain by the Germans, should take no interest, seemingly, in the wanton destruction by the Cossacks of churches erected in East Prussia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the Knights of the Crusades.

"I saw the Emperor by invitation at his headquarters at the Western frontier," said Judge Nippert. "I am not at liberty to be more precise as to the geographical location. It was on the evening of the day of the Kaiser's visit to the Verdun front, and I had just returned from Rheims, that is to say, Zerney, a village just across the field from the Rheims Cathedral, and the nearest place occupied by the German troops.

"The Rheims Cathedral, by the way, is not destroyed, but, on the contrary, one is able to count every tile in the roof, and to notice every Gothic ornament upon its beautiful turrets or steeples. Remembering the fake pictures which were published of the burning cathedral at

Rheims, as well as the ruins of the Hôtel de Ville, or Town Hall, at Louvain, one had to rub his eyes when he beheld both of these structures intact and still used for the purposes for which they were originally erected hundreds of years ago.

"There is not a scratch on the thousands of ornaments that decorate the Hôtel de Ville, at Louvain.

"The Kaiser remarked to me that it was strange that Americans should have failed to realize the terrible destruction of the beautiful and historic edifices of worship, built by the Knights of the Crusades in the eleventh and twelfth centuries throughout the length and breadth of East Prussia.

"The Kaiser then added:

"'Even Napoleon, during his invasion of East Prussia in 1807, and at the battles of Friedland and Eylau, destroyed only those edifices which were considered necessary for military reasons, and scrupulously avoided the wanton destruction of houses of worship. But not so the Cossack. He is neither respecter of persons nor of religions, and what those beautiful churches of the Knights of the Crusades have suffered along the Prussian frontier can be appreciated only by those persons who have seen them.'"

Asked to describe the Kaiser's appearance and personality, Judge Nippert said:

"The Kaiser is the healthiest mortal that—I was going to say—I ever saw. There is fire in his eye, he shows a quickness of mind in conversation, and an alertness of spirit that is amazing—simply amazing. There is about him not only freshness, and virility of spirit and mind, but I became conscious of his absolute optimism and assurance of ultimate and complete victory of the German arms. That optimism is, perhaps, the distinguishing feature of this remarkable personality.

"His complexion is as brown as an Indian's, his eyes are blue and responsive in their expression to the emotion of the moment. They never leave the eyes of the person addressed. He will put a question quickly, fold his arms, and stand looking you straight in the eye, waiting for an answer. He would rather have you say that, for some reason, either because you don't know, or are not sure, or prefer not to reply to a question he puts to you, than for you to offer an evasive rejoinder. He likes a plain yes or no, and your reason therefor.

"I was struck by his fund of general information. His knowledge of American literature and history was a surprise to me as it would be to any other American who had been surfeited with misinformation concerning this striking personality, either through the allied press or American newspaper lies.

"As a matter of fact, the Kaiser is more familiar with the history of the War of Independence and the War of 1812, and of the lives of the men who made the success of the American arms possible, than most of the graduates of some of our big colleges whom I have had occasion to meet within the last two years. The Emperor is today deeply appreciative of the service which his distinguished forebear, Frederick the Great, was able to render George Washington, during the dark days of Valley Forge, and the Kaiser was particularly pleased to recall to me that the first Major General of the American Army was Baron von Steuben, who demonstrated to the American troops that the bayonet was not a toasting fork for potatoes, but an effective weapon of offense if properly used.

"The Kaiser had been at Verdun that day, June 24, visiting with his son, who had achieved a notable success the day before at Fleury. He was in splendid spirits when we met at the dinner table. The menu was simple and short. We sat down at eight o'clock. Including the Emperor's staff and others, the party was composed of twelve to fifteen persons.

"The dinner party broke up at 8:45 o'clock. We had been served with, first, a plate of clabber—the best clabber I ever tasted in my life. The next thing was pike, then came a plate of veal roast, with peas, beans, and potatoes; then a side dish of cauliflower, with gravy. There was ice cream, and the company had its choice of three kinds of wine—claret, Rhine wine, and a strawberry bowl.

"After dinner," Judge Nippert contin-

ued, "we all adjourned to the smoking room, and the Kaiser lit one of his favorite Turkish cigarettes, offering me my choice between one of those or a clear Havana cigar. It was remarkable that, though it was now 9 o'clock, the twilight permitted our being able, without artificial assistance, easily to read a newspaper.

"In a few minutes the Kaiser started for a walk, and invited me to accompany him. From that time until after 11 o'clock he carried on a most interesting and many-sided conversation, touching largely upon the relief of East Prussia, the work of the American commission, and the work of those citizens of the United States who are interested in the destinies of Germany; that is to say, those who are sympathizers of Germany in this world struggle.

"The Emperor told me he took no issue with those in America who take another view of this world struggle. He is broadminded and liberal in all such matters. He was interested to be told by me that, even though my forefathers had left Germany in 1829, I was still concerned in the history, traditions, and future of the German people.

"In my opinion," said Judge Nippert enthusiastically, "the Kaiser is one of the few monarchs who are real servants of their people. I believe it to be truly his motto that the first duty of the Hohenzollerns is to be the first servant of their people.

"What inspired his Majesty's acute interest in my mission to East Prussia was that the American Commission for East Prussian Relief was organized among the people of the United States for the purpose of aiding in the rehabilitation of that country. It has met with wonderful response from all sides.

"While Belgium and Poland had their relief fund, and Northern France its aid, and Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, and Macedonia were also under the affluent protectorate of benevolent American millionaires—even far-off Armenia has her wealthy American benefactors — poor East Prussia had been left out. The ravages of war have been more violent and more uncompromising there than in any part of the area covered by the armies. And yet, little is known in this country of the extensive material destruction which has been carried on without any military necessity or reason.

"The history of sorrow, distress, crime and devastation, the murder of innocents, the rape of women, torture of men, destruction of schools and churches, the burning of farms, killing of wonderful Holstein herds—it all goes to make a page in the history of the European war that, as yet, has not been read by the American public. There is no sadder story—none that should appeal more to the sympathetic hearts of a sympathetic nation than this story of Cossack invasion of the beautiful prairies and forests of East Prussia.

"It was this district that I was especially interested in," Judge Nippert continued, "and in company with the Province President, his Excellency von Batocki, who is now Minister of Food Distribution for the German Empire, we started at the Russian frontier village of Eydikuhnen. We visited the different towns as far as Stalluponen. There a large squad of Russian prisoners were cleaning up the débris of the ruins which they themselves had been instrumental in creating.

"While we were examining the wrecks of the houses a message was handed to von Batocki notifying him of his appointment. He immediately left for Berlin, and I was then put in charge of the President of the Gumbinnen district, Count von Lambstorff. It was one succession of burned buildings, ruined homes and mourning people.

"There is so much of sorrow and so much of distress in all these places that it is impossible to mention the details and the peculiar methods used by the different Cossack regiments in various districts. But the American Relief Commission, being especially interested in the district of Ragnit—the very frontier township of the Gumbinnen district—it will be of peculiar interest to the American people to hear what happened in that Benjamin of the twelve townships of Gumbinnen.

"To appreciate the situation," ex-

plained Judge Nippert, unfolding a map of the country, "one must realize that the northeastern part of the Township of Ragnit is the shape of a bear skin—geographically speaking—cut off from the rest of the country on the south by the broad River Menel, on the west by the swamps of the Yura, while the north and east are wholly Russian, densely forested to the very edge of the German frontier.

"There are only a few roads, and they are bad, until you come to the first German village in this district, which I have named the bear skin. The history of the bear skin is a history of tears and sorrow. At the beginning of the war 6,000 people lived there—happy with their children and crops. When the war broke out, between 700 and 1,000 men joined the troops, or the Government service in one line or another, leaving the women and children to attend to the crops and flocks.

"The Russians came out of the forest over night like hungry wolves and took possession of the entire bear skin. The bridges to the Fatherland were blown up and the ferries across the Yura were either destroyed or captured by the Russians. Five thousand people were literally marooned. The Germans were unable to drive the Cossacks out of these districts, and up to Feb. 15, 1915, they had undisputed sway and added a bloody page to the history of warfare.

"When the Cossacks left, of the 5,000 people of the bear skin district 3,000 were carried to the den of the Russian bear. When I say 3,000 I do not mean men; I mean women, with all their children. The men were at war, or had been taken prisoners by the Russians early in the game. This fate befell mothers with from two to twelve children, ranging in age from two months to 16 years. Little girls, little boys—neither sex nor age received mercy at the hands of these Russian brutes.

"The Cossacks gathered them like the Texas cowboy would round up his cattle and drove them along the highways into the Russian inferno. Mothers gave birth to children in the forests with the snow for a cradle and a dark Russian pine for a canopy. The children were buried as soon as they were born; a blanket of snow was all that kind nature contributed to cover the bones of the new-born victims.

"Let me tell you that there is in the history of our Western frontier during the bloodiest days of Sioux and Apache warfare nothing that can equal the story of the bear skin. I have in my possession records of villages, family by family, with the age, and so forth, of the mother and each of the children. And it is shown that of the 3,000 persons who were carried into Russia 40 per cent. of the children have died and 30 per cent. of the women. The Russian cattle cars and the Russian steppes are no more the respecters of persons, sex, or age than the Cossack, and each has demanded its toll."

Lord Kitchener

By ROBERT BRIDGES

Unflinching hero, watchful to foresee
And face thy country's peril wheresoe'er,
Directing war and peace with equal care,
Till by long toil ennobled thou wert he
Whom England call'd and bade "Set my arm free
To obey my will and save my honor fair"—
What day the foe presumed on her despair
And she herself had trust in none but thee:

Among Herculean deeds the miracle
That mass'd the labor of ten years in one
Shall be thy monument. Thy work is done
Ere we could thank thee; and the high sea swell
Surgeth unheeding where thy proud ship fell
By the lone Orkneys, ere the set of sun.

SECOND YEAR OF THE WAR

Survey of Past Events and Forecast for Third Year by Chief Powers on Both Sides

A permanently valuable summary of the second year of the war is offered in the following symposium. One of its significant features is the heightened confidence displayed by the Entente Allies, with Germany's tacit assumption of a defensive attitude. To the neutral onlooker who tries to regard the facts dispassionately the year 1915 marked the high tide of German success, while the year 1916 thus far has steadily tended to reverse the situation, placing the Teutons on the defensive and turning the tide of battle gradually in favor of the Allies. Germany's failure at Verdun promises to be the historic landmark indicating the momentous change. It will be interesting, when the end comes, to see how the official predictions recorded below look in the light of events which the third year of war still hides behind the veil of the future.

Proclamations of Kaiser and King

Anniversary Utterances

The following proclamation to the German forces on land and sea was issued by Emperor William on Aug. 1:

COMRADES, the second year of the world war has elapsed. Like the first year, it was for Germany's arms a year of glory. On all fronts you inflicted new and heavy blows on the enemy. Whether the enemy retreated, borne down by the force of your attacks, or whether, reinforced by foreign assistance, collected and pressed into service from all parts of the world, he tried to rob you of the fruits of former victories, you always proved yourselves superior to him. Even where England's tyranny was uncontested, namely, on the free waves of the sea, you victoriously fought against gigantic superiority.

Your Emperor's appreciation and your grateful country's proud admiration are assured to you for these deeds, for your unshaken loyalty, for your bold daring, and for your tenacious bravery. Like the memory of our dead heroes, your fame also will endure through all time. The laurels which our ever-confident forces have won against the enemy, in spite of trials and dangers, are inseparably linked with the devoted and untiring labor at home.

This strength at home has sent an ever-fresh inspiration to the armies in the field. It has continually quickened our swords, has kindled Germany's enthusiasm, and has terrified the enemy. My gratitude and that of the Fatherland are due the nation at home.

But the strength and will of the enemy are not yet broken. We must continue the severe struggle in order to secure the safety of our beloved homeland, to preserve the honor of the Fatherland and the greatness of the empire.

Whether the enemy wages war with the force of arms, or with cold, calculating malice, we shall continue as before into the third year of the war. The spirit of duty to the Fatherland and unbending will to victory permeate our homes and our fighting forces today, as in the first days of the war. With God's gracious help, I am convinced that your future deeds will equal those of the past and present.

Main headquarters.

WILHELM.

On Aug. 1 *the German Emperor also sent this message to Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, the Imperial Chancellor:*

For the second time the anniversary of the day arrived when our enemies forced me to call Germany's sons to arms to protect the honor and existence of the empire.

The German Nation has been through two years of unprecedentedly heroic deeds and suffering. The army and navy, in union with our loyal and brave allies,

GRAND DUCHESS ANASTASIA

The Talented Wife of Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia--Formerly a Princess of Montenegro--Has Given Valuable Aid in Organizing the Munitions Campaign.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE

Governor General and Commander in Chief of the Dominion of Canada, Appointed June 28, 1916, to Succeed the Duke of Connaught.

have gained the highest glory in attack and defense. Many thousands of our brethren have sealed their loyalty to the Fatherland with their blood.

In the west and in the east our heroic men in field-gray resist in unshaken fortitude the terrible onslaught of the enemy.

Our young fleet on that glorious day in the Skagerrak inflicted a heavy blow on the British armada. Deeds of untiring sacrifice and loyal comradeship at the front glow brightly before my eyes.

At home also we see heroism. Men and women, old and young, all quietly and bravely wearing mourning, and the anxiety of all who organize and help to lessen the suffering caused by the war and of all who labor day and night unceasingly to supply our fighting brothers in the trenches and at sea with the necessary armament.

Our enemies' hopes to outstrip our production of war material will prove as unattainable as was their plan to secure by starvation what their sword could not attain. God's blessings on Germany's fields has rewarded the farmers more bountifully than we dared to hope. South and North in friendly rivalry strive to find the best means for an even distribution of the foodstuffs and other necessaries.

To all those fighting either on the battlefield or at home, my heartiest thanks.

Still hard times are ahead. After the terrible storm of the two years of war a desire for sunshine and peace is stirring in all human hearts, but the war continues because the battle-cry of the enemy Governments is still the destruction of Germany. Blame for further bloodshed falls only on our enemies. The firm confidence has never left me that Germany is invincible in spite of the superior numbers of our enemies, and every day confirms this anew.

Germany knows she is fighting for her existence. She knows her strength, and she relies on God's help. Therefore nothing can shake her determination or her assurance. We shall bring this struggle to such an end that our empire will be protected against future attack, and that a free field will be assured for the peaceful development of German genius and labor.

We shall live free, secure, and strong among the nations of the world. This right nobody shall or will snatch from us. I ask you to make this manifest public.

KING GEORGE OF ENGLAND

King George telegraphed to the heads of Entente States on Aug. 4, the second anniversary of Great Britain's entry into the war, the following pledge:

On this second anniversary of the great conflict in which my country and her gallant allies are engaged I desire to convey to you my steadfast resolution to prosecute the war until our united efforts have attained the objects for which we in common have taken up arms.

I feel assured that you are in accord with me in the determination that the sacrifices our valiant troops have so nobly made shall not have been offered in vain, and that the liberties for which they are fighting shall be fully guaranteed and secured.

King George also sent this message to King Albert of Belgium:

I desire to assure you of my confidence that the united efforts of the Allies will liberate Belgium from the oppression of her aggressors and restore to her the full enjoyment of her national and economic independence.

I also desire to convey my deep sympathy in the grievous trials to which Belgium is so unjustly subjected and which she has borne with such admirable fortitude.

PRESIDENT POINCARE

The President of France addressed these words to his nation on Aug. 1 through the official journal, the Bulletin des Armées:

For the second time we have to commemorate a soul-stirring anniversary. Two sections of mankind have been grappling with one another and are fighting amid streams of blood. The nations who have let loose that stupendous catastrophe have not yet completely expiated their act. But justice is on its way.

Instinctively, mutilated France, which during forty-four years had imposed

silence on her sorrow, understood in 1914 that the foe who was attacking her, blinded by pride and fanaticized by hatred, had no grievance to plead, no right to defend, no menace to ward off. It is in vain that today the aggressors are attempting to falsify history.

They were at first less knavish and more cynical when they flattered themselves in seeing in the treaties granted by them nothing but common scraps of paper. With insolent frankness they accepted the responsibility of their crime. The French Nation was conscious that theirs was a case of legitimate defense; it realized spontaneously that sacred union which is the main condition of victory and which found in the memorable sitting of the Parliament on Aug. 4, 1914, an imposing consecration.

The war became immediately, in the whole force of the term, a national war. There is not a Frenchman who remained deaf to the call of his country. When you were called upon to protect our frontiers and save our natal soil you were not only conscious that your material interests were at stake; you knew also that you were going to defend your hearths, that you were going to defend all which constitutes France—traditions, ideas, moral forces, preserved and developed by a nation which will not die.

Your patience and gallantry during long months have restrained the pressure of the German Army. The battlefields where you have repulsed the enemy—the Marne, the Yser, Champagne, Artois, the Meuse, and the Somme—mark so many stages of victory. It is you who have enabled France to organize her equipment, and Belgium and Serbia to reconstruct their armies. It is you who have given to England the time to form the admirable divisions which are fighting now at your side. It is you who have given to Russia the means to supply rifles and guns, cartridges and shells to her heroic troops.

Today, as you see, the Allies are beginning to gather the fruits of your perseverance. The Russian Army is pursuing the Austrian Army in flight. The Germans, attacked at the same time on the eastern and western fronts, are engaging everywhere their reserves. British, Russian, and French battalions are co-operating in the liberation of our soil.

The struggle, alas, is not yet ended. It will still be hard, and all of us must continue working and working unremittingly and with fervor. But the superiority of the Allies is already apparent to every one. The scales of fate had protracted oscillations. Now one of the trays keeps on the ascent, the other is lowering under a burden which nothing will lighten.

JOFFRE TO HIS SOLDIERS

The following address by General Joffre to the French Army was issued as an official order of the day on the second anniversary of the outbreak of the war:

Soldiers of the Republic:

Your third year of fighting has begun. For two years past you have been supporting with unfailing strength the weight of an implacable conflict. You have caused all the plans of our enemies to fail. You vanquished them on the Marne; you checked them on the Yser, and you beat them in the Artois and in the Champagne at a time when they were vainly seeking victory on the plains of Russia. Then your victorious resistance during a battle of five months' duration broke the German effort in front of Verdun.

Thanks to your stubborn courage, the armies of our allies have been enabled to manufacture arms, the weight of which our enemies today are experiencing over their entire front.

The moment is approaching when, under the strength of our mutual advance, the military power of Germany will crumble.

Soldiers of France, you may be proud of the work you already have accomplished! You have determined to see it through to the end! Victory is certain!

JOFFRE.

RUSSIAN VIEW

General Chouvaieff, Russian Minister of War, tempers the Allies' expressions of confidence with this statement:

It is necessary to dispel the illusion that the war can end in the Autumn. The breaking down of the enemy's forces has already begun—a fact as well known

by the Germans as by the Entente Allies—but Germany's technique is so high that, in spite of her economic weakening and the lowered morale of her troops, she still has the power to resist, and we must look forward to a further struggle before the final victory.

This explains the recent orders calling men ordinarily exempt to the colors. Russia already has a large reserve, but it is our intention that this reserve shall not diminish. It is fitting also that the foreign races in Russia, who ordinarily would not be obliged to serve, should be recruited, if not in the active army, at least in work connected with the conduct of the war, for all elements in Russia will receive the benefits of victory.

General Alexeieff, Commander in Chief of the Russian armies, says:

I think that we may now be said to have passed through the most difficult period of our great war. While still offering stubborn resistance, our enemy is beginning to weaken, but we have need to summon all our powers yet before we can hope to attain the definite goal of our hopes.

Premier Sturmer of Russia says:

At the moment when the Allies are entering upon the third year of the war the Russian Government is more than ever resolved to continue the struggle to the end, and is firmly convinced that, with the help of the Almighty, the Allies and their cause of justice and equity will triumph.

GERMAN OFFICIAL FIGURES

The German Government issued officially the figures relating to its conquests at the end of the second year of the war in a statement which reads:

The Central Powers occupied 431,000 square kilometers, (161,625 square miles,) against 180,000 (67,625 square miles) a year ago. The enemy occupied in Europe 22,000 square kilometers, (8,250 square miles,) against 11,000 (4,125 square miles) a year ago.

The Central Powers, Bulgaria, and Turkey captured 2,678,000 enemy soldiers, against 1,695,000. Of those taken prisoner by the Germans 5,947 officers and 348,000 men were French, 9,100 officers and 1,202,000 men were Russian, and 947 officers and 30,000 men were British.

The war booty brought to Germany, in addition to that utilized immediately at the front, comprised 11,036 cannon, 4,700,000 shells, 3,450 machine guns, and 1,556,000 rifles.

According to the latest statistics of German wounded soldiers, 90.2 per cent. returned to the front, 1.4 per cent. died; the rest were unfit for service or were released. The military measures of the Central Powers, in consequence of vaccinations, were never disturbed by epidemics.

How the Second Crisis Was Passed

Summary of a Year's Developments

This excellent summary of the war events of the year that ended Aug. 1, 1916, is a condensation of the statements of various French diplomatists and military experts. It is the story of the second year as seen from the viewpoint of France:

WHILE French, British, and Russian preparations are daily becoming more complete, a crisis of exhaustion is fast arising for the Austrians and Germans. Our adversaries thought it would be impossible for us to prepare, and certainly during the first year of the war there were difficulties that had to be overcome. We are proud to say that this was accomplished even while our valiant soldiers were resisting the German invasion. Thanks to the patriotism of the country and the abnegation shown by all classes in France and England, thanks also to the campaign in both countries for more cannon and more ammunition, industrial action was everywhere multiplied, and General Joffre was able to say in an order of the day to the

army at Verdun: "We have munitions in abundance."

The extent of the difficulties of the Central Empires does not even now appear from the state of the war as viewed from a geographical standpoint, but has shown itself in the changed tactics in evidence and is becoming obvious in the altered map. The operations of the Franco-British armies, outnumbered in men and guns during the first six months, saved France by sheer heroism, but could not end the war; could only prolong it and gain time. The Russians pushed into East Prussia, conquered the Bukowina, invaded Galicia, crossed the Carpathians, and even threatened Silesia, but exhausted their armament in April, 1915, and lacked even the essentials for defense. The Germans knew it would be impossible for Great Britain and France to have caught up in nine months with the Germans' forty-five years of preparations, and felt themselves free, dealing first with France, to turn upon the Russian armies. Nine divisions transported from the Franco-British front reinforced the Austrians, and the offensive against the Russians began in May. By the end of July Przemysl and Lemberg had been retaken, and the Russians were considering the abandonment of Warsaw and the line of the Vistula. Short even of rifles, many of Emperor Nicholas's troops defended themselves with clubs during the long retreat, in which was accomplished the second miracle of the war, the continuity of their line being everywhere maintained, as well as the integrity of the Russian armies.

The battle of Arras in June, 1915, was considered to have proved the Allies, man for man, able to beat the Germans in the offensive, other things being equal, but the munitions and artillery of the opposing forces were not yet equally balanced. The transformation of field tactics as the war progressed multiplied the need for heavy guns and powerful projectiles to break through concrete-armored lines. This transformation thus increased the superiority of belligerents who had the initial advantage in preparation, forcing their adversaries to a greater expenditure of munitions than their industries were as yet able to produce, while they themselves were able to shower the Russian lines with the biggest of shells.

The end of the first year of the war was the beginning of the second crisis for the Allies—a munitions crisis, aggravated by a diplomatic crisis requiring new enterprises that drew on their main forces. The landing of the French and British at the Dardanelles in April had weakened the Allies elsewhere, reducing the number of reserves on the main front, and if it did not modify their general plan it obviously made the elaboration of new plans difficult and hampered their movements.

At the same time the enigmatic situation in the Orient became serious, Greece refusing the compensation offered for territorial concessions to Bulgaria which might have facilitated a union of the Balkan States. The situation in Persia and Asia Minor, following the entry of Turkey into the war, had developed a menace to Great Britain in the Far East. The favorable impression produced by the advance north of Arras had diminished in the absence of further operations, and there was a notabable absence of news favorable to the Allies.

"More cannon, more ammunition" was the comment of the French people on the difficulties that beset them. Women and girls joined in the efforts of the trained mechanics brought back from the armies to the forge and the lathe, and the curve of munitions production took a sharp upward turn.

The industrial efforts of the Allies were given the required time by the resistance of the Russian armies. The Germans advanced, but they could neither destroy nor dislocate the Russian forces.

While intensifying to the utmost their production of arms and ammunition the Allies began early in the second year of hostilities, with the visit of Field Marshal Earl Kitchener to France, the series of conferences that was finally to co-ordinate their military effort.

The French, in the Champagne and in the Artois in September, gained considerable territory and made important captures in prisoners and material, but as in the preceding offensive north of Arras

in June this movement failed of decisive results because of the narrowness of the front of the attack and the impossibility to push artillery preparation deeply enough into the German lines. That the offensive was considered to have confirmed the superiority of the French soldier in attack in nowise altered the general situation.

After the campaign in the Balkans, which from the German viewpoint was successful but not decisive, Germany turned her attention again to the western front. She then decided upon the venture at Verdun.

The German plan seems originally to have been to concentrate artillery, munitions, and men in such force over a limited length of front that the onrush would be irresistible. They chose Verdun because the position of the ancient fortress was such that the defenders had their backs to the River Meuse on two sides and because success there would give the greatest possible prestige with neutral powers and the maximum comfort to their own people. It was also possible they knew what subsequent political events in France disclosed—that the defenses of Verdun were not, in view of the field tactics of this war, as strong as other parts of the front. It is the belief of military experts that the Germans hoped to break through the front there and destroy the French armies. It was imperative that success be rapid, according to this view, and when, after three days, the advance was checked in the region of Douaumont the project had failed. General Pétain, as an official citation later revealed, had time to "re-establish a delicate situation." There was no longer hope of breaking through the French front.

Every yard of ground gained by the Germans before Verdun since Feb. 24 has been at an extremely heavy sanguinary cost. The continuing of so expensive and fruitless an operation has puzzled the critics. It has been advanced that the Germans persisted with the object of exhausting the French forces and preventing an offensive by the Allies elsewhere. If that end was in view the success of the Allies in the battle of the Somme shows it was not attained.

The battle of Verdun, if ordered with the intention of interfering with the offensive plans of the Allies, in nowise diminished the chances of carrying them out, whatever the fate of the discarded fortress, it having now no more significance apart from the prestige of the name than any other point along the front. Local success there has long been discounted, and, in military opinion, can have no vital effect, while the attempting of a wastage process by the Central Powers at this stage of the war is held to be illusory and certainly enormously costly. The Central Empires have no longer reserves in such numbers that they can afford to launch them against the Allies in the mere hope of inflicting more damage than they suffer.

The heroic defense of Verdun, on the other hand, has been for the Allies one of the notable developments of the war. It held German reserves there in such numbers as to put an end to the shifting of troops from front to front. It prevented the reinforcement of the Austrians, suffering from the loss of prisoners, with perhaps as many in casualties, to the armies under General Brusiloff. It obliged the Germans to prolong during five months a vast daily expenditure of projectiles that was expected to continue only a few days, and has so drawn upon their reserves of munitions that in the battle of the Somme they were able to reply to the French and British guns in the proportion of only one shot for three. The successful defense of Verdun and the successful offensives of the Allies in the North of France and on the western front show at the end of the second year of the war that the finally prepared war map on which the German Chancellor held that the Allies ought to accept negotiations is undergoing singular modifications, with the Russians occupying Bukowina and part of Galicia; the Italians recovering territory lost in the recent Austrian offensive and still in possession of the Isonzo region, and with the French and British in possession of more than thirty villages on the banks of the Somme that had been occupied by the Germans for twenty months and each of them transformed

in the meantime into miniature fortresses. The Allies have caught up with the advantage of the Central Powers in preparation, and any further modifications of the respective positions of the contending forces, it is believed, must be a reconquest of invaded territory by the Allies.

The destruction of adversary forces is another and a far more difficult matter. In this war the end may be nearer than many hope or may yet be far distant. There are no bases on which to calculate the progress of military operations or the resistance of the belligerents, even when apparently doomed to defeat. What is clear is that the anticipated ascendency of the Allies, arising from their unrestricted resources, appears to have been realized.

"Stonewalling in France"

By General Sir Douglas Haig

At the beginning of the third year of the war Sir Douglas Haig, Commander in Chief of the British Armies in France, made the following statement in the presence of press correspondents:

THE tide has turned. Time has been with the Allies from the first. It is only a question of more time till we win a decisive victory, which is the one sure way to bring peace in this as in other wars. Until this victory is won it ill becomes a British soldier in France to think of peace.

The problem of the first Summer's campaign and the second for the Allies was to hold the Germans from forcing a decision with their ready numbers of men, guns, and shells. Whether it was the able Generalship and heroism of the French on the Marne, the dogged retreat of the little British expeditionary force from Mons, the stubborn resistance of the French and British to the Germans' effort for the Channel ports, the Russian retreat last Summer, Belgium's or Serbia's sacrifice, Italy's stonewalling against Austria's offensive or France's immortal defense of Verdun, the purpose was always to gain time for preparations necessary to take the offensive away from the enemy.

Our unpreparedness at the start of the war, due to its unexpectedness, is no secret. While France, which had a great national army and universal service, was giving all her strength, we had to begin building from the bottom.

The majority of our best regular officers had been killed or wounded in the early fighting. With the remainder as a nucleus to drill and organize the volunteers, who were raw but had the spirit that quickeneth, we undertook to create an army of millions, which must be officered largely by men of no military experience, to fight the German Army, with its forty years of preparation.

Meanwhile we had to keep on stonewalling in France with such troops as we had ready against that prepared foe, whose blows were the sturdier in his efforts for a decision owing to his realization that time was against him. Now the new army has had its first practical experience in attack on a large scale.

However well trained an army, however able its Generals, however ample its artillery and munitions, the supreme test in a war of this kind is its capacity, unit by unit, for bearing heavy losses unflinchingly. Wherever sacrifice of life was necessary, to the end these new army men have borne it without wavering and in manner worthy of the best traditions of the Anglo-Saxon race when it has had to fight for principles associated with its history the world over.

[Turning to the map, he put his finger first on Pozieres and then on Delville Wood, where Britain's incessant struggle has gained precious high ground, and said:]

Here our men, after they had conquered the maze of trench fortifications which the Germans had been a year and a half in building, have fought under

field conditions, digging what cover they could, withstanding counterattacks with all the stubbornness of the regulars at Ypres, continuing to advance, putting their skill, courage, and resources against those of an army with forty years of preparation. Their confidence that as man to man, with equally good artillery support, they were the superior of the German has been justified by the event. They feel that they have taken the measure of the Germans.

In relation to our own losses they have been severe in the instance of some units whose steadiness in the face of a most galling fire has insured reliance on the others under a similar test. I may say that the total for the month of July to date, in the midst of a continuous offensive, has been less than five times the total in June, when we were in our trenches.

The third year of the war will be the Allies' year. No less than France, now that we are ready, we shall give all the strength there is in us to drive the invader from her soil and that of Belgium. England will not achieve her full strength on land, however, until next Summer.

All those who believe that our cause is the cause of civilization may rest assured that this army has no thought except to go on delivering blow after blow until we have won that victory by force of arms which will insure an enduring peace.

British Deeds in the Critical Year

By Sir Gilbert Parker

Novelist and Member of Parliament

LOOKING back at the end of the second year, one is forced to wonder how Germany was stayed in her march of conquest. According to every rule she should have been in Paris at the time she herself appointed—early in the Autumn of 1914. She came very near it.

What stopped her? She had left out of her calculations the strategical skill which belongs by nature to the French Army, the new French Army, from behind Paris, and "the contemptible little British Army."

It is a remarkable thing that on the western front the only gains of Germany were achieved in the first few weeks of the war. Those gains were of immense strategical value to her. They included the mining and industrial districts of France and nearly the whole of Belgium, from which she has steadily drawn practical support and advantage and supplies. The wonder is not that the Allies have done so well, but that, with all her preparations and her perfect armament, Germany and her obedient colleagues, Austria and Turkey and Bulgaria, have done so badly.

Apparently at the beginning of the war everything was in their hands, everything except one—the British Navy. If Germany could have mastered her as she mastered Belgium and a goodly portion of France the war would long since have been over. France would have been a third-rate power under practical German control; Russia would have been driven back into her steppes and plains, once more the slave of German influence and control, and the British Empire as we know it would have become a thing of the past.

What the British Navy did was to sweep German merchant commerce from the seas, prevent Germany from trading with the rest of the world, except by crooked methods, bottle up her fleet to uselessness, drive her South Atlantic fleet to the bottom of the sea, and throttle and choke German export to an extent that great cities like Hamburg have lost the hum of their activity, and, outside the Baltic Sea, there is no stir of German commerce, save in a freakish enterprise like that of the Deutschland. Those, however, who count the work of the Deutschland as extraordinary should remember that it is not original, since a

considerable number of British submarines have crossed the Atlantic during the last year safely and surely. It is not strange that the Deutschland accomplished its feat. It will be very strange, however, if that feat is repeated by many sister submarines.

German foreign commerce cannot be rehabilitated by the activities of submarines. Since the battle of Jutland it can be safely and surely said that the seas are still controlled overwhelmingly by the British fleet. The German fleet came out, and then fled to cover again after a stiff fight.

But let us now take the field of battle on the western front. For a whole year or more critics in the United States, whose only idea of warfare was that of constant action, have continuously asked why was it Great Britain, which had recruited between three and four million men, should be doing nothing on the western front. They complained that France was left alone at Verdun and elsewhere. They did not realize that France knew she had at her disposal at any moment the British troops which were holding their own line of the front and steadily extending it. They did not remember that at the beginning of the war Great Britain was armed on a basis of a mere handful of men; that all the machinery of equipment was upon a basis of the handful, and that having men—a million or two millions—she still could not equip them, because she had not factories of munitions except upon the scale of the handful.

Men had to be recruited, fed, uniformed, equipped; artillery had to be developed and extended beyond all experience of the past. Rifles had to be supplied. And the one reason why there was such delay in making a move on the western front by the British was lack of equipment. The push forward at Loos was not final and effective because there were not sufficient munitions.

But what is the condition of affairs today? There are enough munitions. Why? Because big men have given their brains and skill to the task of organization; because the manual workers of England have roused themselves to a complete sense of duty; because they have given up trade union regulations for the period of the war; because, without murmuring, they have thrown up their holidays; because hundreds and thousands of women have joined the munitions works or have entered into fields of occupation formerly monopolized by men, such as the conduction of cars on tram lines, driving vans, working upon farms, clerking in offices, doing men's work in scores of small trades; because all England, in every corner of it, is alive to the terrible significance of the world fight and has given its best blood, mind, strength, and craft to the nation's cause.

In spite of criticism and complaint England would not and did not move on the western front until she was ready, although she was ready to help at Verdun if needed, and said so. And she was not ready until she could dominate, as she has done, the German artillery by a greater weight of metal; until, making a move forward over the whole of her line, they both could make good their successes, mile by mile, and steadily and surely diminish the capacity of resistance upon the part of Germany. This they have done.

What is the position today? Every one of the Allies has moved forward and at the same time, and every one has succeeded, as she has moved. Italy, like Russia, France, and England elsewhere, has succeeded in her field against Austria. Germany cannot put forward her men to help Austria. Austria is harassed by Italy and by Russia. Germany is harassed and hammered by England, Russia, France, and Belgium.

There is no rest for Germany anywhere. She cannot shift her troops from front to front, as she did in the early days of the war, smashing one enemy here and then whisking her troops over to smash another enemy there.

Mistakes? The Allies no doubt have made mistakes, but England has made no such mistakes as have been made by Germany, all of whose plans have gone awry. England was expected to, and promised to, furnish 150,000 men for the protection of Belgium in case of a European war—and that was all.

She has, in fact, provided an army and navy personnel of nearly 5,000,000 men and has trebled the personnel of her fleet. Could any other nation in the world furnish over 4,000,000 men on a voluntary basis, as Great Britain has done?

Americans should understand that it is not alone in the field of battle that Great Britain has proved her capacity for organization. She has proved it in the civil field; she has nationalized the railways of the country and has paid the regular dividends; she secured the sugar crop of the world at the very beginning of the war, through which sugar is cheaper today in Great Britain than it is in the United States, and at the same time has got out of it a revenue of nearly $34,000,000.

She rescued the British people from being done by meat trusts by seizing all ships which could carry chilled meat, and, having the ships, she could get her meat on fair terms, and has done so—50,000 tons a month for Great Britain and France, and 10,000 tons for Italy. She has also supplied France with steel, boots, shoes, and uniforms. She has made coal a public military service, and by act of Parliament has fixed the profit of the coal mines, and she supplies the British, French, and Italian Navies with coal. She has organized the purchase of wheat by a small committee, which also buys and ships wheat and oats, fodder, &c., for Italy. She has bought up the fish supply of Norway, and very lately bought up against German intrigue the great bulk of food exports of Holland.

She has put on a 5 shilling income tax, which has been paid without protest by the mass of the British people. She has drawn upon her financial resources till she has loaned her allies and her oversea dominions £450,000,000, and she has taken as high as 80 per cent. of the war profits of the great manufacturing firms.

The organization of Great Britain is not ornate and spectacular, but there never was a time when all the people of the country were so occupied in national things, when so many have given themselves up, without pay or reward, to doing national work. Her power of organization is proved thoroughly by the work of the Ministry of Munitions, which, under the indefatigable Mr. Lloyd George, has increased the three Government munition factories before the war to 4,000 establishments, with 2,000,000 workers; has arranged canteens for 500,000 people, and has erected twenty national workshops, with, in one case, a population of 50,000 people.

As for manufacture—in a fortnight as many heavy shells can be made as were made in the first year of the war. Great Britain has shown her ancient skill for organization in a new and successful light.

Russia's Two Great Campaigns

Striking Change in the Outlook

Following is a summary of the situation as seen by various Russian officials and military experts:

THE beginning of the third year of the war finds Russia on the offensive along a large part of her western front. In the Caucasus Russian forces are pushing westward well beyond Erzerum and southward toward the Mesopotamian border. Her armies have been reorganized and strengthened, and the shortage of ammunition, which was responsible for one of the most spectacular and at the same time one of the most successfully conducted retreats in history, has been remedied. Today she has shells, cannon, and small arms in abundance. Her munition factories have been improved and enlarged and are putting out large quantities of war materials in addition to the enormous shipments arriving from abroad. The personnel of the troops is as high, if not higher, than it was a year ago. The

present financial needs have been adjusted through loans placed in England, France, and America.

The outlook today presents a striking contrast to that of last August, which saw the fall of Warsaw and the continuation of the retirement of the Russian Armies, with the Germans and Austrians, buoyed up with a long succession of victories, still fiercely engaging in rear-guard attacks. The turning point came early in the Fall. On Sept. 9 the Russians stopped the Austrians at Tarnopol. The German wave of invasion continued to roll onward, but in the latter days of September it had spent its force. The Russian Armies turned upon the enemy along the line of the Dwina, Berezina, Shara, Styr, and Sereth Rivers and checked them there. Desperate repeated efforts of the Germans to capture Riga and Dvinsk, in which they hoped to establish Winter bases, failed. They attacked again and again throughout the Winter, but the Russian line held—and still holds.

Emperor Nicholas took personal command of the armies early in September, and since then has been continuously at General Staff headquarters here and there along the front, counseling officers, cheering and encouraging the men. He appointed General M. V. Alexeieff, who was the right-hand man of General Ivanoff in the latter's brilliant campaign in Galicia during the Fall and Winter of 1914, to be Chief of Staff, and Grand Duke Nicholas, hitherto Commander in Chief, was assigned to command in the Caucasus.

The Winter saw offensives and counteroffensives locally in various sections of the western front, but no definite advance was undertaken until January, when the Russians moved forward slightly along the 200-mile line from Czartorysk to the Rumanian frontier—the scene of General Brusiloff's recent successes, but the Spring thaw put an end to the movement, and the armies settled into another period of inertia, which lasted until the beginning of June, when General Brusiloff, who had recently been appointed successor to General Ivanoff as commander of the southern armies, began the drive which carried the Russian front forward to the Stokhod and to Kolomea on the west, and overran the entire province of the Bukowina.

Meanwhile Grand Duke Nicholas had been justifying the wisdom of his appointment to the command in the Caucasus. He reorganized the armies which had been carrying the struggle against the Turks with varying success since the beginning of the war, and by New Year's Day had started a campaign along definite lines. The Turks were driven back upon Erzerum, and the Russians on Feb. 16, after overcoming what appeared to be insurmountable obstacles in the way of difficult mountainous country and fearful weather conditions, forced the surrender of Erzerum and scattered the Turkish armies. In the succeeding months they carried the advance beyond Mamakhatum, fifty miles further west. On April 19 Trebizond, an important port on the Black Sea, capitulated. The more recent capture of Baiburt, an important stronghold between Trebizond and Mamakhatum, followed. To the southward the armies occupied the greater part of Kurdistan, including the cities of Bitlis, Revanduz, Serdasht, Khanikin, and Kermanshah, constituting a front of 400 miles from the sea southeastward into Western Persia. On July 25, or only a few days ago, the Russians, after breaking up a Turkish attempt at an offensive, occupied the important city of Erzengan. Thus practically all Armenia is now in their hands.

General Brusiloff's advance reached its point of deepest penetration in the Bukowina, where it pushed the enemy back sixty-five miles and gained an average of twenty-five miles along a total front of 275 miles from the Kovel-Sarny Railway to Rumania. The Russian Commander cut the forces under General Pflanzer into pieces and shoved them into the Carpathian Mountains; had General Bothmer fighting on the defensive west of the Stripa. General von Boehm-Ermolli was driven out of Brody, in Galicia, the eastern defense of Lemberg, while General von Linsingen and Archduke Ferdinand are engaged in a

life-and-death struggle along the Stokhod before Kovel.

General Brusiloff's stupendous bag of prisoners, according to the latest estimates, numbers 300,000 officers and men, and this is still being increased by thousands and tens of thousands from week to week. It is declared that probably an equal number have been put out of action, counting the dead and wounded. His booty in guns and equipment runs into extravagant figures.

Italy's War in the High Alps

An Official Summary

Italy entered the war on May 23, 1915, so that this retrospect, prepared by the Italian War Office, covers fourteen months:

WHEN the European war began Italy held back for ten months, respecting the alliance which for a third of a century had bound her to the Central Empires. But longer than this she could not disregard the call of the Entente Powers. They were fighting for a principle of nationality to which Italy is indebted for her existence. They were fighting for principles of law and justice of which Italy has been an exponent since the time of the Romans.

Furthermore, Italy could no longer delay solution of the question of the Italian provinces that were still subject to persecution by Austria. It was imperative that Italy should contest the frontier imposed by Austria after the war of 1866 which gave her northern neighbors possession of all the gates and passes leading into Italy. It was imperative also that Italy should gain supremacy in the Adriatic, without which she could never be said to enjoy liberty and peace in full security.

Although unprepared for war, we fortunately possessed in General Cadorna a powerful organizer and a cautious strategist. Taking the Italian Army on its modest peace footing as a backbone, he transformed it, through miracles of energy and military science, into a powerful, efficient, brilliant modern army, which on May 24, 1915, the day after war was declared on Austria, suddenly threw itself across the whole frontier into the enemy's territory.

In doing this General Cadorna won two principal advantages: First, he gained the initiative of action; secondly, he made Austria the scene of the warfare. Throughout the campaign Cadorna aimed to render his allies the greatest possible services.

Italy began her operations just at the time when the Russians were obliged to retreat. The strong army which Cadorna threw across the northern border menacing Austria may have saved that Russian retreat from a complete disaster. Similarly, when the Germans attacked Verdun Cadorna started a strong offensive along the Isonzo River, which prevented Austria from sending to the aid of the German Crown Prince large numbers of troops and artillery which had been prepared for that purpose.

Equal advantages have recently been obtained by Austria's temporary invasion of a small section of the Italian Trentino front in the Asiago district. If Austria had not centred all her forces in this enterprise it would have been much more difficult for Russia to launch the marvelous offensive which she is now conducting. Profiting by the situation, General Cadorna attacked the Austrians so energetically that their removal from the Alps to the Carpathians to fight the Russians has been out of the question.

In Albania General Cadorna likewise aided our allies. It being materially impossible to save Serbia and Montenegro, he transformed the Albanian seaport of Avlona into an impregnable intrenched camp, threatening and checking the Austrians in the same manner that the allied troops at Saloniki have held back the Bulgarians.

Above all others in this war stands

our King, modest soldier and fervent patriot. He and King Albert are the only sovereigns in this war who have never abandoned their place at the front.

The difficulties of the war which Italy is waging may be understood only by visiting our battle fronts. They are stretched along the highest altitudes at which warfare has ever been known. With all the advantageous positions in the prior possession of the Austrians, our enemies have to be dug out of their nests, 10,000 feet up amid eternal snows. To her natural defenses Austria has added the most powerful modern system of fortifications.

Still, the Italians have gained ground, and all along have conquered territory on the right bank of the Isonzo, except at Gorizia and Tomlino, which are intrenched camps defended by almost impregnable mountains, part of the Carso plateau, the high Monte Nero Ridge, the Ampezzo territory, including Cortina, and part of the famous Dolomite Road, which is the shortest communication between Toblach and Trent. We had almost reached Rovereto when the Austrian incursion into Trentino obliged us to retreat within our own frontier.

But with this exception the Austrians have always been on the defensive, and have lost about 200 towns and villages, 40,000 prisoners, dozens of cannon, hundreds of machine guns, several thousand rifles, all of which have more than ordinary value, because they were taken in a mountainous country, where it is difficult to replace captured artillery and stores.

The Policies of Germany's Enemies

By the Berlin Foreign Office

Reviewing the political events of the second year of the war, the German Foreign Office issued the following statement:

THE world war was caused by Russia's aggressive policy, supported by France's policy of revenge. But it was rendered possible solely by the fact that England subordinated to her economic antagonism to Germany all her other interests. Whereas Germany's enemies regard it quite in order that they demand territorial aggrandizements at the cost of others—like Russia, who wants Constantinople and Galicia; like France, who desires Alsace-Lorraine and the left bank of the Rhine, and like Italy, who seeks Austrian territory — they grudge Germany even that she strive to develop herself economically in peaceable competition, and they pronounce this an unpardonable sin against the world's order of things.

They are unwilling that Germany should become great and strong, because the other powers want to be the economic masters of the world. Territorial and economic aggrandizement has united Germany's foes in a war of destruction against us.

The second war year has brought these true aims of our opponents into clearer light. In Russia this is openly admitted, they having an understanding with England and wanting Constantinople as their war goal. In France there is a war-mad cry for Alsace-Lorraine. In England, too, the mask has been dropped. It is openly admitted that Belgium was only a pretext to justify England's participation in the war which was undertaken only from self-interest.

Germany must be destroyed. Germany shall never more raise her head economically nor militarily. In this way is the goal of our enemy more clearly enunciated during the second year of the war.

It is equally clear that the talk of a struggle of democracy against militarism is only a catch-word used by our enemies to create sentiment and to cloak outwardly their real purpose of destruction. Assuredly there can be no talk of a struggle for the maintenance of democratic principles when one side

sets out to destroy the enemy completely, including the civilian population.

And is England really the land of democracy she pretends to be? Has not the entire development of England during the war shown that England is drawing further than ever away from democracy?

Moreover, if England had really resorted to war in defense of the rights of the smaller nations, as she fondly announces to the world, she could without damage to her position have answered otherwise than with the threat of destroying Germany. Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg's remarks made in the course of the year outlined German aims with sufficient clearness. England, therefore, wants a war of destruction, a war to the knife which, according to the plans of our enemies, shall continue even after the cannon is silenced; for their former talk about the permanent peace that they wished to establish has been drowned under the shout that Germany's enemies are raising over the Paris Economic Conference.

It is not enough that the world must be shaken by a protracted, bloody war. The world must not even thereafter enjoy a settled peace if the will of the Entente Powers prevails, for the decisions of the Economic Conference do not signify an economic peace, but a permanent economic warfare which never will permit the world to come to rest upon the basis of peaceful competition.

This shows at the same time that the great words of the Entente Powers about fighting for the rights of smaller nations and international order are empty sounds, for when Germany's enemies seek to control neutral trade they simply ignore the rights of other countries and base, not on the principle of right, but upon pure might, precisely what they allegedly want to abolish.

The second year of the war therefore shows that our enemies are precisely what they all along wrongly reproached Germany with being, namely, disturbers of the peace. Russia, through her unbridled passion for extending her borders; England, through being uncontrollable for dominating alone the economic world, and France, through her passion for revenge.

This second year of the war further proved that it is our enemies who follow the principle of might before right. They show this in the more and more reckless violations of the generally recognized principles of international law, not only in the struggle against the Central Powers, but still more in their treatment of neutrals. * * *

One observes, therefore, in the second war year increasing violations of the rights of neutrals in the interests of England and her allies. These violations will also continue through the third war year, and even increase, unless all signs prove false. * * *

Germany proved in the last year, contrary to England's example, that in attaining her end she seeks so far as possible to avoid violating the just rights of neutrals. She even went far toward meeting the wishes of the United States in her conduct of submarine warfare, in spite of the fact that the enemy was trying to subdue Germany through an illegal war upon her peaceable population.

Out of regard for the interests of neutrals Germany relinquished for the present one of her most effective weapons against the enemy, although she was compelled to wage a life-and-death struggle.

At the opening of the third year of the war Germany is able to look back to her splendid military successes on water and on land, which are not without political importance. Germany and her allies remained firmly united during the past year in bonds of friendship and common interests. Bulgaria, as the fourth member, entered the alliance in October, 1915, after having satisfactorily arranged matters with Turkey. Through the accession of Bulgaria, which resulted in the subjugation of Serbia, the way was opened for the Central Powers from Berlin to Constantinople and to Bagdad, an event of far-reaching importance.

The alliance of the Central Powers rests upon a community of political and economic interests. It is an intrinsic necessity for all four States and it guar-

antees to them among themselves the greatest advantages without in any way threatening the interests of the others.

Building upon what she already has achieved Germany treads the threshold of the third year of the war with unshaken confidence. But the goal has not yet been reached, for the enemy has not yet come to see the impossibility of subjugating Germany.

German Deeds On the High Seas

By Admiral von Holtzendorff
Chief of German Naval General Staff

THE naval warfare of the second year of the war, which envy and a spirit of revenge forced upon Germany and her allies, has passed, the chief impression left by it being increased British naval terrorism and the battle of the Skagerrak. The neutral powers in 1916 were throttled more than in the first year by the sea power of England, and hindered in the justified exercise of their commerce, postal rights, &c., by threats and violence. The victory of the German fleet over the British May 31 and June 1, therefore, was won in the interest of all the neutrals and all those who are dependent on the freedom of the seas.

While in the first year of the war twenty proved violations of the law of nations by enemy merchantmen (firing upon German submarines, attempts to ram them, &c.,) occurred, thirty-eight such cases were reported in the second year. Merchantmen owned by the Allies therefore during the two years violated in the grossest manner the rules of international law no less than fifty-eight times against our submarines. This can be proved up to the hilt.

The warships of Germany's enemies during the war have violated the law of nations in three particularly extreme cases, namely, the Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse, the Dresden, and the Albatross. Two cases, the Baralong and the King Stephen, must be characterized not only as violations of the law of nations and a breach of the most ordinary tenets of humanity, but as common murder. Countless cases in which British warships have violated international law in their conduct against merchantmen owned by the Central Powers or neutrals cannot be enumerated.

During the second year of the war the British and their allies lost 22 warships of a total of 266,320 tons and Germany and her allies 10 warships of 82,210 tons. The total losses for the two years of the war are: Great Britain and her allies, 49 ships of 562,250 tons, and Germany and her allies, 30 ships of 191,321 tons. Of these losses England alone had 40 ships of 485,220 tons and Germany alone 25 ships of 162,676 tons.

The British losses comprised 11 battleships, 17 armored cruisers, and 12 protected cruisers. The battleships include the Audacious, the loss of which has not yet been officially announced, and a ship of the Queen Elizabeth class. The cruisers include the still contested loss of the Tiger and the destruction of an armored cruiser of the Cressy class on the night of May 31, which was established by observations from almost the entire German fleet, and two small cruisers in the battle of Skagerrak.

Furthermore, during the year preceding June 30, 879 enemy merchantmen, of a total of 1,816,682 gross tons, were lost as a consequence of war measures of the Central Powers, which brings the total for the war up to July 1 to 1,303 enemy merchantment of 2,574,205 tons, not including enemy merchantmen confiscated in the harbors of the Central Powers.

The total result of the two years' war for England and her allies is a loss in material and prestige which cannot be made good. This great and unexpected success of the German fleet and confederated naval forces deserves the more consideration because the strength of warships afloat or under construction at the beginning of the war for the enemy fleets was 443 vessels of 5,428,000 tons,

excluding auxiliary cruisers, destroyers, submarines, and other armed craft, of which England alone had far more than 2,000 in service. Against these vessels Germany and her allies could oppose 156 similar ships of 1,651,000 tons. The Central Powers therefore have inflicted on an enemy three and a third times stronger than them losses in large warships almost triple their own.

Review of the Year's Naval Battles

By Captain Persius

Leading German Naval Critic

IT seemed likely that the second year of the war would end without a sea fight of the first magnitude, but May 31 brought a gratifying proof that our great battleships were not built in vain, and that our fleet, despite seeming inactivity, was quietly and assiduously preparing itself for a blow against the strongest sea power in the world. We still hear the question asked as to who was the real victor in the fight off Skagerrak. A comparison of the clear, concise reports of the German Admiralty Staff with Admiral Jellicoe's long-winded reports, which contain only a few facts, leaves no doubt that the German official account gives a thoroughly truthful description of the battle. The English version, with its barrenness of facts, labors in vain to conceal its improbability.

Whatever the final judgment is of the battle in detail the loss of British prestige at sea and the pronounced success of our fleet remain indisputable if only the British losses in men and ships are considered. The waves of the North Sea swallowed 6,104 British seamen and 117,150 gross registered tons of shipping, while the German losses were 2,414 men and 60,720 tons. These figures were officially published on both the German and British sides.

Numberless authorities, both hostile and neutral, have expressed opinions on the battle, but the German people will not permit themselves to be influenced by any foreign judgment. They understand alone how proud they may be of a navy whose quality and honor have stood the test of battle with the strongest sea power. They know that Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg rightly expressed the general sentiment in his speech in the Reichstag on June 5 when he said: "This victory, too, shall not make us vainglorious. We know that England is not subdued or conquered by this battle."

By the side of the battle of the Skagerrak the other events in the second year of the war, navally speaking, pale into insignificance. In the first year the activity of German submarines aroused general astonishment. In the second year their activity was sharply circumscribed, but nevertheless their successes in war upon commerce were considerable in comparison with those of the first year.

On the other hand, the destruction of warships by submarines occurred but seldom. The U-27 destroyed an English protected cruiser in the North Sea on Aug. 10, 1915. Another of our boats sank the French armored cruiser Amiral Charnier in the Eastern Mediterranean on Feb. 8, 1916. A number of minor war vessels were also sunk.

English submarines did some damage to German commerce in the Baltic and succeeded in torpedoing several of our warships like the armored cruiser Prince Adalbert, Oct. 23; Undine, Nov. 7, and Bremen, Dec. 17.

Special attention is merited by the bold flights of our marine aircraft and their important scout work in the North Sea and Baltic. Attacks were made against fortified places on England's east coast and the English were able to destroy only two German airships, No. 15 on April 1, and No. 7 on May 4. Within a few hours our airships were able to reconnoitre the entire North Sea and they did valuable service in the battle off Skagerrak. Marine aeroplanes also did excellent work

and especially distinguished themselves in the Baltic where they were of the utmost value in various ways. On several occasions they were able even to take the offensive with success, damaging warships with bombs and capturing merchantmen.

In the Black Sea and the Mediterraean German submarines, working with those of Austria-Hungary, operated successfully in war against commerce and destroyed numerous transports laden with troops and war material. In the Black Sea the Yawuz Sultan Selim, formerly the German cruiser Goeben, and the Midullu, formerly the German cruiser Breslau, bombarded Russian fortified towns on the Crimean coast at various times and damaged Russian commerce.

The glorious deeds of several German auxiliary cruisers remain to be mentioned. The Möwe, under the command of Count von Dohna, made a successful raid into the Atlantic in January and February. The Appam, one of the steamers captured by it, carried the passengers and crew of other captured merchantmen to the United States under the command of Lieutenant Berg. The Möwe herself made her home port safely on March 4 laden with booty. The auxiliary cruisers Meteor and Greif destroyed on Aug. 7 and Feb. 29, respectively, the much stronger armed British auxiliaries Ramsey and Alcantara.

On the threshold of the third year of the war it remains to be pointed out that the German Navy has hitherto fulfilled its chief task of keeping the enemy from German coasts, and, beyond this, has scored a series of successes that have exceeded our most sanguine expectations. The German people do not ignore the fact that British sea power still dominates the seas, but nevertheless they look with confidence upon their navy. They expect it to show itself able and willing to win victories in the third year of the war as it has done hitherto and thus contribute its part toward the general aim of securing an honorable peace.

Jutland and the Turn of the Tide

By Arthur J. Balfour

First Lord of the British Admiralty

THE second anniversary of the British declaration of war provides a fitting opportunity for a brief survey of the present naval situation. The consequences, material and moral, of the Jutland battle cannot be easily overlooked; an allied diplomatist assured me that he considered it the turning point of the war.

The tide, which had long ceased to help our enemies, began from that moment to flow strongly in our favor. This much, at least, is true that every week which has passed since the German fleet was driven, damaged, into port has seen new successes for the Allies in one part or other of the field of operations. It would be an error, however, to suppose that the naval victory changed the situation; what it did was to confirm it.

Before the Jutland battle, as after, the German fleet was imprisoned. The battle was an attempt to break the bars and burst the confining gates. It failed, and with its failure the High Seas Fleet sank again into impotence. The Germans claim Jutland as a victory, but in essence they admit the contrary, since the object of a naval battle is to obtain command of the sea; and it is certain that Germany has not obtained that command, while Great Britain has not lost it. Tests of this assertion are easy to apply. Has the grip of the British blockade relaxed since May 31? Has it not, on the contrary, tightened?

The Germans themselves will admit the increasing difficulty of importing raw materials and foodstuffs and of exporting their manufactures; hence, the

violence of their invectives against Great Britain.

[Mr. Balfour argues that if they had felt themselves on the way to maritime equality the Germans would not have so loudly advertised the Deutschland incident, the whole interest of which, in German eyes, was to prove their ability to elude the barrier raised by the British fleet between them and the outer world. He advises those requiring further proofs of the value the Germans attach to their "victorious fleet" to study the German policy of submarine warfare, and says:]

The advantage of submarine attacks on commerce is that they cannot be controlled by superior fleet power in the same way as attacks by cruisers; a disadvantage is that they cannot be carried out on a large scale consistently with the laws of war or the requirements of humanity. They make, therefore, a double appeal to German militarism—an appeal to its prudence and an appeal to its brutality.

The Germans know that their victorious fleet was useless. It could be kept safe in harbor while the submarine warfare went on merrily outside. They knew that submarines cannot be brought to action by battleships or battle cruisers. They thought, therefore, that to these new commerce destroyers our merchant ships must fall an easy prey, unprotected by our ships of war and unable to protect themselves.

They were wrong in both respects, and doubtless it is their wrath at the skill and energy with which British merchant Captains and British crews have defended the lives and property under their charge that has driven the German Admiralty into their latest and stupidest act of calculated ferocity—the judicial murder of Captain Fryatt. * * *

What blunderers they are! They know how to manipulate machines, but of managing men they know less than nothing. They are always wrong, because they always suppose that if they behave like brutes they can cow their enemies into behaving like cowards. Small is their knowledge of our merchant seamen. I doubt whether one can be found who has not resolved to defend himself to the last against piratical attack. But if there is such a one, depend upon it, he will be cured by the last exhibition of German civilization. And what must neutrals think of all this?

The freedom of the sea means to Germany that the German Navy is to behave at sea as the German Army behaves on land. It means that neither enemy civilians nor neutrals may possess rights against militant Germany; that those who do not resist will be drowned, and those who do will be shot.

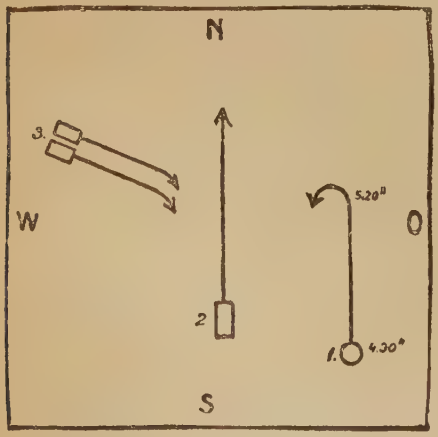
Already 244 neutral merchantmen have been sunk in defiance of law and humanity, and the number daily grows. Mankind, with the experience of two years of war behind it, has made up its mind about German culture. It is not, I think, without material for forming a judgment about German freedom.

Two Explanations of the Battle of Jutland

A Berlin dispatch in the Hamburger Fremdenblatt, evidently with official sanction, offers the following diagrammatic explanation of the great naval engagement of May 31 in the North Sea. The numbers in the text refer to the arrows representing the tactical moves of the opposing fleets. These diagrams, as well as the text, will be found to be objects of lively controversy in the British official commentary, which is also presented herewith.

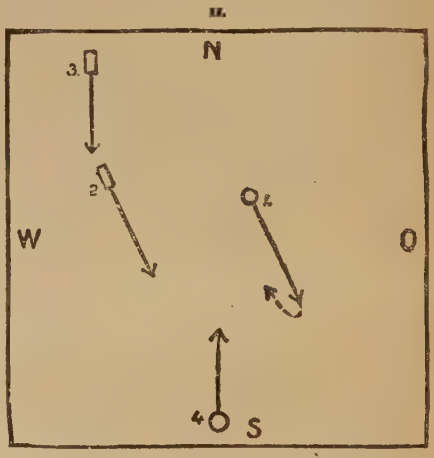
I.—THE GERMAN VIEW

IN its official report of June 5 the German Admiralty Staff has described in brief outlines the victorious course of the naval battle at the Skagerrak. This account is confirmed in all details upon the basis of the more precise information which has since been received. The accompanying sketches illustrate in four periods the chief individual phases of the battle, while the accompanying map shows plainly the strategic importance of the German victory for the war position in the North Sea.



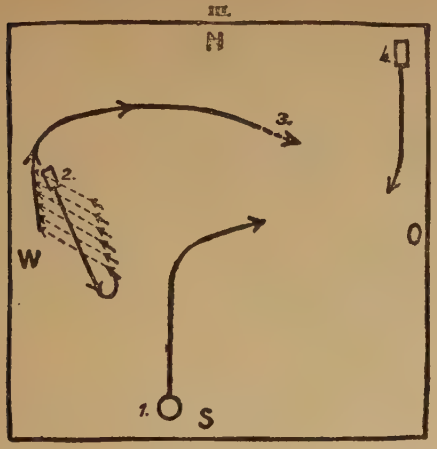
On May 31, at 4:35 P. M., our cruisers (1), proceeding ahead of the High Seas Fleet, sighted, seventy nautical miles to southwest of the Skagerrak, four small English cruisers of the Calliope class (2), which ran at highest speed northward, pursued by our cruisers.

At 5:30 our pursuing cruisers sight to the westward two further enemy columns (3), consisting of six battle cruisers, a considerable number of small cruisers and destroyers. Our cruisers take a course toward the new opponent—this becoming a course toward the south.



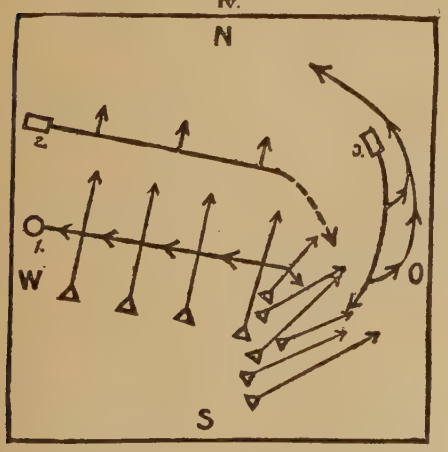
Our cruisers (1) (compare also sketch 1) have advanced to thirteen kilometers from the English battle cruisers and destroyers, which meanwhile have moved southward (2), and open fire on southerly to southeasterly courses. In the course of this fight two English battle cruisers and a destroyer were sunk. After half an hour's fighting powerful new enemy forces come in sight from the north of the enemy; they prove to be five ships of the Queen Elizabeth class (3). At the same time the main German force (4) approaches from the south and intervenes in the fight. Our cruisers place themselves ahead of their own main force.

The five big ships of the Queen Elizabeth class (compare sketch 2) have attached themselves to the enemy cruisers. The whole combined German fleet (1) is now steering northward, and in face of its attack the enemy (2) immediately turns

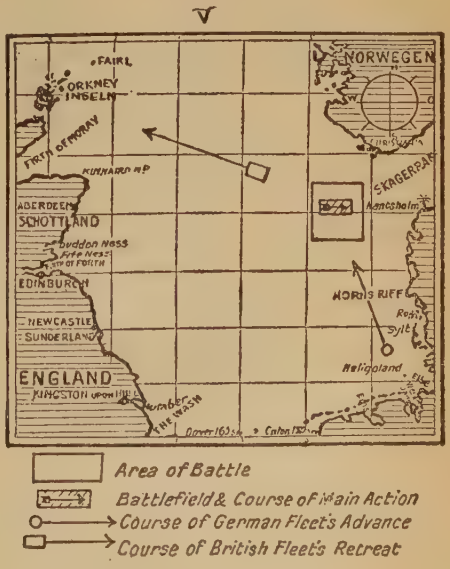


away to the north, and attempts at the highest speed to escape from our extremely effective fire, and at the same time, with an easterly course, and employing its speed, which is superior to that of our fleet as a whole, to pass (3) the head of our line, while the German battleship squadron in the rear of the line cannot yet get into action with the enemy. Our fleet, the cruisers still leading, follows the movement of the enemy at highest speed. An English cruiser of the Achilles class and two destroyers are sunk. This period of the battle lasts some two and a half hours.

Meanwhile, there approaches from the north, presumably coming from Norwegian waters, the English main force, consisting of more than twenty battleships (4).



The climax of the battle is reached. Toward 10 o'clock all the German ships (1) are together facing the whole English fleet. At a distance of some fifteen nautical miles the battle now pursues its course eastward. While the English cruiser fleet (2) continues its attempts to catch up the head of our line, Admiral Jellicoe is striving to put himself with his large battleships (3) like the cross of a T in front of the head of our line. As the head of our line thus comes for a time under fire from both sides, Admiral Scheer throws the German line round on to a westerly course, and at the same time our torpedo boat flotillas (marked with triangles in the sketch) are ordered to attack the enemy, and they do so three times in succession with splendid vigor and visible success. A number of the large English battleships suffer severe damage, and one sinks before our eyes. By these attacks the English main fleet is driven away to the east, whence it will afterward have taken a northwesterly course homeward. The German fleet ceases its violent cannonade at 11:30, as the English had already stopped firing, and after nightfall there was nothing but the flash of their salvoes to give us a target. As the enemy cannot be found again the main battle is broken off.



During the night numerous cruiser fights and torpedo boat attacks develop

against individual enemy ships, which either had gone astray or had been ordered to worry us and to cover the retreat of the English. In these actions an enemy battle cruiser, a cruiser of the Achilles or Shannon class, several small enemy cruisers, and at least ten destroyers are sunk—six of them by the Westfalen alone.

A squadron of English battleships came up from the south, but not until June 1, after the battle was over, and it turned away without coming into action or even coming in sight of the main German force. It was observed by one of our Zeppelins, which, as is well known, owing to the foggy weather on the previous day, could not make reconnoissances until June 1.

II.—THE BRITISH VIEW

A British naval authority, writing with official sanction for The London Daily News, interprets Admiral Jellicoe's report in a very different diagram and commentary:

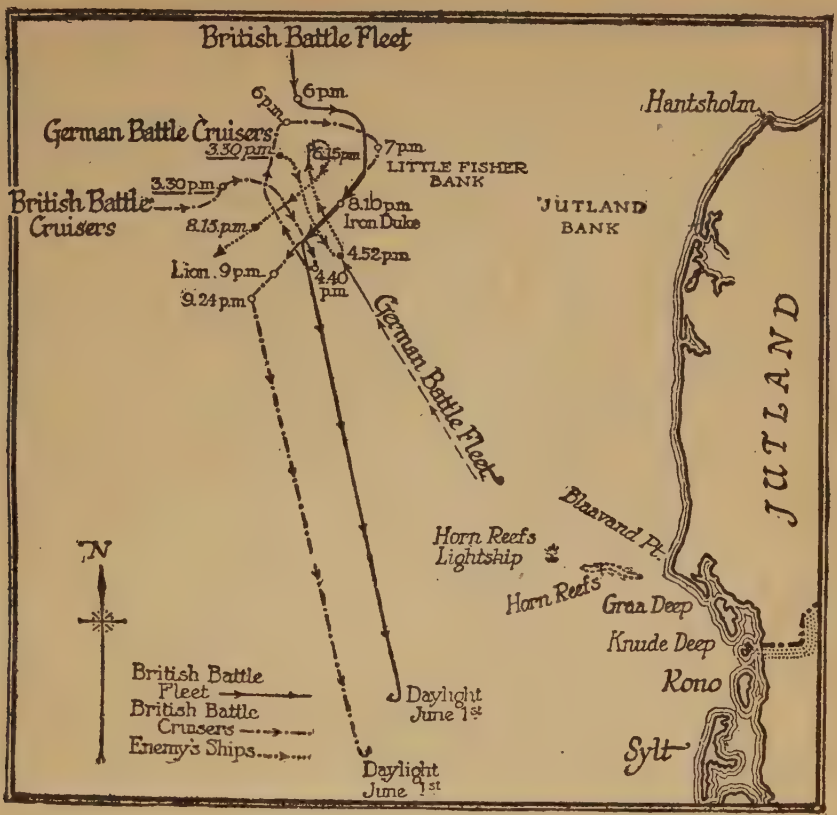
Seen in its broadest aspect, the battle of Jutland stands out as a case of a tactical division of the fleet, which had the effect of bringing an unwilling enemy to battle. Such a method of forcing an action is drastic and necessarily attended with risk, but for great ends great risks must be taken, and in this case the risk was far less great than that which St. Vincent accepted off Cadiz, and that division gave us the battle of the Nile, the most complete and least debated of British victories. Then the two portions of St. Vincent's fleet were divided strategically with no prospect of tactical concentration for the battle.

In the present case there was only an appearance of division. The battle fleet was to the north and the battle cruiser fleet to the south, but they formed in fact one fleet under a single command acting in combination. They were actually carrying out, as they had been in the habit of doing periodically, a combined sweep of the North Sea, and Admiral Beatty's fleet was in effect the observation or advanced squadron. The measure of the risk, should he have the fortune to find the enemy at sea, was the length of the period which must necessarily elapse before the Commander in Chief would be able to join the battle. It was a risk that would be measured mainly by the skill with which Admiral Beatty could entice the enemy northward, without being overwhelmed by superior force.

In the light of this outstanding feature the action will be judged, and the handling of the battle cruiser fleet and the splendid group of four battleships that was attached to it appraised.

When Admiral Beatty got contact with the German battle cruisers they were proceeding northward and, being inferior to his force, they turned to the southward. The inference was they were either trying to escape or bent on leading him into danger. When such a doubt occurs there is in the British tradition a golden rule, and that is to attack "the enemy in sight." It was the rule that Nelson consecrated, and it was good enough for Admiral Beatty. He engaged and continued to engage as closely as he could till he found the enemy's battle fleet coming north. Then he turned, but he did not break off the action. The enemy was in overwhelming force, but by the golden rule it was his duty to cling to them as long as his teeth would hold. They had spread a net for him, and it was for him to see that they fell into the midst of it themselves. It was a task that demanded some courage. Yet he did not flinch, but continued the fight to the northward, and signaled the four Queen Elizabeths to turn sixteen points.

Now was the hour of greatest risk, but he was well disposed for concentrating on the van of the enemy's line, and the Commander in Chief was hurrying down at full speed. For an hour and a half the unequal battle raged as Admiral Beatty and Admiral Evan-Thomas led the enemy on, before Admiral Hood could appear with his battle cruiser squadron. The action was then at its hottest, but Admiral Hood, without a moment's hesitation, and in a manner that excited the high admiration of all who were privileged to witness it, placed his ships in line ahead of Admiral Beatty's squadron. No Admiral ever crowned an all too short



This chart must be taken as diagrammatic only, and as a general indication of the course of the battle from the time when the opposing battle cruisers sighted each other (3:30) until, owing to the growing darkness and the dispersal of the enemy's forces, it became impossible to continue the action as an organized whole. Sir David Beatty's successful manœuvre in doubling the head of the enemy's line, and, reinforced by the battle fleet, establishing himself between the Germans and the Danish coast, is graphically shown. The enemy was compelled not only to make a complete turn, but to cross his original course almost at right angles after circling, and when the battle proper came to an end soon after 8:30 the bulk of the German fleet was heading southwest into the open sea with the British fleet between it and its bases.

It is amusing to recall that the most "authentic" German plan of this stage of the battle shows one arrow stretching from Denmark toward the Orkneys to indicate the line of the British retreat, and another from Heligoland, pointing north, to represent the Germans in chase. For comparative purposes it may be pointed out that the distance from Heligoland to Blaavand Point is ninety-three miles. The official tracks of the British fleet end at daylight on June 1, but it will be observed from Sir John Jellicoe's report that it was not until 1:15 P. M. that "course was shaped for our bases."

career more devotedly or in a manner more worthy of the name he bore.

With his fine manœuvre the risk was in a measure reduced, but there still remained the more delicate work of the Grand Fleet effecting its junction and entering the ill-defined action. With the exact position of the enemy's fleet shrouded in smoke and in the gathering mist, the danger of interference was very great, and before the Commander in Chief lay a task as difficult as any Admiral could be called upon to perform. To the last moment he kept his fleet in steaming order, so as to preserve up till the end the utmost freedom of deployment, but by what precise manœuvres the deployment was carried out must for obvious reasons be left in a mist as deep as that which was hiding all that was most important for him to know. Suffice it to say that the junction was effected with consum-

mate judgment and dexterity. So nicely was it timed that the deployment was barely completed when, at 6:15 P. M., the first battle squadron came into action with the enemy, who had by that time turned to the eastward and was already attempting to avoid action.

Thus the fine combination had succeeded, and the unwilling enemy had been brought to action against the concentrated British fleet. They had fallen into the midst of the net which had been drawn about them, but in the plan of the sweep there was inherent the inevitable limitation that the time left for completing the business could but barely suffice. There were hardly three hours of daylight left, and, as darkness approached, the action must be broken off unless a needless chance were to be given to the enemy for redressing his battle inferiority. Still our battle fleet was between the enemy and his base, and there would have been little hope of his escaping a decisive defeat but for the mist that robbed those who had prepared for the chance, and those who had seized it with so much skill and boldness, of the harvest they deserved.

It was a beaten and broken fleet that escaped the trap. It had lost many units, its gunnery had gone to pieces, and no one can blame its discretion if it fairly ran for home and left the British fleet once more in undisputed command of the North Sea.

For that, in a word, was the result of the battle. What it was the enemy hoped to achieve we cannot tell. Whatever their effort meant it failed to shake our hold upon the sea, and that is what really matters. We have fought many indecisive actions, but few in which the strategical result was so indisputable, few which more fully freed us of all fear of what the enemy's fleet could do. It is by such standards that history judges victories, and by such standards the country cherished the memory of the men that prepared and won them. Current opinion will always prefer the test of comparative losses. Let this be applied, and it will be found that the battle off Jutland will well hold its own against all but a few of our most famous victories—none of which we obtained on a first attempt.

From another aspect it is clear the battle can rank beside any in our history. In the fringes of the fight, in the work, that is, of cruisers, light cruisers, and destroyers, officers and men had chances such as their ancestors never knew, and they seized them with all the daring, the skill, and the devotion that the greatest of their predecessors could have hoped. From the vigorous offensive against the enemy's cruisers which cost Admiral Arbuthnot his life, to the least conspicuous of the destroyer exploits, all was of the same pattern. It is impossible to read of what they did and what they failed to do without feeling there is one thing at least which the battle has given us, and that is the assurance that the old spirit is still alive and vigorous. It is able and willing to do all the old navy could do, and in the battle of Jutland, as we now know, it has done it.

Fifty Billions, Cost of Two Years' War

War Loans in Detail

THE belligerents have borrowed approximately $40,000,000,000 in their two years of war and have spent some $10,000,000,000 more from their own exchequers or from their creations of paper money. The total of $50,000,000,000 compares with the generally accepted estimate of $5,000,000,000 as the cost of our civil war. Two years of the European war have cost ten times as much as four years of our civil war.

The debt of Great Britain, France, Russia, Italy, Germany, Austria, and Turkey has increased from $27,273,000,000 to $66,638,000,000 in the two years. Great Britain, France, and Germany have each added more than $14,000,000,000 to the sums they are bound to pay, Great Britain leading with more than $15,000,000,000 of war indebtedness. Neutral nations, constrained to mobilize, have borrowed nearly half a billion.

The following tables, compiled by John Barnes, bond editor of The Wall Street Journal, give figures that tell the story:

DEBTS IN 1914 AND 1916
(000 omitted.)

	Pre-War Debt.	Pres. Debt.
Great Britain	$3,485,000	$15,106,000
France	6,607,000	*14,966,000
Russia	4,537,000	10,363,000
Italy	2,836,000	4,301,000
Total for Allies	$17,465,000	$44,736,000
Germany, (emp. & Sts.)	5,198,000	14,291,000
Austria-Hungary	3,970,000	6,757,500
Turkey	640,000	854,000
Central Powers	$9,808,000	$21,902,500
Grand total	27,273,000	66,638,500

*Includes advances from Bank of France.

COST FOR TWO YEARS AND BY THE DAY

	Cost to Aug. 1.	Daily Cost.
Great Britain	$11,190,000,000	$25,000,000
France	9,000,000,000	17,000,000
Russia	8,770,000,000	18,000,000
Italy	2,500,000,000	8,000,000
Other Allies	1,580,000,000	4,000,000
Total Allies	$33,030,000,000	$72,000,000
Germany	11,500,000,000	22,000,000
Austria-Hungary	5,360,000,000	12,000,000
Turkey & Bulgaria.	800,000,000	1,500,000
Total Cent. Pow.	$16,960,000,000	$35,500,000
Grand total	49,890,000,000	107,500,000

LOANS DUE TO THE WAR
ALLIED LOANS
British Empire.

First war loan 3½s on 3.97 per cent. basis	$1,750,000,000
Second war loan 4½s on 4.58 per cent. basis	2,970,000,000
Treasury bills to June 24	3,518,330,000
Exchequer 5s to June 30	1,383,098,000
Exchequer 3s, due 1920	239,710,000
War expenditure certificates to June 30	50,663,000
Other war debt to June 30	121,000,000
Estimate to Aug. 1	600,000,000
Half of Anglo-French loan in United States	250,000,000
Banking credit in Canada	101,000,000
Banking credit in United States.	*50,000,000
Canadian ten-year 4½s in London	25,000,000
Canadian one and two year 5s in United States	45,000,000
Canadian five, ten, and fifteen year 5s in United States	75,000,000
Canadian ten-year internal 5½s at 97½	100,000,000
Indian Government internal 4s.	15,000,000
Indian Treasury bills in London	17,500,000
Australian 5s, at 99, in London.	10,000,000
Australian internal loan	50,000,000
Australian second internal loan.	250,000,000
Total	$11,620,971,000

France.

"Loan of Victory" 5s at 87 on 5.75 per cent. basis	$3,100,000,000
National defense bonds	*1,700,000,000
National defense obligations	*300,000,000
Advances from Bank of France to June 29	1,580,000,000
Estimated to Aug. 1	500,000,000
Advances Bank of France to foreign Governments	228,000,000
Bonds and notes in London	506,000,000
Half Anglo-French loan in U. S.	250,000,000
Collateral loan in United States	100,000,000
One-year 5 per cent. notes in United States	30,000,000
Banking credits in New York.	*50,000,000
Advances from Bank of Algeria	15,000,000
Total	$8,359,000,000

Russia.	
First internal 5s at 95 on 5.35 per cent. basis	$257,500,000
Second internal loan	257,500,000
Third loan, five-year 5½s	515,000,000
Fourth loan, ten-year, 5½s at 95	515,000,000
Fifth loan, 5½s at 95	1,030,000,000
Four per cent. bonds	309,000,000
Treasury bills, 5 per cent	*2,000,000,000
Issues discounted in England	642,886,860
Issues in France	120,896,250
Special currency loan	103,000,000
Loan in Japan	25,000,000
Three-year 6½ per cent. credit in United States	50,000,000
Total	$5,825,783,110
Italy.	
Twenty-five-year 4½s at 97	$200,000,000
Twenty-five-year 4½s at 95	190,000,000
Twenty-five-year 5s at 97½	800,000,000
English credit for war supplies	250,000,000
One-year 6 per cent. notes in United States	25,000,000
Total	$1,465,000,000
Belgium.	
From French and English Governments	$218,000,000
Japan.	
Internal loan of 1914	$26,000,000
Loan to refund bonds in France	20,000,000
Total	$46,000,000
Serbia.	
From French Government	$33,000,000
Total allied loans	$27,567,754,110
Duplications	501,000,000
Net total allied loans	$27,066,754,110

GERMAN AND AUSTRIAN LOANS

Germany.	
First war loan 5s at 97½ on 5.32 per cent. basis	$1,115,000,000
Second war loan 5s at 98½	2,265,000,000
Third war loan	3,025,250,000
Fourth war loan 5s at 98½	2,667,750,000
Bank loan in Sweden	10,000,000
Note issue in United States	10,000,000
Total	$9,093,000,000
Austria-Hungary.	
Austrian 5½s at 97½ on 6.10 per cent. basis	$433,000,000
Hungarian 6s at 97½ on 6.70 per cent. basis	237,000,000
Austrian second war loan	534,000,000
Hungarian second and third	230,000,000
Austrian third war loan	815,000,000
Hungarian war loan	240,000,000
Loan from German bankers	113,500,000
Second loan in Germany	125,000,000
Credit in Germany	60,000,000
Total	$2,787,500,000
Turkey.	
First loan in Germany	$108,000,000
Second loan in Germany	106,000,000
Total	$214,000,000
Bulgaria.	
Loan from German bankers	$30,000,000
Total Central Power loans	$12,124,500,000
Grand total war loans	$39,191,254,110

NEUTRAL LOANS DUE TO WAR

Netherlands 5 per cent. internal loan	$110,000,000
Netherlands India loan	25,000,000
One-year Treasury loan	8,000,000
Rumania 4 per cent. loan from Nat. Bank of Rumania	40,000,000
Internal loan	30,000,000
Egypt, Treasury bills	25,000,000
Switzerland internal loan	16,000,000
Internal 4½ per cent. loan	20,000,000
Notes in United States	15,000,000
Internal 4½s at 97	20,000,000
Danish 4s and 5s	28,000,000
Spanish 4½s at par	10,000,000
Spanish 3s	14,800,000
Loan to refund bonds in France	40,000,000
Greece from England, France, and Russia	8,000,000
Internal 5s at 88½	23,000,000
Norway internal loans	8,000,000
Notes in United States	3,000,000
Seven-year 6s in United States	5,000,000
Sweden internal loans	9,380,000
Notes in United States	5,000,000
Total neutral loans	$463,180,000
Grand total loans due to war	$39,654,434,110

*Estimated.

The daily cost of the war now approximates $100,000,000, of which the Allies are spending two-thirds, or $67,000,000, and the Teutons and Turks $33,000,000. Probably the high rate of daily expenditure has been reached. The borrowing continues. Subscriptions are being received for the fourth Austrian and Hungarian loans. Germany and France are making ready for new forays on the purse. England is thinking of a great loan to refund Treasury bills and to maintain her position as banker for her allies. Russia, which is $3,000,000,000 behind Great Britain, France, and Germany

in war loans, will borrow when the time is ripe.

SECOND YEAR'S LIFE LOSSES

Estimates of casualties based on official data show that the second year of the war has cost more than 3,000,000 lives and has inflicted wounds on more than 6,000,000. Estimates for the first year ranged between the German report of 2,500,000 slain and more than 5,000,000 wounded and Beach Thomas's estimate of 5,000,000 killed and 7,000,000 wounded.

Up to the period of the present great offensives the British had lost in killed or totally incapacitated 228,138 and 68,046 in prisoners; Germany, respectively, 664,552 and 137,768; France, according to Deputy Longuet, 900,000 and 300,000. German reports of Russian casualties amounted to 3,000,000, of whom 1,000,000 were prisoners. Austria is just now trying to have her men up to 60 years enrolled.

SECOND YEAR'S COST

Great Britain	$7,670,000,000
France	6,643,000,000
Russia	4,118,000,000
Italy	2,464,000,000
Allies' total	$20,895,000,000
Germany	$9,075,000,000
Austria	3,000,000,000
Turkey	2,000,000,000
Bulgaria	150,000,000
Teutonic total	$14,225,000,000

CONQUERED TERRITORY

Allies Hold In—	Square Miles.
Europe	700
Asia	52,000
The Pacific	96,160
Africa	600,000
Allies' gain	748,860
Teutons Hold In—	
Belgium	11,000
France	9,000
Russia	80,000
Balkans	25,000
Teutonic gain	125,000

PRESENT EFFECTIVES

	Men.
Russia	9,000,000
France	6,000,000
Great Britain	5,000,000
Italy	3,000,000
Serbia and Belgium	300,000
Allies' total	23,300,000
Germany	7,000,000
Austria	3,000,000
Turkey	300,000
Bulgaria	300,000
Teutonic total	10,600,000

BATTLE FRONTS

In Europe—	Miles.
Western	590
Eastern	785
Italian	300
Balkan	110
In Asia, (intermittent)	750
Africa, (intermittent)	300
Total	2,835

The War's Effects on Prices in the United States

IT is interesting to study the European war's effects on American prices. Our excess of exports over imports in the two years of war reached the amazing total of $3,250,000,000, of which our munition exports alone, in the twenty-two months ending with May, 1916, amounted to $458,000,000. Since then, that is, in June, July, and August, at least $100,000,000 must have been added to the total. This extraordinary demand for our products has naturally affected prices of all commodities. In the first few months there was uncertainty, then there were sensational advances, followed in time by a steady situation at a high level, which is the present condition. There has been a decline in acids and heavy chemicals; for illustration, caustic soda since January, 1916, has declined from 5¾ cents a pound to 3¾ cents; sulphuric acid from 3 to 1¼ cents, bleaching powder from 13 cents to 4½ or 5 cents, glycerine from 55 cents to 43½ cents, carbolic acid from $1.40 or $1.45 to 55 cents.

In drugs in general there is still a higher level of prices, as the following comparisons indicate:

	1914.	1916.
Acetanilid	$0.20½	$0.65
Alcohol	2.52	2.70
Borax	.04¼	.08¼
Chloroform	.20	.44
Opium	7.50	11.30
Quinine	.26	.61
Saltpetre	4.75	15.00
Soda benzoate	.24	6.00

In the metal markets the increase has been chiefly in copper, spelter, lead, iron, and steel, as the following figures prove:

	1914.	1916.
Pig iron, foundry	$14.75	$19.75
Pig iron, Bessemer	14.90	21.95
Billets, forging	25.00	69.00
Billets, wire rods	24.50	55.00
Steel bars	1.15	2.50
Wire nails	1.55	2.50
Cut nails	1.55	2.60
Barb wire	1.95	3.35
Aluminium	.18	.61
Copper	.13¾	.26½
Spelter	.05	.10
Lead	.039	.063
Tin	.316	.37⅛
Tin plate	3.49	6.24

The shortage of dyestuffs and the restriction of immigration of foreign textile laborers have raised the price of textiles, but the expansion of business has been considerable. Our imports of dry goods prior to the war exceeded exports by $150,000,000; now the balance in our favor is $15,000,000. Exports of cotton goods have doubled, of knit goods increased eightfold, of woolen goods tenfold, and we have invested hundreds of millions in dyestuff industries. The shortage of dyes still continues, and colorings which normally sell at 40 to 50 cents a pound are bringing $20 or $30. As to prices, the following are the latest comparisons:

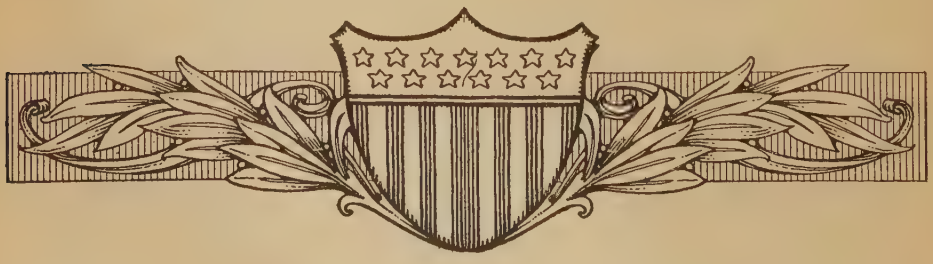
	1914.	1916.
Brown sheetings	$0.08	$0.08¼
Wide sheetings	.30	.35
Bleached	.09¼	.09½
Ginghams	.06¼	.08
Prints	.03¾	.05¾
Silk	4.40	5.40
Wool	.27½	.38
Serge	1.20	1.67½

Cotton has had a violent advance recently, and 15-cent cotton is now predicted. October cotton was selling at 14 2-3 cents during August. A sharp advance is now expected in all cotton goods.

Wheat has had violent fluctuations since the war, going as high as $1.67 a bushel in February, 1915, and as low as 99½ cents in June. In August there was a violent flurry on account of reports of short crops, and in ten days the price rose 20 cents a bushel, to $1.50. At the same time flour of the baker's grade rose $2 a barrel in the course of one month, reaching $7.25.

Oils have had an advance, but it is said to be due to restricted flow and not to the war, as the exports have declined. Petroleum exports in 1915 showed a loss of 40,000,000 gallons. Gasoline had a sensational advance, rising from 11 cents a gallon to 26 cents. This is explained as due to the increased domestic demand and diminished production. Within the last few weeks there has been a rapid and sharp increase in prices of essential oils; they nearly all come from abroad, and shipments are very uncertain.

All household and building supplies have advanced from 10 per cent. to 60 per cent. since the war began, and food prices show fluctuating conditions, but always with an upward tendency.



THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

NOTE.—Owing to the constant seizure of German mail by the British blockade patrols, CURRENT HISTORY is unable at present to obtain an equal representation of the latest German cartoons.

[English Cartoon]

What Will His Harvest Be?

—*From The Westminster Gazette.*

[After a plate in Holbein's "Dance of Death."]

[Italian Cartoon]

A Nocturne

—By Cesare Giris, Italian Artist.

The Birds That Follow the German Eagle.

[French Cartoon]

The Emperor's Sowing

—*A. Roubille in the Paris Journal.*

He Sows Iron Crosses, but the Crosses That Spring Up by Thousands Are of Wood.

Drawings That Stirred Italy

—*By T. Corbella.*

The Murder of Nurse Cavell

—*By Cesare Giris.*

RHEIMS: An Allegory That Helped to Cause Italy to Enter the War.

[English Cartoon]

The Disillusioned

—By Will Dyson, Noted English Artist.

"We were promised the earth—and are given potato tickets."

[Italian Cartoon]

Communications Interrupted

—*From L'Asino, Rome.*

"God don't answer any more. I'm afraid he is gone over to the Allies."

[French Cartoon]

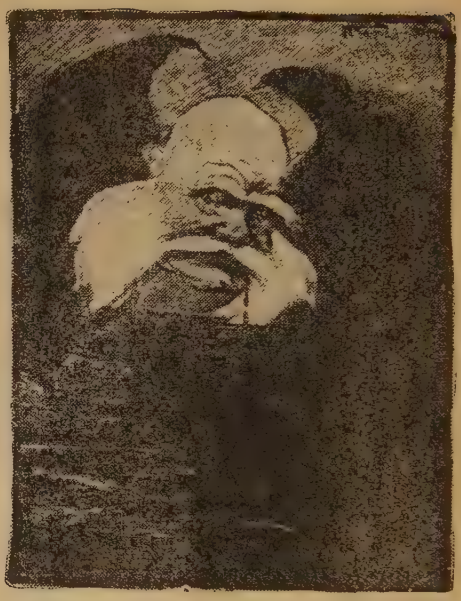
A Test of Courage

—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

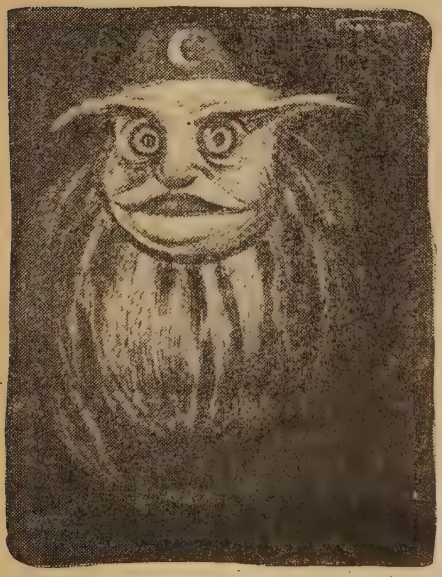
"General, my little Dédé asked me to kiss you."
"Well, what are you waiting for?"

The War Birds

The Vulture.



The Vampire.



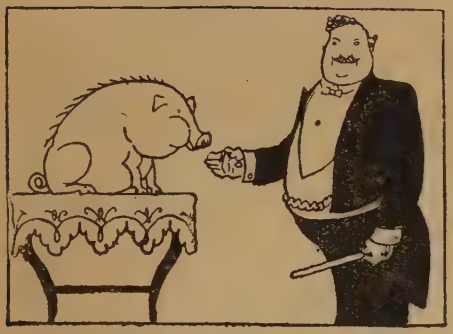
The Screech Owl.

The Crow.

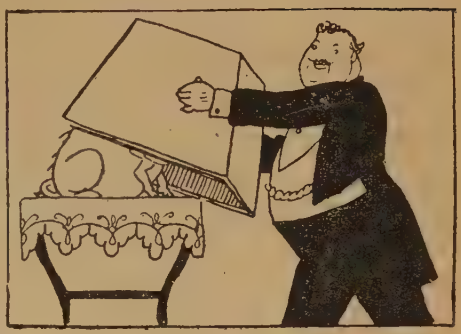
—From L'Asino, Rome.

[German Cartoon]

Sleight of Hand



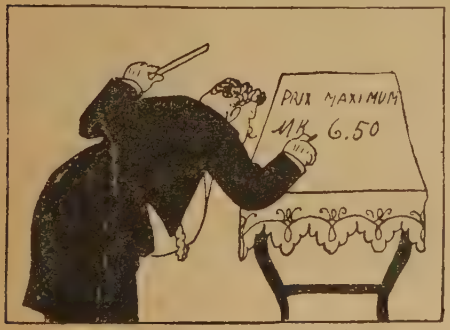
"Ladies and gentlemen, you see this pig. Come up on the platform and convince yourselves that it is alive.



"I cover it with a pasteboard box that has neither a hole in it nor a false bottom, as you can see.

"Now I inscribe a magic formula on the box, and I strike it with my enchanted wand—

I raise the box * * * the pig has disappeared!



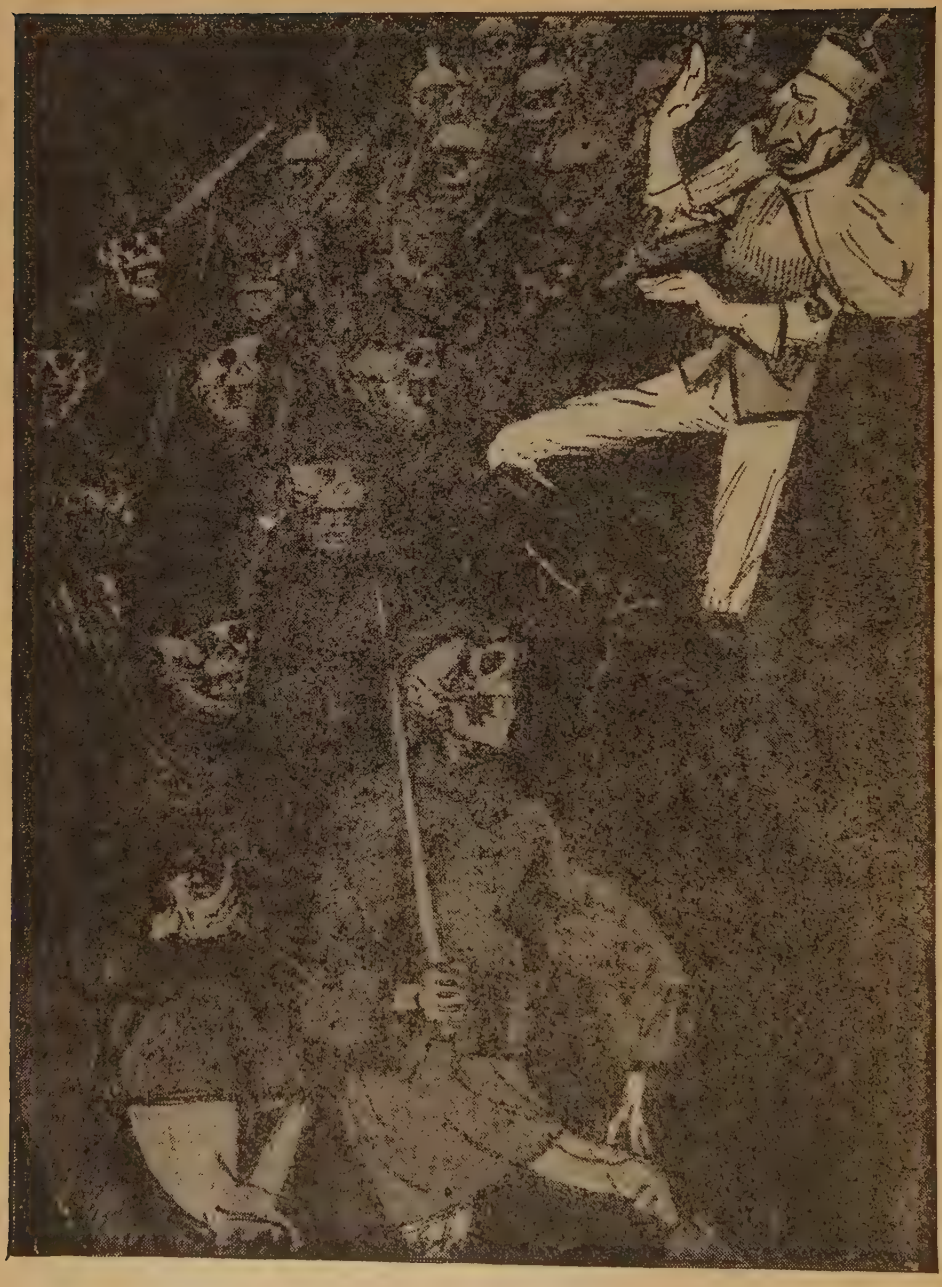
"Again I put down my box, and inscribe another formula. I wave my wand—

—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

—and the pig has returned!"

[Italian Cartoon]

The Last Review



—*From L'Asino, Rome.*

The Triumph of Militarism.

[French Cartoon]

The German Bastile

—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

BRIAND: "It is tottering, Asquith; another effort and it will fall.

[French Cartoon]

Another Atrocity

—*Ricardo Flores in the Paris Journal.*

"We Germans wish to rebuild Louvain."
"For mercy's sake, your Majesty, spare us this new crime."

A War Menagerie

—*Drawings by Umberto Tirelli.*

A Kaiser — An Emperor — A Crown Prince

[German Cartoon]

"Ungrateful Italy"

—© *Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.*

Judas Italiano in the act of betraying his brother for 30,000,000 pieces of silver.

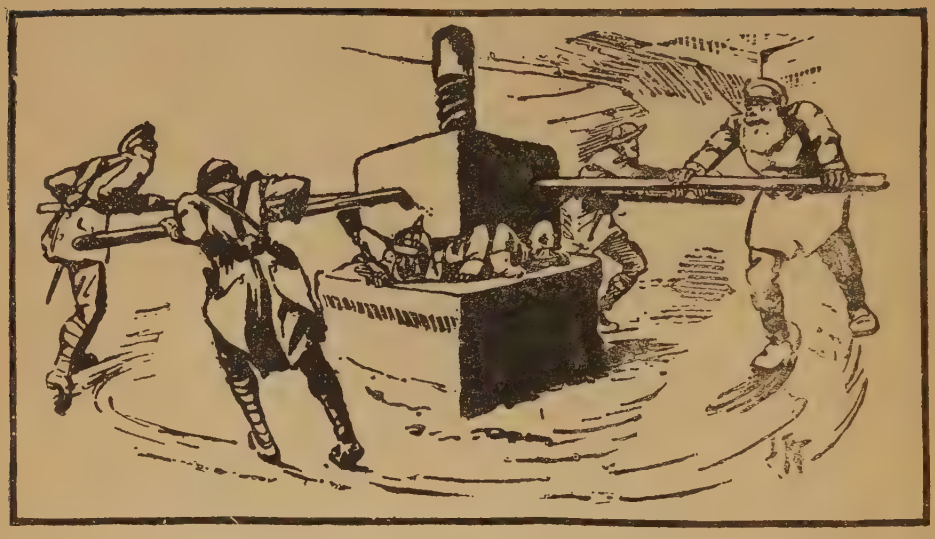
[American Cartoon]

Do You See Anything, Watson?

—*From The Baltimore American.*

[French Cartoon]

The Situation



—From La Victoire, Paris.

THE KAISER: "Oh, the scoundrels! Now they are all working at the same time!"

[English Cartoon]

A German Luxury

—From London Opinion.

FRITZ: "How goes it this morning?"

HANS: "Very well. I am just making a sandwich for myself with a meat card between two bread cards."

[French Cartoon]

Toilet of the Austrian Eagle

—From Le Temps, Paris.

RUSSIA TO ITALY: "Hold it tight. I'll pull out the feathers."

[English Cartoon]

La France

—*From The Westminster Gazette.*

[Suggested by the French Eagle at Pierrefonds.]

[English Cartoon]

"Special Constables Should Use Discretion"

—(Extract from Manual.)

—From The Bystander, London.

WOMAN CONDUCTOR: "Will you deal with this man? He won't pay his fare and he won't get off the 'bus."

SPECIAL CONSTABLE: "Er——er——well, how much IS his fare?"

[English Cartoon]

"God Save Ireland!"

—*Edmund J. Sullivan in The London Chronicle.*

[Apropos of the failure of the provisional home rule settlement.]

[French Cartoon]

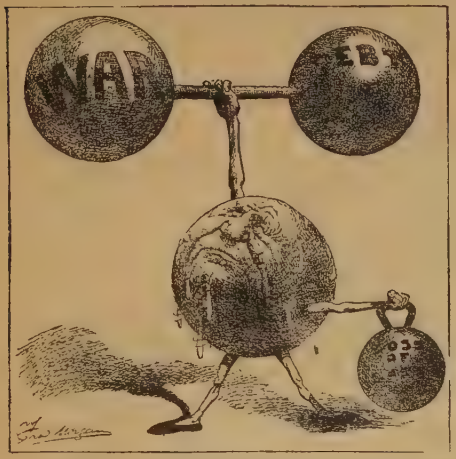
The Hour of Punishment

—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

The Last Trench, (Under the German Throne.)

[American Cartoon]

How Long Can He Keep It Up?



—© 1916, *by The Philadelphia Inquirer Co.*

[American Cartoon]

Oh Where and Oh Where Has That Deutschland Gone?

[German Cartoon]

Italy's Gauntlet

—© *Kladderadatsch, Berlin.*

Not Fit to Touch.

[American Cartoon]

The Third Lap

—*From The San Francisco Chronicle.*

[American Cartoon]

The End of a Perfect Year

—*From The New York Times.*

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From July 12 Up to and Including August 11, 1916

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

July 12—British retake the whole of Mametz Wood and repel two heavy German attacks against Contalmaison; Germans take French trenches at the junction of the Fleury and Vaux roads.

July 14—British capture German second line from Bazentin-le-Petit to Longueval and the whole of Trones Wood.

July 15—British cut German third line in Faureaux Wood and reach Pozières.

July 17—British capture 1,500 yards of German second-line position northwest of Bazentin-le-Petit Wood and complete the capture of the village of Ovillers-la-Boisselle.

July 18—British gain north of Ovillers; Germans south of the Somme gain ground near Biaches and attack near Longueval and Delville.

July 19—British retake half of Delville Wood and all of Longueval.

July 20—French advance on the Somme on front of 10½ miles and capture German first position from Estrées to the height of Vermando-Villers.

July 23—British resume offensive from Pozières to Guillemont.

July 26—British occupy whole of Pozières.

July 27—Delville Wood taken by the British.

July 30—British move their line forward east of Waterlot farm and Trones Wood.

Aug. 2—French advance on three-mile front, from the Meuse at Vacherauville as far east as Fleury.

Aug. 4—French reoccupy the greater part of Fleury.

Aug. 5—British break through German second line north of Pozières on a front of nearly two miles.

Aug. 6-7—Germans defeated in counterattacks northwest of Pozières.

Aug. 8—British and French troops advance 300 to 500 yards on four-mile front near Guillemont; Germans gain near Pozières; recapture Thiaumont Wood and lose part of it again; French take second-line trenches on Vaux-le-Chapitre-Chenois front.

Aug. 9—British advance 200 yards on 600-yard front northwest of Pozières; French gain north of Hem Wood.

Aug. 11—French advance line to ridge south of Maurepas on road to Hem; British advance near Pozières and Bazentin-le-Petit.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

July 12—Austro-German and Russian armies locked on the Stokhod River.

July 14—Teutonic offensive near Stobychwa, northeast of Kovel, fails.

July 17—Part of General von Linsingen's army in Volhynia forced to retreat across the Lipa River.

July 19—Russians cross the Carpathians and advance toward Hungary.

July 20—Violent Russian offensive resumed in the Carpathians, at Kovel, Vladimir-Volynski, and in the Riga sector; Germans attack southwest of Lutsk.

July 21—Russians flank General von Linsingen on the Styr and force him across the Lipa at several points.

July 22—Russians pierce the German lines at several points south of Riga; forces moving south on the railway from Delatyn reach the Carpathian Pass.

July 23—Austrian forces in the Carpathians thrown back into the Jablonitza Pass; Russians are within four miles of the Hungarian frontier; General Kuropatkin's forces pierce Hindenburg's Riga line five miles.

July 24—Russians advance on the Riga front from the Gulf of Riga to Uxkull.

July 29—Russians cross the Stokhod River at Gulevich and press the Teutons along the entire front from the Kovel-Lutsk railway.

July 31—Russians cross the Stokhod River on a 27-mile front in drive at Kovel.

Aug. 1—Russians in Southeastern Galicia cross the Koropiec River.

Aug. 4—Russians advance on the Rudka-Merynskaia railroad to the Stavok River.

Aug. 5—Russians cross the River Sereth south of Brody and capture two villages; Archduke Charles Francis begins an attack in the Carpathians against General Lechitsky's army.

Aug. 6—Russians take six villages south of the Sereth River.

Aug. 7—Austrians reported falling back along the Lemberg railroad from the Tarnopol region; Russians capture more positions south of Brody and trenches on the Stokhod front.

Aug. 8—Russians advance on ten-mile front in Galicia, take Tlumach and capture group of villages centring around Zalocze; civilians ordered out of Lemberg.

Aug. 9—Russians take Tysmienitza, push on

toward Stanislau and cross Koropiec River.

Aug. 10—General Lechitsky captures Kryplin, crosses Zlota Lipa River on the way to Halicz; Austrians in Lemberg reinforced by 150,000 Turks.

Aug. 11—Russians take Stanislau, pierce General Bothmer's front in Galicia in three places, take Monasterzyska and compel Teutons to retire from Gliadka and Voroblevsk; General Bothmer's right flank retreats on Halicz, left also falls back.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

July 14—Italians blow up the summit of Castelletto in the Tofana region.

July 15—Italians take the town of Vanzi on Monte Hellugio.

July 19—Austrians repulsed in Pasubio sector.

July 21—Italian artillery bombards Riva, Arco, and Rovereto in the Adige Valley and Doberdo, Jamiano, and St. Giovanni on the Isonzo front; Austrians shell Monfalcone.

July 23—Italians advance along the Posina line and storm Dolomite positions.

July 25—Monte Cimone captured by the Italians.

July 29-Aug. 1—Italians repel attempts to recapture Monte Cimone.

Aug. 2—Austrians severely defeated in attacks on Italian lines at Seluggio, Castelletto, and Monte Cimone.

Aug. 7—Italians capture important positions commanding communications between the Travenanzes Valley and the Sare torrent in the Gader Valley; Austrian attacks on the slopes of Monte Zebio checked.

Aug. 8—Italians captured Sabotino and San Michele Mountains and Gorizia bridgehead in offensive begun Aug. 6.

Aug. 9—Gorizia captured by Italians; Austrians abandon nearly all principal positions on Isonzo and Carso fronts.

Aug. 10—Italians capture Boschini northeast of Gorizia.

Aug. 11—Italians occupy whole Doberdo Plateau, capture Rubbia and San Martino del Carso, and reach Vallone River in advance on 12-mile front.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

July 18—Cannonading along the entire Saloniki front.

July 27—Serbs begin an attack on Bulgar positions within the Greek border.

Aug. 6—Serbs take the village of Pemli, near Proska, which had been occupied by the Bulgars.

Aug. 11—Allies occupy Doiran station and nearby hill.

ASIA MINOR AND EGYPT

July 12—Russians capture the town of Mamakhatum, fifty miles west of Erzerum.

July 16—Russians capture Baiburt.

July 22—Russians occupy Ardasa on the Caucasus front; Turks advance to within thirty miles of the Suez Canal.

July 24—Russians in Armenia advance within fifteen miles of Erzengan; Turks claim victory in Persia, east of Pzandoz.

July 26—Russians capture Erzengan.

July 31—Turks advance in Egypt to a ridge nine miles from Romani.

Aug. 3—Turks drive Russians from Sakíz and reach Bukan.

Aug. 4—Turks attack British positions near Romani, east of Port Said, in attempt to reach the Suez Canal.

Aug. 5—British defeat Turkish force at Romani and pursue them for eighteen miles.

Aug. 9—Russians give up Bitlis and Mush; Turks force British cavalry to retreat near Suez Canal.

Aug. 11—Turks force Russians to retire from Hamadan, Persia.

GERMAN EAST AFRICA

July 14—British occupy Muanza, on the southern shore of Lake Victoria.

July 22—British occupy Muheza and Amani and capture the Usambara Railway.

July 24—General Northey defeats German forces at Malangali and advances toward Madibira.

NAVAL RECORD

Russia formally announced that in reprisal for the torpedoing of the Portugal and the Vperiode, she would attack Turkish hospital ships.

German submarines have renewed their activity in the war zone. Belligerents' losses included twenty-six British, one Japanese, four French, and six Italian ships. In addition to these, many neutral vessels have been destroyed, including one Dutch, five Norwegian, two Finnish, three Danish, six Swedish, and one Greek. Many lives were lost in an attack on the Italian mail steamer Letimbro.

Germans capture Danish excursion boat Ydun with 200 children aboard.

MISCELLANEOUS

Judge Waddill of the United States District Court held that the steamer Appam is still the property of her British owners, but refused a petition that she be delivered to libellants. The German Government filed a formal petition in the Supreme Court for a new trial, giving a $2,000,000 supersedeas bond.

The last forts of Mecca surrendered to the Arabian rebels, who later besieged the Turkish garrison at Medina. There were heavy casualties on both sides.

German Government issued a revised list of contraband and announced that German warships were ordered to destroy all ships carrying contraband.

Date Due

WITHDRAWN

8-77